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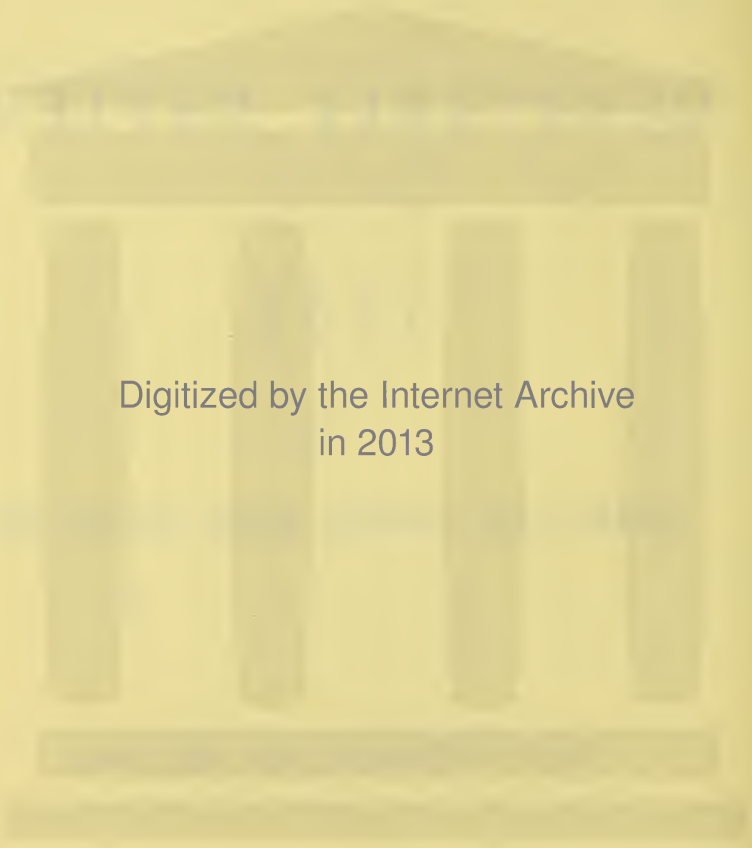

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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1861.

Art. I.—METHODISM AFTER WESLEY'S DEATH.

Methodists have always been trustful believers in divine providence. Their founder taught them to be such both by his example and doctrine. He left them a notable sermon on the subject, in which he denied the common distinction between a "general" and a "particular" providence, and included the latter in the former. Much of the "morale" of Methodism has been owing to the prevalent belief of its people that it has been signalized by providence, and that, therefore, extraordinary providential designs are to be accomplished by it.

Thus far there have been three well-defined stages in its progress.

The first is comprised in the period of Wesley's personal ministry, in which it began, extended in both hemispheres, and was at last more or less consolidated into an organic system. The second was its testing period, its great seven years' war of "fiery trial," from the death of Wesley to near the beginning of the nineteenth century. At the conclusion of this probation its fidelity was rewarded by remarkable prosperity, and by the sudden appearance in its ranks of men of extraordinary capacity, who quickly elevated its intellectual character, confirmed its system, and developed its energy in plans for universal missionary conquest. This missionary development may be considered its third and, it is to be hoped, its permanent stage; permanent at least till the evangelization of

the world. It was a system of propagandism from the beginning; Coke had especially promoted its spread in the West Indies, and it had ventured furtively into France from the Channel Islands, but it had conceived no very distinct missionary scheme till the death of Coke threw it upon that necessity, and the important men who were providentially raised up about the conclusion of its great testing trials, after the death of Wesley, seemed to be designated to this particular development of its power. It was found worthy, by its protracted trial, of them, and of the sublime destiny to which they could lead it.

With the period of Wesley's personal ministry we are all familiar, but not with the ensuing season of hard probation. The latter is a rich study for the historical student, rich in lessons. We can here only glance at it, hoping it will be presented in another and more complete form hereafter.

JOHN WESLEY died in the spring of 1791, and now was to be determined the question, whether or not the great work of his life had coherence enough to survive his personal superintendence. It is a law of history, or rather of providence, that great public bodies, states, or Churches, must, like great individual men, be disciplined by adversity, and derive thence much of their best strength. While Wesley was serenely passing through his last days, both his friends and his foes were anticipating, with anxious or curious speculation, the approaching crisis of Methodism. All supposed that it would be perilous; many that it would be fatal. "Pray! pray! pray!" wrote his traveling companion, Joseph Bradford, from the side of his dying bed, to the preachers, and the alarming word sped over the kingdom, calling the societies to their altars with supplications for the future. The pious throng that gathered around his corpse, as it lay in state in City-road chapel, mourned, not so much his departure to his rest, as the privation and probable peril of the "connection;" and when, in the early morning of the 9th of March, he was interred by torchlight, to avoid the pressure of the anxious crowd, doubtless many a hostile conjecture was uttered in the metropolis, that the hope of Methodism was buried with him. The biographies of the old preachers of the day abound in sad and ominous allusions to its possible fate.

The determination of the problem could hardly have been devolved upon more inauspicious times. Wesley died while the tumults of the French revolution were alarming the civilized world. During the preceding two or three years continental Europe had been surging with the first violent motions of that grand catastrophe. While he was dying the throne of France was falling, and in a few weeks her king was flying from his people only to be brought back to the guillotine. More than twenty millions of Frenchmen were soon after plunged in a saturnalia of tumult and terror, tens of thousands flying to arms or flying before them. The best political doctrines were abused to the worst ends; the worst moral doctrines were consecrated as a religion of vice and honored with hecatombs of martyrs. The throne, the altar, and social order were prostrated, and for a quarter of a century the political foundations of Europe, from Scandinavia to the Calabrias, from Madrid to Moscow, were shaken as by incessant earthquakes.

The American people had presented a remarkable example of self-liberation and self-government. The French Revolution followed in the wake of the American Revolution, and, as it adopted the American democratic ideas, it is not surprising that liberal Englishmen at first hailed it as a new era of liberty and progress for the human race. Such an uprising of a great people for such principles had never before occurred in the history of the world. Generous minds were everywhere too much interested in its sublime energy and promise to perceive at first its radical and disastrous errors. All England became more or less infected with these errors. Liberal and learned divines, like Price and Priestley, sympathized with the revolution and promoted its doctrines in their country; both these clergymen were honored with the rights of French citizenship. Literary men generally hailed with hope the mighty uprising, especially the new poets of the age, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey. The gentle and pure-minded Wordsworth held in Paris, three years after the death of Wesley, relations of intimacy with the ferocious Robespierre; and Watt, the greatest benefactor the human race has had in the practical arts, shared the poet's friendship with the demoniacal revolutionist. Mackintosh wrote his "Vindiciæ Gallicæ," and was made a French

citizen; and Leigh Hunt and James Montgomery suffered imprisonment under suspicion of French principles. Horne Tooke was their active partisan. Fox, Sheridan, and other Whig leaders, yielded to the new influence. One month before the death of Wesley, Fox pronounced the new French constitution "the most stupendous edifice of liberty" ever erected. Under such auspices the dangerous doctrines, though generally associated with profound religious errors, could not but spread rapidly among the masses. An extraordinary man, Thomas Paine, a man of the people, direct and energetic in thought, vigorous though often coarse in style, of indomitable persistence, and not without generous purposes at first, suddenly appeared and spread the new opinions over most of the realm. His writings did more to corrupt the moral and political sentiments of the common people of both England and America, than those of any other author of the last or present century. They were scattered over the kingdom by the hundred thousand, sold at a sixpence a volume, or distributed gratuitously into the obscurest corners of the country by revolutionary clubs, which held their head-quarters in London, but had ramifications all over the land, and were in relations of correspondence with the Jacobin club of Paris. England was, in fine, pervaded by the new opinions, Ireland was in rebellion, and the United Kingdom seemed fast drifting toward a disastrous crisis.

Such were the auspices under which Methodism had to meet its great trial—the loss of its founder, the experiment of a new administration of its system, the solution of new ecclesiastical questions which were agitated by the excited people. The country was rocking with political and infidel tumults, its pulpits were resounding with discussions of the French revolutionary doctrines, the masses were maddened with agitations, and breaking out in one island with insurrection, in the other with mobs.

It would be neither interesting, nor is it necessary to record here the details of the internal strifes of Methodism which followed the death of Wesley. It was an age of pamphlets; printed "appeals" and "circulars," on the questions in controversy in the Church, flew over the United Kingdom, like the leaves of autumn, during the ensuing seven years. Public

assemblies, "district meetings," (which had their origin as an institution of the denomination in these times,) and delegated conventions were held, and were often inflamed with excitement. Good men mourned at the perilous prospect of the great cause, and its enemies congratulated one another on its probable failure. While its guides were exhorting or remonstrating with each other, Churchmen were seeking to draw it into the establishment, and Dissenters exasperated its embarrassments by discussions of its system as incoherent and impracticable.

The preachers met in local conventions to provide for the new exigency before the next Conference. The people clamored for the sacraments from their own pastors, hitherto only partially granted by Wesley. Hundreds of trustees (who were generally men of wealth or social position, and therefore in strong sympathy with the national Church) issued circulars and pamphlets, and held meetings to demand that no such concession should be made; they also demanded the concession to themselves of greater control of the denominational affairs. They were arrayed against the people and the people against them, and both more or less against the preachers, who, divided in opinion among themselves, were nevertheless disposed to be steadfast, and await deliverance from their apparently inextricable embarrassments, by the providence of God, which had never forsaken them, and which they believed was now trying their faith for some blessed purpose.

At their Conference of 1792 many petitions were presented in favor of the wishes of the people, and also remonstrances against them. The preachers had conflicting opinions on the subject. "For some time," says one of them, "they knew not what to do. They were sensible that either to allow or to refuse the privilege of the sacraments would greatly increase the uneasiness, and perhaps cause a division." Profoundly embarrassed by the difficulty of the question, and unable to reach its solution by discussions, an extraordinary measure was proposed by Pawson as the only means of concluding the debate, and as affording at least a common ground of mutual concession till time should bring them nearer to unanimity. They resolved to determine it for the present by lot. However questionable this proceeding may seem, the scene was one of

affecting solemnity and interest, as showing the difficulties and the forbearing spirit of these good men. They knelt while four of them offered prayer. "Almost all the preachers were in tears," and "the glory of God filled the room," say the old Minutes. Adam Clarke was then appointed to draw the lot. He stood upon a table and proclaimed it: "You shall not give the sacrament this year!" Pawson, who was present, says: "His voice in reading it was like a voice from the clouds. A solemn awe rested upon the assembly, and we could say, 'The Lord is here of a truth!' All were satisfied or submitted, and harmony and love returned."

But while, in their annual conferences, the preachers generally forbore with one another's opinions for the common good, out among the societies their concurrence with or dissent from the people could not always be withheld. At Bristol especially a sad spectacle was presented. Benson and Moore (two of Wesley's veterans) were appointed to that circuit; the latter was in favor of the administration of the sacraments, the former was opposed to it, under existing circumstances at least. The trustees of the city chapels, including the first erected by Wesley, were stanch against the popular demand. When Moore arrived, they ascended the pulpit before he could enter it, and refused him liberty to preach. They had even served him with a legal notice that he must not intrude into the desk. They accorded him liberty at last to explain to the congregation why he did not preach. Taking the legal paper from his pocket, he read it to the assembly, declaring that he would not claim his right to preach there, but would go thence to an appointment on Portland-street and preach unfettered. Nearly the whole congregation followed him, not more than twenty persons being left behind. The new Portland-street chapel was erected by them. Benson and some of his colleagues sided with the trustees, others sided with Moore. They did not even "exchange" with one another. The breach seemed irreparable; the circuit was divided. Moore appealed to the district meeting, composed of preachers; it sanctioned his proceedings, and declared Benson and his associates seceders. Pamphlets on both sides rapidly followed one another, and the whole connection was agitated with the question. Pawson declared "we have no government," and that division, if not wreck,

must ensue to the connection if it did not speedily settle its disputes.

Meanwhile Alexander Kilham, a man of invincible energy, was issuing pamphlet after pamphlet in favor not only of the claims of the people to the sacraments, but of other and radical changes of the Methodist polity. He had been a traveling companion to the sainted Robert Carr Brackenbury, a gentleman of property and high social rank, whose sumptuous Raithby Hall had often been Wesley's home, and whose wealth had been liberally used for the spread of Methodism. He became a useful preacher and, with Kilham, founded Methodism amid fierce persecution in the Channel Isles, whence it entered France. Kilham endured the trials of mobs for the cause, and showed himself a brave man and a successful preacher. He was now on circuits in England and Scotland, and having caught the contagion of the ultra-democratic ideas of the day, was determined to reform Methodism. His pamphlets are admitted by his biographer to have been unpardonably severe. He accused the ministry of disregard for the rights of the people, and charged them with abject submission to the national Church; they had "bowed in the house of Rimmon," and God was visiting the connection with retributive afflictions for this sin. He impeached the conference as perverse, if not corrupt, in several matters of administration. Most of the titles of his numerous pamphlets were of a sarcastic if not vulgar style, and his language generally was offensive and often obstreperous. Coke, Clarke, and others, of London, demanded that the chairman of his district in the north should summon him to trial, but it was at last deemed best to defer proceedings against him till the annual conference. The condition of either the connection or the country would not admit of an immediate trial without dangerous liabilities.

Meanwhile meetings and conventions were frequent among the laymen. The trustees held a delegated assembly at the session of the conference, and demanded concessions; they were treated with much respect by the preachers, and their wishes were accorded as far as was possible. Benson, lamenting the unfortunate example of Bristol, prepared the celebrated "Plan of Pacification," and it was adopted at the conference of 1795. It gave some relief, but could not appease the public

clamor. Coke, Clarke, Mather, Taylor, Moore, and others, met for counsel at Litchfield, where the American system of episcopal government was urged by Coke. He proposed to ordain the preachers present, and initiate it at once as the only salvation of the connection; but Mather and Moore demanded that it should be first submitted to the Conference. All of them, however, signed their names to a paper detailing the plan, and pledging them to advocate it at the next session. That body rejected it. Adam Clarke was favorable to the claim of the societies for the sacraments; he declared he would have religious liberty "if he had to go to the ends of the world for it;" but he was as prudent as he was zealous, and bravely opposed all undue haste. Even the good Bramwell sympathized strongly with the proposed reform; he at last became so tired of the protracted conflict that he actually withdrew from the connection, resolved to pursue his powerful ministrations alone; but his good sense returned and quickly led him back. Kilham was finally called to an account before the conference; he was tried, required to acknowledge his errors, and, refusing to do so, was expelled. Two preachers seceded and joined him; they organized the New Methodist Connection, and bore away at once five thousand members of societies. Distraction now spread apace. Kilham traversed the country, and was admitted into many Methodist chapels, dividing their societies, setting people against trustees, and both against preachers.

In these perilous circumstances, so long continued, the preachers maintained their forbearance with each other's difference of opinion, and with the excited societies. With the exception of the three who formed the Kilham schism, and the transient separation of Bramwell, all were steadfast to the common cause; with the exception of the deplorable altercation at Bristol, they presented no bad example to the people. They differed among themselves in theory, but knew that premature measures on one side or the other would, in the immature state of the popular parties, be disastrous. The casual allusions, in cotemporary biographies, to some of their conference sessions, are deeply affecting; they consulted, conceded, wept together; they spent days of their sessions on their knees in fasting and prayer. Benson, Bradburn, Clarke, and similar leaders, preached with power before them in behalf

of their old unity. The formidable difficulty was, that if they conceded to the claims of the mass of the people, they must alienate the trustees and the highest class of the laity, who were generally attached to the Church as Wesley had taught them to be; if they conceded to the latter, they would precipitate the people into schism. Under these circumstances what could they do? three things, as wise and godly men; and they did them nobly. First, stand in unbroken unity themselves, whatever might be their personal differences; secondly, make concessions as fast as the relative state of parties would admit, without insupportable offense to either; third, push forward their pastoral work, preaching, visiting the people, promoting revivals, and waiting for God to send them deliverence.

Their steadfastness and moderation at last brought them that deliverance, and they marched at the head of their hosts, out of the wilderness into the promised land with a triumph which deserves perpetual commemoration, as an example for all their successors. At the Conference of 1797, an imposing delegated convention of laymen was held. It was presided over by Thomas Thompson, of Hull, a man of great influence in the community of that city, and in the Wesleyan Connection generally. Its demands were treated by the Conference with the greatest deference; both bodies exchanged communications, and negotiated by joint committees, through nine or ten days. Both adjourned at last cordially satisfied, passing resolutions of mutual congratulation, and pledging themselves to each other to pray and labor for the peace and perpetual success of their common cause. We have not here time to detail the concessions made by the preachers; suffice it now to say that nothing which was asked was withheld by these devoted and self-sacrificing men, if it could be conceded without an abandonment of the fundamental system left them by Wesley. They sent forth an address to the people, in which they said: "Thus, brethren, we have given up the greatest part of our executive government into your hands, as represented in your different public meetings." (Minutes, 1797.)

The time had arrived for these generous concessions; parties had been modified, especially by the growing majority in favor of the claims of the people; the faithfulness of the ministry, in

its great embarrassments, its maintenance of its spiritual work, its moderation and mutual forbearance, notwithstanding its own diversities of opinion, its firmness in executing discipline, as in the case of Kilham, all tended to secure it public respect and confidence. Its moral power advanced with every concession of its ecclesiastical power; it was beloved and revered by its people; and preachers and people, grasping hands, were substantially united forever.

Thus did the tossed and driven bark come forth from the prolonged storm, with its sails fully set, and its colors displayed, to pursue its destined course, confounding the predictions of its enemies and disappointing gratefully even its most sanguine friends. The result of the struggle was not only beneficial in the restoration of harmony, but, if possible, more so, as giving a consolidated government to Methodism, by which it has not only survived later strifes, but has extended its sway, with increasing energy, more or less around the world; a government which in our day, after more than half a century of labors and struggles, remains as effective a system of Church polity as Protestant Christendom affords.

We have passed rapidly over these eventful struggles. More agreeable scenes now ensued, and through the first five years of the new century the energies of the connection were increasing and consolidating in a remarkable manner, preparatory for the new missionary development to which the denomination was about to be providentially summoned as its next and grandest historical phase. It had been well tried, and being found worthy, it was now to be led forth conquering and to conquer. We cannot detail the successive stages of this new progress; we need not, for it is read of nearly all men and in nearly all parts of the world to-day. But its first indication, next to the spiritual revivals which prevailed at the beginning of the century, was the great representative men who entered the field about this period, and who for many years conducted the new development. As these important men continued almost down to our day, and their personal history thus became a history of the connection from this new epoch, we cannot perhaps better conclude our paper than by "sketching" some of them as exponents of the subsequent course of Wesleyan Methodism. Six of them may be said to be specially

entitled to this distinction, three of the higher order of mind, and three of lowlier but of hardly less effective position; for Methodism was still to be, and may it ever be, a field for the humblest and for the highest intellects.

Richard Watson, a young man who was to be pre-eminent above all the lay preachers hitherto received by the conference, was first recorded on its roll in 1796, the time of the climax of its agitations. Morally great, brilliant and profound in intellect, successful in the most important labors of the Church through a ministerial life of thirty-seven years, his brethren were to deplore his death, at last, as "one of the most mournful bereavements which any Christian Church ever suffered," and to bear testimony that "to his understanding belonged a capacity which the greatness of a subject could not exceed; a strength and clearness which the number and complexity of its parts could not confuse; and a vigor which the difficulty and length of an inquiry could not weary." (Minutes, 1833.) He was to become one of the greatest preachers of his age, combining the imagination of the poet with the understanding of the philosopher; one of the most commanding legislators of his Church, whose judgment was to be recognized as little short of infallible; its greatest theological writer, whose works were to be its text-books wherever it extended; and the eloquent advocate and manager of its missions, directing their foreign operations, defending them by his pen, representing them before the authorities of his country, and commanding for them the respect and patronage of the British people. He was born at Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire, in 1781, and was, therefore, but about sixteen years old when he entered the Conference, the youngest candidate which it has ever received. He was remarkable from his childhood for the precosity of his faculties, and suffered the usual penalty of such superiority, life-long feebleness of constitution. He was seldom exempt from pain, and his wasted appearance in the pulpit appealed to the sympathies of the admiring audiences, which were struck with wonder at the contrasted and majestic strength of his intellect. His education included the elements of the classic languages; but he afterward mastered them, as also the Hebrew tongue, and acquired a comprehensive knowledge of literature and the sciences.

In the midst of his usefulness he was led, after traveling about five years, to forsake the ministry, by unjust reflections on his orthodoxy among his brethren. He joined the New Connection Methodists, but returned to the Wesleyan body deeply regretting the haste of his youthful indiscretion. Thenceforward his career was determined; no man better appreciated the capacity of Methodism; none more fully consecrated his powers to its promotion. He now especially became eminent as the representative of its foreign missionary enterprise. At the death of Coke, who had embodied that great interest in his own person, it required thorough reorganization. Watson by his splendid eloquence in the pulpit and on the platform, and by his counsels in the Conference and in committees, was one of the chief men who conducted it through that crisis and founded its present effective scheme. An epoch in his life was his call, in 1816, to plead for this cause in the metropolis. He preached in City Road Chapel; he paced its vestry, before the sermon, in deep agitation, oppressed by the burden of his theme and the sense of his inadequacy to represent it justly. On ascending the pulpit he announced for his text: "He must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet." "It is hardly possible," says his biographer, "to conceive of argumentation more lucid and powerful, sentiments more sublime, imagery more beautiful, diction more rich, than characterized this wonderful discourse."

At the next Conference he was appointed to London, and became one of the missionary secretaries; in 1821 he was made resident secretary, and thenceforward that great cause was the principal interest of his life. His annual reports, his speeches in many parts of the kingdom, his correspondence with the missionaries, and his consultations with the state functionaries who had charge of the foreign British dependencies, gave it an importance which commanded the public confidence, and animated its operations at home and abroad. At the beginning of his connection with it, its annual receipts were short of £7,000; he saw them raised to £50,000, and he, as much perhaps as any other man, gave them that impulse by which, in our day, they have reached the munificent sum of £140,000; its missionaries were about 60, he saw them multiplied to more than 100; the mission stations comprised 15,000

communicants, he saw them increased to nearly 44,000; he saw the cause extended to South Africa, India, New South Wales, the Tonga Islands, and so thoroughly established abroad and influential at home as to promise to encompass, sooner or later, the whole heathen world.

Meanwhile he found time for important literary labors. His "Observations on Southey's Life of Wesley" effectually vindicated the great Methodist in both the religious and literary worlds. His "Theological Institutes" are an elaborate body of divinity, and have elevated the theological character of Methodism, which has everywhere recognized them as standards in its ministerial course of study. His "Biblical Dictionary" has been a manual to its preachers. His "Catechisms" have formed the religious opinions of its children. His "Conversations for the Young" have instructed its youth. His "Life of Wesley" has been the popular memoir of its great founder. Besides these literary benefactions to his Church, and many occasional pamphlets, he left an incomplete, but able "Exposition" of the New Testament, which has been published; and his collected "Sermons" are a monument of his genius.

The appearance of Richard Watson in the arena of Methodism at this critical time was one of those providential signs which have always marked its history and foretokened its destiny. His influence was hardly less important on its intellectual than on its moral character, and it is perhaps not too much to say, that no superior mind has ever yet been given to its ministry. "He soars," said Robert Hall, who delighted to hear him, "into regions of thought where no genius but his own can penetrate."

On a Sunday in 1798 a young man stood up in the door of a mechanic, on "Cross Lane," Manchester, and delivered to the people in the street his first public "exhortation." In August, 1799, having been received as a candidate by the Conference, he set out on foot, with his saddle-bags across his shoulder, for his first circuit. He was accompanied some distance by an aged Methodist, who had been his class-leader. At parting they knelt down by the roadside, and the old man, "whose heart was full," implored with tears God's blessing upon, and gave his own to, the young evangelist. Such was the beginning of JABEZ BUNTING'S ministry; his subsequent

history is that of Wesleyan Methodism for nearly sixty years.

He became the recognized legislative leader of the connection. Its most important measures were either conceived or chiefly effected by his unrivaled ability and influence. Beyond his own Church he was a commanding guide of many of those great religious interests which have been common to the Protestant denominations of England. An eminent divine of another communion, (Dr. Leifchild,) said at his grave, that "in the extent of his information, the comprehensiveness of his views, the conclusiveness of his reasoning, and the urbanity of his manners, I never saw his equal and never expect to."

He was elected president of the Conference four times; oftener than any other man, except his great compeer, Robert Newton, who joined that body the same year with him. On the death of Coke he became, like Watson, a chief representative of the Wesleyan missions, taking precedence even of Watson, and indeed of all his brethren, in commanding influence for them. He was for some years senior missionary secretary and editor of the Book Room, and on the death of Watson he became resident secretary, and sustained the onerous duties of that office for eighteen years. He was president of the Theological Institution for ministerial education from its commencement to his death.

He had witnessed much of the seven years' war which followed the death of Wesley, and doubtless the lessons of that great controversy influenced his course as an ecclesiastical legislator. If it afforded no other advantage, this was no small compensation to the Church for the protracted trial. Bunting's policy was soundly conservative, but also progressive. He was the first to introduce laymen into the management of the missionary affairs of the connection, and also into the "District Meetings;" for these measures he contended with much opposition from his older ministerial brethren, but he persisted, and advocated so urgently lay co-operation in all the connectional committees which involved financial interests, that at last it became a conceded point that laymen should share equally with the preachers in all such business. A high Methodist authority affirms that he did "more than any other

man to encourage lay agency in the connection, and thereby to extend lay influence in it." (Jackson's Life of Newton.)

As a debater he was without a competitor. He was chary of his remarks in Conference sessions, well knowing that frequent and unimportant speeches there are a sure forfeiture of influence. He seldom spoke over five minutes, and then after most others were through, and for the purpose of concentrating the dispersed thoughts of the body, of allaying exasperated feelings, or of clinching the subject by some summary and conclusive argument. When, however, the occasion required it, he could enter the arena full armed and fight the combat out, almost invariably with victory.

Well balanced faculties; a penetrating sagacity; an almost intuitive perception of the adaptation of means to ends; dexterity in reconciling dissonant minds by winning them, not so much to each other's opinions as to his own wiser or more moderate convictions; self-control, securing that tone of repose which usually characterizes the highest class of intellects, and which classic art has impressed on its noblest representations of humanity; a happy art of tranquilizing ruffled passions in debate, and of diffusing an amicable spirit among disputants; an effective but rare use of sarcasm; a style singularly lucid and terse; a readiness of reply never found wanting; a versatile capacity for work as well as for counsel; a practical habit of mind in all things, brushing aside, perhaps too much, sentiment and imagination—were traits which he not only combined, but in any one of which he has been seldom equaled.

His preaching was methodical, perspicuous, rich in scriptural citation, usually more logical than eloquent, but sometimes overwhelmingly powerful, and producing visible effect, so that "large numbers together were cut to the heart and cried out, 'Men and brethren, what shall we do?'"

He was robust and dignified in stature, with calm features, a noble brow, and a sonorous voice. His gestures were few, and as simple as possible; he stood erect in the pulpit, was never hurried, never lacked the appropriate word, and never concluded his discourse without a profound impression.

Adam Clarke excelled him in learning, Newton in popular eloquence, Watson in theological analysis and sublime and speculative thought, but he surpassed them all in counsel, in

administrative talents, and in versatile practical ability. They, with all his brethren, spontaneously conceded to him supremacy in the leadership of their common cause; and British Protestantism generally recognized him as a prince in Israel.

About the time that the seven years' controversy was culminating an extraordinary revival of religion prevailed in many places. It seemed, indeed, that the great Head of the Church was crowning the patient fidelity of the ministry with a spiritual triumph which should dispel its last fear and compensate for all its long struggles. ROBERT NEWTON was perhaps the noblest trophy of this triumph. More than four hundred persons were converted on the Whitby circuit where he resided; penitent crowds flocked to the humble chapels, and he and a sister, ever after inexpressibly dear to him, went weeping with them. They were both afterward converted while on their knees, side by side, in a room of their father's house. In the year 1798 (the same in which Bunting preached his first sermon) Newton delivered his first discourse on the text, "We preach Christ crucified," in a cottage at Lyth. A Methodist chapel now stands on the site of the house, with its pulpit over the spot where the young preacher stood, with a chair before him, to deliver the first of those eloquent proclamations of the truth, which for more than half a century swayed the masses of the English people.

He joined the conference in 1799. His popularity was immediate, and thenceforward his congregations were crowds. He was tall and well proportioned, with "a large front and an eye sublime"—a man fit to stand before kings. His voice was a deep musical bass, incomparable in the variety and sweetness of its modulations. His manner in the pulpit was neither declamatory nor too colloquial, but subdued, solemn, pathetic, and irresistibly impressive. Out of the desk as well as in it, he seemed anointed with a divine unction, so that one of his fellow-laborers, who heard him often, and was converted under his ministry, says that "veneration was everywhere felt for his character;" that "it was next to impossible to spend any time in conversation with him without perceiving that his intercourse with God was intimate and sanctifying;" that "he dwelt in God and God in him, and the principle of the divine life so filled and pervaded his mind, as to give an air of sanctity to his whole demeanor, which it is difficult to describe."

He was a diligent student; his sermons were mostly written, but delivered without the manuscript; on the platform he was however as successful as in the pulpit, though his speeches were evidently extemporaneous. Their casual and local allusions were frequent and often most felicitious. His language was always so simple as to be intelligible to the rudest peasant, and so correct and pertinent as to delight the most fastidious. An indescribable natural grace marked both his thoughts and his manners. His self-possession was perfect, giving him complete command of his audience and his faculties. His hearers felt that his discourses were performances of perfect facility to himself, and yet inimitable by others.

Butterworth, the eminent Wesleyan layman, induced him to appear on the platform of the Bible Society in London. His ability for such addresses was at once declared, and thenceforward he was the representative Methodist orator on anniversary occasions throughout the nation. He co-operated with Coke in the West Indian missions, and caught the infection of that wonderful man's zeal. During the remainder of his life he was the greatest popular advocate of missions in the United Kingdom. He disclaimed any special talent for the details of business; he devolved these upon Bunting, Watson, and their colleagues, and reluctantly, though faithfully, sat in missionary and other committees; but abroad among the people he was without a ministerial competitor in the great cause. When he commenced his labors for it, there were but 50 Wesleyan missionaries, with about 17,000 communicants under their care; he saw them increased to more than 350 missionaries and 100,000 communicants.

The demand for his services at missionary anniversaries, at the opening of new chapels, and on other extraordinary occasions, became almost universal in England, Scotland, and Ireland. His election four times to the Conference presidency gave him facilities for such labors; but when he was appointed to circuits it became necessary to provide for him, from year to year till the end of his life, a young preacher who might fill his week-night appointments and attend to his pastoral work, relieving him to traverse the country. Perhaps no man of his day was better known to the drivers and guards of stage-coaches on the highways of England. During forty years he

was as nearly ubiquitous in the United Kingdom as it was possible for a human being to be, and it has been estimated that he addressed from year to year a greater number of people than any other cotemporary man.

With the providential advent of such men as Watson, Bunting, and Newton in the connection about the period of its greatest trial, Methodism could not but assume a new attitude of strength and hope. In them, and similar men rising up around them, it was seen that the primitive spirit of the movement was to survive with new abilities for new adaptations, by which the great cause was to reach classes of the community to whom it hitherto had but little access, to take its stand not only in the midst, but in the front of the Protestantism of the country, and to project its power to the ends of the earth.

It is a noteworthy coincidence that while these eminent men were entering its itinerant ministry, introducing there a higher style of ministerial ability, three men of almost equal notoriety with them, but who were to represent it in its old style of lowly life, and to be especially active among the common people in behalf of its new missionary projects, appared in its local ministry.

The name of SAMUEL HICK, "The Village Blacksmith," is known wherever the Methodist movement has extended. He knew nothing of learning beyond the arts of reading and writing, and these he acquired after his conversion; his use of his native Yorkshire dialect was hardly intelligible to the inhabitants of other districts; he was eminently holy notwithstanding an irrepressible natural humor, and was strong in common sense and native eloquence. "It is hardly possible," says a Methodist authority, "to estimate the fruits of this man's labors and prayers. Nor was his usefulness confined to those of his own rank in life; gentlemen, country squires, members of parliament, even peers of the realm, often heard from his lips the truth of God delivered in a manner which, from the holy unction with which it was charged, roused in their minds serious thoughts of God and religion, and not unfrequently so as at once to awaken real respect for the truth and its zealous teacher." (Smith's History of Methodism.)

Samuel Hick was early apprenticed to the blacksmith's craft; it made him a robust man in both nerve and muscle; his round,

generous face; his athletic form, marred somewhat by a slight stoop and a disproportion of his shoulders, the effect of hard work at the anvil; his commanding voice; his aptness for practical illustrations of his subjects, drawn from common life; his simple language, the more acceptable for being in the rude dialect of his neighbors; his tender feelings, often expressed in tears; his humor, seldom sarcastic, but rich in geniality and in surprising appositeness to his subjects; his courage, which the hardiest of the mob respected too much to challenge; his liberality, which was his greatest weakness, and often left his pockets empty; his overflowing religious cheerfulness, ever uttering itself in hymns or familiar benedictions; and above all, the real sanctity of his spirit, secured him a command over the popular sympathies which was rarely equaled by any other preacher of Methodism in his day, not excepting Newton.

He was religiously inclined from his childhood, but a sermon which he heard from Wesley got such hold upon his conscience that he could not rest. He suddenly jumped out of his bed one night and fell upon his knees to pray; his groans awakened his wife, who, supposing he had been seized with dangerous illness, arose to call her neighbors. He exclaimed: "I want Jesus—Jesus to pardon my sins." "My eyes," he wrote years afterward, "were opened; I saw the sins I had committed through the whole course of my life; I was like the Psalmist; I cried out like the jailer." He had a hard struggle there upon his knees, but before the dawn of day the light of life had dawned upon his soul.

Without neglecting his craft, (by which in later years he became independent enough to give up work and devote his whole time to religious labors,) he now "went about doing good." Soon some of his neighbors were converted; they induced the itinerants to supply them with preaching; a class-meeting was formed, and thus was Methodism introduced into Micklefield, where he resided. He preached at his anvil. "I had," he says, "a good opportunity, as nearly the whole town came to my shop, and I was always at them."

A great revival in his neighborhood in 1794 called out his remarkable talents more fully; he became a "prayer leader," and finally a local preacher. His popularity was soon general, and wherever he went for nearly a half century crowds flocked to

his artless but powerful ministrations. He founded Methodism in some places, and promoted the erection of chapels in others by his peculiar success in begging money for them. He became a tireless evangelist and a favorite platform speaker at missionary meetings. In chapels, in the open air, in prayer-meetings, in missionary assemblies, in the rural districts, and in the metropolis, Samuel Hick was always a chief attraction to the multitude, and always bore humbly his popularity. His spirit won all hearts, disarming often violent opposers. He seldom disputed with an opponent or with any person, but usually fell abruptly on his knees and conquered by prayer. A Yorkshireman threatened to knock him down for a word of exhortation which the blacksmith had uttered; the latter dropped upon his knees and began to pray; his opponent took to flight. He was pleading in vain with a rich miser for a donation to Coke's West Indian missions; he at last knelt down and began to pray. "I will give thee a guinea if thou wilt give over," cried the covetous man. But Hick continued to pray for the miser, and for the heathen, for whose salvation a guinea would be so insignificant a pittance. "I tell thee to give over," exclaimed the miser; "I will give thee two guineas if thou wilt only give it up." Rising suddenly, the blacksmith took the money and bore it away to a missionary meeting held in the neighborhood, where "he exhibited it with the high-wrought feelings of a man who had snatched a living child from the clutch of an eagle."

Samuel Hick was one of the most effective agents of the missionary development of Wesleyan Methodism—one of the organs through which the higher minds of the denomination reached, for that purpose, the masses of the people—and his services were hardly of less historical importance than those of his superior brethren.

William Dawson is a still more remarkable character, and is known throughout the Methodist world as much by his piety and usefulness as by his eccentricities. A Yorkshire farmer, a local preacher, a general missionary advocate, shrewd in natural discernment, intelligent without much education, apt at speech, a talent which was the more effective in popular assemblies for his native dialect; eccentric, but equally relevant in thought; given to allegory and the oddest illustrations of his subjects, to

an irrepressible but kindly humor, which he lamented as his "besetment" and "plague," but which, if it was a fault, was apparently the worst one he had; robust in his moral manhood, tender and gentle as womanhood, simple and confiding as childhood; apostolic in his faith and life; a poet-orator in rustic guise—such was the famous "Yorkshire Farmer." "He displayed a force of genius and command of striking illustration such as I rarely ever heard," says a good judge belonging to another communion, (Rev. John Angell James,) who also applies to him the remark of the poet, that "nature made him and then broke up the mould." With his intellectual traits he combined not a few personal advantages; he was nearly six feet high and strongly framed; he had a noble forehead, an eye "keen and full of fire," and features round, but expressive of "thought brilliant, active, and penetrating."

Such was the power of his genius and the extent of his public services, that, though he was not a member of the Conference, and therefore not recorded in his obituary, that body honored him at his death in its Annual Address to its societies. "Few men," it said, "were ever more extensively known in the Wesleyan Connection, or more highly esteemed wherever known." Such was the grateful and admiring regard of the common people for him that his funeral procession was like a triumphal march. Some of the factories of the town suspended their labors that their operatives might follow him to the grave. As he was borne through Leeds, the streets presented "for above a mile and a half one congregated mass of people." He was carried seven miles to his family burial-place; procession met procession, in the towns on the route; a hundred men on horseback, nearly a hundred carriages, with a vast multitude on foot, singing hymns on the highways as they bore him along. It was the spontaneous tribute of the grateful people who had for years been benefited by his rare talents and unblemished example. Their Methodist ancestors had borne brave John Nelson to the tomb in a similar manner in the early days of the denomination; the old battle field over which they bore Dawson was now waving with such a moral harvest as Methodism had produced nowhere else in the world.

He was converted in 1791 while kneeling at the sacramental altar, and was licensed as a local preacher in 1801. His singular

talents were revealed in his first ministrations. The colliers especially followed him from town to town. His congregations were often so large that he had to preach in the open air. He was in general demand for missionary anniversaries, the dedication of new and collections for indebted chapels. In Leeds the churches were invariably thronged when he preached. Some of his sermons and speeches, frequently reported, became famous throughout the connection. His "Death on the Pale Horse" is described as a discourse surprisingly graphic and sublime. Under his sermon on "David slaying Goliah," an excited rustic rose in the congregation and shouted to the preacher, "Off with his head! off with his head!" A discourse to seamen, in which he described the wreck and loss of souls, so aroused a mariner that he rose and cried out, "Launch the life-boat! launch the life-boat!" Some of his allegorical missionary speeches would have been burlesques with any other man, but with his peculiar manner they seemed not only congruous, but were often sublime examples of poetry and eloquence. His "Harvest Home," "Reform Bill," "Railroad" and "Telescope" speeches are yet talked of generally in the country. One who heard them says: "Their effects on immense audiences we never saw before, nor expect to see again. Not a man, woman, or child could resist him. His travels and labors were almost as extensive as those of Robert Newton; and few men have done more in support of the various institutions of Methodism." "What an astonishing mind he has," said the learned Adam Clarke after a long ride with him in a post-chaise. Such a man, of and among the people, wearing, as was the custom of the substantial farmers of Yorkshire, in their best attire on Sundays and holidays, breeches of corduroy or plain velvet, and thick soled "top-boots;" living a life noted for its honesty and purity, and overflowing with religious feeling, sympathy, and humor, could not but be a man of power. Down to about the middle of the century, none of the greater lights of Methodism could eclipse him in popular assemblies, especially on the missionary platform. Without accepting, for many years, a sixpence beyond his traveling expenses for his services, he went to and fro in the nation calling the multitude to repentance, collecting money for poor churches, opening new chapels, pleading for missions, and recruiting the societies. At

last the "Dawson Fund" was established by the denomination to enable him to give his whole time to the public. He died in its service, after contributing as much perhaps as any cotemporary man to the spread of Methodism.

Another similar laborer did signal service in the local ministry during these times, and for nearly forty years, especially in the missionary development of Methodism. "It was thought fitting that a memorial should be raised for JONATHAN SAVILLE, by which the Church might glorify God in him," wrote a president of the Wesleyan Conference, and proceeded to prepare a "Memoir" of the good man, which is one of the most remarkable of those many records of the power of religion in humble life, which the denomination has afforded to the Church. Jonathan Saville was a poor, feeble, crippled man, the victim of cruel treatment in his childhood, whom Methodism found in an alms-house, but purified and exalted to be "a burning and a shining light" in the land. He was in Hoxton Workhouse before he was seven years of age. He was afterward apprenticed —a "fine, growing, active lad," but was sent by his master to work in the Denholme coal mines, where he labored from six o'clock in the morning to six at night, and after walking two or three miles was required to spin worsted till bed time. His health failed of course; on returning home one night when about ten years old, he was so feeble that he could not free his feet, which had stuck fast in a piece of swampy ground. A young man helped him out and assisted him home. He could go no more to the coal-pit. "My strength," he says, "was quite gone; I was more dead than alive, and my soul was sick within me;" but he was now closely confined to the spinning wheel at home. Shivering with the cold one day, he stepped to the fire to warm himself, when a daughter of his master thrust him away and knocked him down, breaking his thigh bone. He crawled into a room and lay down on a bed, but was commanded by his master, with terrible threats, to resume his work; he attempted to reach the wheel, supporting himself by a chair, but fell to the floor, when the imbruted man dragged him to his task, where he labored the rest of the day in agony. No doctor was called to set his thigh; no relieving treatment was given him by the women of the house; they mocked at the groans of the little sufferer; he crept, as he

could, to his bed at night, where he held the fractured bone in its place with his hand. Nature at last healed the broken limb; but he was left a mere wreck, bent almost double, and for some time compelled to creep whenever he went out of doors. Hopeless of any profitable service from him, his master conveyed him to the workhouse, carrying him part of the way, on his back, the broken leg of the poor boy "dangling in the air." The superintendent of the workhouse took compassion on him, bathed him, comforted him, fed him well, and gave him light tasks at spinning. The poor inmates healed his broken heart by their sympathies; they remembered that his pious father had often prayed within their dreary walls. An aged man among them made him a pair of crutches, and an old palsied soldier taught him to read the Bible. He had suffered so much that when he was fourteen years old he was smaller in stature than when he was seven; but he worked so diligently that he was able to earn extra wages, which he expended at a neighboring evening school. He used to limp on his crutches to the Methodist chapel in Bradford, guiding thither an aged blind pauper, the "halt leading the blind," and the good people, patting him on the head in the street, would say: "Poor Jonathan! his father's prayers will be heard for him yet." They little supposed that he was to be venerated throughout their communion, and commemorated in their history.

After remaining some years in the almshouse, with improved but still feeble health, he learned the craft of a warper, and his industry enabled him to earn a comfortable living. He removed at last to Halifax, the scene of his remaining long life and of his greatest usefulness. He became a "prayer-leader," and was singularly useful in that office for several years. He was afterward appointed a class-leader. His gentle spirit, subdued by long sufferings, and sanctified by piety; his clear understanding especially in the word of God, studied under such disciplinary adversities; his apt remarks, quaint, singularly pertinent, laconically brief, and refreshed by a cheerfulness which, on appropriate occasions, corruscated with humor and even with wit, led not only simple but intelligent people to seek his religious guidance. He soon had two, and then three classes under his care. His original class "swarmed" six times, and their new leaders were mostly his "pupils." He led out bands

of prayer-leaders into all the neighboring villages and towns about Halifax, and in many of them he was the first to introduce Methodism and found societies and chapels. He conducted sometimes seven or eight meetings on a single Sabbath. His praying bands multiplied at last to twelve, and he became a praying bishop in a large diocese, which was kept alive with evangelic energy.

In 1803 he was enrolled on the "Local Preachers' Plan." Crowds now flocked to the chapels in Halifax and elsewhere to hear him, and he immediately became one of the notabilities of Methodism, his fame spreading throughout the country. His genial spirit, his deep piety, his originality of thought and simple but strong language, attracted irresistibly the rude masses; they both pitied and revered him. "Many of his sermons produced," says his biographer, "extraordinary impressions." Like the "Village Blacksmith" and the "Yorkshire Farmer," he had several remarkable discourses, which became celebrated, under quaint titles, among the common people. His sermons on "The Vision of Dry Bones," on "Studying to be quiet and do our own business," and on Whitfield's favorite text, "O earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord," will "never be forgotten by those who heard them." The latter especially is said to have usually produced electrical effect.

If Jonathan Saville was not grateful for his personal deformity, he was grateful for the advantages it gave him in his Christian labors. It made his appeals in behalf of the poor and afflicted irresistible; it gave force, by contrast with his peculiar talents, to his public discourses; it commanded tender respect from even ruffian men; drunkards in the street, it is said, became reverential as he passed them, for they knew what he had endured and how he had conquered. It is remarkable, says his biographer, how seldom they were known to treat him with incivility. One case is recorded that proved a blessing which the crippled evangelist would not have foregone. On going to a country appointment an intoxicated man knocked him down, calling him "a crooked little devil." "The God that made me crooked made thee straight," said the preacher as he rose. Whether the drunkard perceived the significant rebuke or not, the exhortation which followed it sunk into his

heart. Years later, when Saville had been preaching in the city of Hull, a stranger seized his hand, exclaiming, "I bless God that ever I knocked thee down!" The good man was astonished; the stranger recalled to him the old offense, and said that it led to his reformation and conversion.

He became one of the most successful champions of the new missionary movement of Methodism, and was one of the most popular speakers of the connection on the missionary platform. Some of his speeches have been pronounced "brilliant, and worthy of men of greater name." He stood up, in this cause, by the side of the greatest Wesleyan leaders, and hardly could their superior abilities prove more effective on popular occasions than his peculiar genius.

Jonathan Saville, Samuel Hick, and William Dawson, personal friends and fellow-laborers, were, in fine, three of the most useful and historical men of Methodism during these times, and for most of the first half of the new century. Its strict regimen trained them to habits which, notwithstanding their eccentric tendencies, never detracted from its honor; their peculiarities never degenerated into vulgar indecorums; they were made by their religion modest as well as brave men, deferential to authorities, and regardful of religious discipline. They were good examples to all their brethren except in their peculiar talents, and were not so in their talents only because these were inimitable.

Such were some of the representative men, in the itinerant and in the lay ministries, with which God blessed the Wesleyan Church about the time of its emergence from the dark days of its seven years' trial after the death of its founder. When the missionary era of its history fully set in, they were prepared to take the lead of the movement. It deepened and widened under their labors till it became the great characteristic of modern Methodism, raising it from a revival of vital Protestantism chiefly among the Anglo-Saxon race, to a world-wide system of evangelization which has reacted on all the great interests of its Anglo-Saxon field, has energized and ennobled it in all its characteristics, and would seem to pledge to it a universal and perpetual sway in the earth.

Art. II.—ANNIHILATION.

The doctrine of the ultimate annihilation of the wicked has received fresh impulse within a few years from having been embraced by a large section of the "Second Advent" or "Millerite" sect, and from the publication of several works of considerable theological and exegetical ability in Great Britain and in our own land. The position assumed is, that immortality is not a characteristic of the soul as such, but a gift of God to the righteous alone, which was forfeited in the fall and is restored in Christ; that the promise of "eternal life" to believers is emphatically a promise of endless existence, and that the threatening of "death" to the wicked signifies the destruction of their being. This view is defended as the literal and proper sense of Scripture, from which there is no warrant to depart. When we say that the body dies, we are supposed to mean that it ceases to be; and hence it is argued that when God says, "The soul that sinneth it shall die," he must mean that such a soul shall no longer exist. With the word death are joined, for similar argumentative use, the words destroy, destruction, perish, perdition, consume, burn, and devour, which are employed in the Bible to denote the punishment of sin, or the effect of the divine wrath. To this exegetical defense the advocates of the annihilation theory add theological considerations. They adopt and urge the objections of Universalists against the "orthodox" doctrine of eternal punishment, but claim that they avoid the pernicious Universalist error of teaching that all will finally reach heaven. They hope to relieve theology from the difficulties of "orthodoxy" while yet providing, according to Scripture and the necessities of moral government, an irreversible doom of exclusion from heaven of all impenitent sinners. And thus they believe that annihilation will relieve God's universe of sin by the simple and easy process of blotting from existence the offenders.

The purpose of the writer in examining this doctrine restricts him to the utterances of the Saviour respecting the future life, and he therefore raises the question whether Jesus taught that annihilation was to be the final punishment of the

wicked. Upon this let it be remarked, 1. That the argument from his use of the words "life" and "death" is not valid to prove annihilation, even should we accept their literal meaning. Death of itself never means annihilation. A separate word and an additional process must be introduced to convey such an idea. I do not mean simply that death never annihilates material substance, though that fact may well be weighed by those who discuss the subject in hand. So far as we can detect, there is no annihilation of substance in God's universe. Not that it is an impossibility, for the power that creates can uncreate; but that it seems to be no part of God's plan to annihilate the smallest particle or essence to which he has given being. No hint (much less an analogy) of such a thing is obtained from the vast realms of nature. Matter changes its form, its locality, its density, its color, its smell; it becomes now visible and then invisible; first a solid, then a fluid, and then a gas; but it never ceases to be. Wood burns in the fire and mostly disappears, but nothing material has been annihilated; part is changed to ashes, and part has taken the form of smoke and gas. A tree falls and decays, and passes through the same process of *decomposition*, but *not* of annihilation. The body of man or beast when it dies dissolves into its original elements, but leaves no real vacancy in the world. There is no opening through God's universe of matter by which the minutest atom can fall into the utter void and be lost. Hence nature furnishes no analogy to aid the doctrine against which I contend.

But it may be said, that though death does not annihilate matter in its substance, it destroys the peculiar organization which constitutes individual things what they are in distinction from each other, so that it annihilates the particular plant or animal as such. But if this be admitted, its only bearing is upon organized matter, or objects made out of separate particles by curious and diversified arrangement, and which, therefore, on occasion of disorganization, revert to their original elements. How does that touch the question of the soul? Is that made up of elementary spiritual particles? Is there such a thing as *soul-dust*, to which dead souls moulder back, and out of which new souls may spring? Is the thinking spirit composite and organic in structure, resolvable by a divine chemistry

into an original spiritual substance that has yet no consciousness, no intelligence, no will, none of the distinctive properties of the organized, individual soul? It will be long before the annihilationists can demonstrate such analogy between the material and spiritual creation, or persuade the world that the bolder materialistic ideas of some of their number are other than false and degrading.

But is the assertion strictly true even of material bodies? Does death itself disorganize and disintegrate, or does it simply furnish the occasion for the action upon bodies of the permanent forces of nature? The exact fact seems to be, that death is simply the removal from the organization of a mysterious principle called life, leaving the former perfect and entire, but immediately subject to the ordinary laws of chemical action which previously had been held in suspense by the vital force. These laws seize upon the body *after it is dead* and destroy its organization, resolving it into dust and gases. Death has to do with the process only by removing the counteracting power. The body is dead before any such destruction commences, beyond what disease may have wrought as the counteracting force of life was withdrawing. We can even conceive that the organization might remain entire for days or weeks and yet the body be dead; just as we conceive that God created Adam, so far as bodily organization was concerned, while yet there was no life, till something of a higher nature was added.

What we mean by death, then, is not decay, corruption, annihilation, which, however certain, are subsequent events; but a departure of that vital principle which insures the *use* of the organization and the *perfect acting* of all its functions. When that ceases we pronounce the body dead, without reference to the effect upon the organization, even though it should continue in existence forever, an eternal corpse. In what sense, then, does the ordinary literal meaning of the word death signify annihilation? I do not see. It never implies destruction of substance, and, in material organizations, does not cause dissolution, though leading to it. There would appear to be a begging of the question by the destructionists at the outset, and the assertion of a false premise as the very first step in the argument! If death is properly only a ceasing to perform those functions which constitute or manifest life, if it be but

the departure of the principle which secures the cohesion of the body, leaving it to laws of disorder and ruin, why may not the death of the soul be the ceasing of those spiritual exercises which constitute the true life of a being made in the image of God, and the subjection of it to those sinful causes which breed spiritual disorder and anarchy, and result in spiritual ruin? And this leads me to observe,

2. That the annihilation theory is contradicted by every true conception of *the soul's life*, as given by reason or described in the discourses of our Saviour. Death is a negative idea, and means the departure or ceasing of life. Hence, to understand death we must understand life; and to know the meaning of the death threatened to the wicked we must know the meaning of the life promised to the righteous, over against which it stands as a terrible warning.

In ascertaining the idea conveyed by the word life, we notice that it varies with the subject, meaning more or less according to the place in the scale of being occupied by that of which it is affirmed. But we notice even before this that it *always* means something *more than bare existence.* It is never applied to denote that idea alone. What, for instance, has a more certain and real existence than a rock or mountain? and yet, though that existence has been maintained for centuries, we never say that the rock or mountain is alive. We can conceive that God should create millions of worlds, systems on systems of vast material orbs of rock and earth and water and gas, and should perpetuate their existence for countless ages, and yet there be absolutely no life in all that universe. We may find it difficult to state with precision what life is, but we know that it is more than existence, and implies a higher conception in the mind and an advanced step in creation, such as geology assures us was made when, after dreary centuries of gaseous, aqueous, igneous, and petrean condition, our earth received from its Maker plant and animal; suffice it to say, that life implies the performance of certain peculiar and characteristic functions, and instrumentally the use of certain organs or faculties; and that in material organizations it is indicated by such facts as development, growth, reproduction, motion, and sensation, while in higher orders of being, from rudimentary up to perfect mind, it manifests itself by desire,

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knowledge, memory, imagination, reason, love, and will. Thus, while life has a generic meaning common to all that is vital, it differs specifically with each subject. Plants have the lowest form, and then come various gradations of animal life from the radiata, up through the mollusca, the fishes, the reptiles, and the birds, to the mammalia. Finally, in man we have a yet higher order of life, growing out of the exercise of a nobler range of powers, as found in the reason, the sensibility, and the free will.

Hence, if one speaks of life we must know to what living being he refers before we can understand his meaning; and the same is necessarily true of death. Life and death mean something different in animals from what they do in plants, and something far different still in spiritual beings from what they do in mere animals. Life and death stand related to the end for which the being was made. While it fulfills that end in the exercise of its peculiar powers or functions, it lives; when it fails so to do, it dies.

For what now was *man* made, and in what does the true and real life of a *soul* consist? Man was created in the divine image for this one end: that he might know, love, obey, enjoy, and be like God forever. All his powers stand related to this single object, and were given for that purpose only. He was made *for* God, and finds his life only as he is in a state of voluntary union *with* God, filled with the Holy Spirit, developing a pure character, making God the center of his thoughts, affections, and will. *Nothing but this is life when we speak of a soul.* Something less is life for lower orders of being; but this only when we speak of one made in God's image.

And therefore death for a soul is not ceasing to be, but is eternal separation from God, from his knowledge and love and enjoyment; the cessation of all true spiritual functions, which are the really vital exercises. It is to fall out of union with God, to lose him from mind and heart, to be unloosed from our center, and to rush away into sin and consequent misery. This is the undoing, the destruction, the death of a soul as such; and the great misfortune or fault of the annihilationists is, that they do not rise to the only true conception of soul-life, of which the lower forms of animal existence are only

faint shadows or dim types, according to the intention of the Creator, who has made the realm of nature for the use of spirit, and filled it with marvelous analogies, which are faint hints of the grand truths above them.

And this conception of life, which is self-evidently true to him who reflects upon what a soul is, and the end for which it was made, and to which all its functions are adapted, is that which obtains in the discourses of our Saviour. When he would rebuke those who pursued eagerly after wealth, he said, (Luke xii, 15,) "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth;" a statement in which the word "life" is plainly used in a higher sense than mere existence, even as regards this world and the ideas of the unregenerate, and signifies the proper value, use, and enjoyment of such an existence as man has received. The worldly imagine that "life consists" in sensual delight, in an existence made happy by earthly gratifications. Not so, exclaims the Saviour; there is no life whatever in such an experience. Man was made for a higher end, to resemble and to enjoy God, and *therein is his life!* To the same effect are those passages which speak of a state of sin as a state of death. Thus in the parable of the prodigal son the father rejoices over the returning wanderer, saying, "For this my son was dead and is alive again; he was lost and is found;" where the latter clause as well as the drift of the story shows that reference is had to spiritual death and life, and not to a previous supposition by the father that his son had died in a literal sense in that "far country." So, also, when a professed disciple said to Jesus, "Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father," Jesus replied, "Follow me, and let the dead bury their dead;" that is, Let those who are dead in sin, whose souls have ceased to perform the spiritual functions of true being, and who have no anxiety respecting their character and destiny, let such at this critical hour bury their departed relatives, but do you embrace the favorable moment to make sure of salvation.

But even more decisive are the repeated declarations of Christ that eternal life commences in the present world, that it begins as soon as the sinner believes, and consists of a holy and blissful state of mind. Thus he said to Martha: "I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth

in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die." The meaning is clear: the soul that is spiritually dead shall immediately come to life if it believes or places faith in Christ, and the life thus commenced shall never end. Again, he said to the woman of Samaria: "Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life." To the Jews he said, with a similar meaning, (John v, 24; vi, 53,) "He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, *hath* everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but *is passed* from death unto life;" the last clause proving beyond doubt that he is not merely describing the future as though present by way of anticipation and because of its certainty, but is representing a present experience. Again we read: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye *have no life in you.* Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, *hath* eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him." How evidently this refers to a life now nourished in the soul by faith in Christ as an indwelling Saviour! But, as though to remove all doubt, the Saviour has given us a definition of eternal life as a spiritual state of mind. In his affecting prayer before his betrayal, he said: "Father, the hour is come; glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify thee: as thou hast given him power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him. And *this is life eternal*, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." How perfectly coincident this is with the idea of soul-life which I have urged, must be evident to every reader. The true, experimental, spiritual, heart-knowledge of God and Christ *is* eternal life, is that for which the soul was originally created, and for which it was redeemed by the blood of Christ and regenerated by the Holy Spirit; a life commencing in every true believer here, and finding its perfection in heaven.*

* Though the plan of this discussion is confined to the teachings of Christ, and thus excludes much corroborative proof, the reader will be interested in comparing

That eternal life does not then, as a Scriptural phrase, mean primarily, or principally, or characteristically, eternal existence or literal immortality of being, must be plain to every thoughtful hearer. It is predicated of the soul made in the divine image, and it is promised as the result of spiritual regeneration; which two facts ought of themselves to elevate our views above a literalism which clings blindly to the phenomena of material nature, and misunderstands and misinterprets even them.

And then our Saviour shows, by the whole drift of his teaching and the definiteness of his phraseology in many passages, that the religious use of the word life is in a spiritual sense, the promise of which opens to the believer a vision of something far transcending a literal immortality. Indeed, the promise of the latter would of itself be equivocal, and might announce a curse instead of a blessing; for who does not see that immortality, to be a blessing, must have something added to it that insures an experience of joy, and makes it a basis of good? Would immortality be a boon if it were connected with sore anguish and suffering? Does not the wretched suicide, borne down with the crushing weight of this life's misery, rush to the grave, hoping either to sink into annihilation or to reach an existence free from pain? What is endless existence in sorrow but an endless curse? Thus we are forced to suppose that the promise of life to the holy is properly a promise of that which renders existence a blessing, that which

with the above the following words of Paul, as illustrating his use of the words "life" and "death:" "To be spiritually minded is life and peace." "Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord." "He that is dead is freed from sin." "Walk not as other Gentiles walk, in the vanity of their mind, having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them." "Ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God." "And you hath he quickened who were dead in trespasses and sins." "She that liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth." Such expressions prove that "life" and "death," when referring to the soul, customarily meant the continuance or destruction not of being but of certain spiritual experiences. Compare further Paul's statement of the nature of future reward and punishment in Romans ii, 6–10, where he uses "eternal life" as the synonym of the phrase, "glory and honor and immortality," which, according to the Hebraistic idiom of using nouns for adjectives, is equivalent to immortal glory and honor; while he makes the equivalent of "perishing" (compare verse 12) to be "indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish;" words which imply not annihilation but suffering.

makes it worthy of the name *life*, as applied to the soul in its eternal relations.

But if these things be so we must interpret death, the negative of life, in a similar manner. If life be that which constitutes the soul's existence a blessing, death must be that which turns the soul's existence into a curse. If to "live" be to have a blissful knowledge and experience of God through Christ, then to "die" must be to lose God as a portion, and to endure the misery of that poverty forever.

And this interpretation is in accordance with a very common law of language, by which the secondary and derivative meaning of a word frequently becomes the more prominent and usual. Thus the word *provide* meant, originally and literally, to foresee, but now expresses the simple result of foreseeing; that to which men are led by the dangers or wants which they foresee. *Tyrant* meant at first a ruler with absolute authority, but now signifies an oppressive and unjust ruler, such as a man clothed with absolute authority is apt to become. To *prevent* signified in the Latin and old English to *go before*, but now means to hinder effectually, which is the result of getting before or anticipating an evil. So also the word *life*, even if it meant originally nothing but existence, would soon lose so narrow a signification, and pass to some idea arising from an experience of which existence is simply the physical basis or condition, (such as happiness or holiness,) an experience which gives emphasis and value to existence; and then the word *death* would naturally express the opposite experience.

Thus the poet says, in words that have been much admired for their force of expression:

> "The man may *last*, but never *lives*,
> Who much receives but nothing gives;
> Whom none can love, whom none can thank,
> Creation's blot, creation's blank!"

We speak also of a man's daily life, meaning not his bare existence, but his actions, his conduct, his character. We declare a person to be the very life of a social circle, that is, the source of its pleasure and happiness. We pronounce an orator or a writer to be full of life, that is, spirited and vigorous. We say of a musician that music is his life, or chief enjoyment; and Paul wrote to the Thessalonians, "For now we live, if ye stand

fast in the Lord," meaning that his soul would be full of joy, if they remained steadfast. So we say of a dull speaker or writer, that he is lifeless or dead; of an unsalable book, that it fell dead from the press; of an unproductive investment, that it is so much dead capital; and of a stock of goods, that it is dead on the hand; in neither of which cases is annihilation meant, but only a lack of use, or value. Now it would be passing strange if a religious teacher should not adopt a usage so common and so admirably adapted to his purpose, and speak of life in the highest and truest of all senses, meaning the condition of a soul that is pure, blissful, godlike, assured of an eternity of perfection, and thus answering the very end for which it was created; and of death as a condition the reverse of this, separate from God, sinful, ruinous. And the citations which have been made prove that such was Christ's method of speech.

3. The other words and phrases in Christ's discourses, which are relied upon to prove annihilation, are capable of, and indeed require a similar explanation. A proper understanding of the word death will of course explain all synonymous expressions, though each of them may be interpreted in the light of its own evidence. Take, for instance, the warning to "fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." It is only necessary to inquire how the Greek word, with its derivatives, rendered "destroy," is used by the Saviour in other places, in order to see that it does not here mean to annihilate, but to bring into a condition of ruin, the destruction of use and not of being. Thus it is applied to the bottles that burst and were spoiled, to the sheep that was "lost," as also to the missing piece of money, and to the "lost" prodigal; in all which cases the idea of annihilation is excluded. And this, moreover, is the very word employed by the demons to denote *torment*, when they cried out in the synagogue of Capernaum to Christ, (Mark i, 24,) "Art thou come to destroy us?" the meaning of which is made plain by the words of the demons on another and similar occasion, who asked: "Art thou come hither to torment us before the time?" And this instance is the more noteworthy because it relates directly to the punishment which awaited the fallen angels, and proves that in such a connection to destroy and to torment are synonymous.

The same remarks will apply in explanation of the passages

in which the wicked are said to "*perish;*" for it is usually the same word in the original which is rendered "destroy" and "perish," and expresses the utter ruin but not the annihilation of the sinner. Indeed, after we have settled the meaning of the word "life" as expressive of condition rather than mere being, we may take the words "destroy" and "perish" in their most literal sense. The sinner's well-being shall "perish" utterly, or be wholly "destroyed."

4. The annihilation theory does not harmonize easily with the fact of the resurrection of the wicked. There would seem to be no propriety in such an event if they are to be immediately judged and annihilated. Why not judge the soul according to its character and punish it with extinction, without recalling the body to life? If the penalty of the divine law be literal destruction to body and soul, we should suppose that when a wicked man dies that penalty was executed on the body which moulders back to dust, and that nothing remained but to inflict the same upon the soul, then or at the general judgment. Why must the body die twice? What end is to be served by summoning it from the grave to destroy it again? This has always been a puzzling question for the annihilationists, nor have they returned a satisfactory answer. And the difficulty is increased when we consider the difference between the resurrection-body and that which died. The Bible is explicit in assuring us that the resurrection-state is, in important respects, unlike our present mortal condition; that the future body is not a mere reproduction of the body which died, but one adapted to a more refined spiritlike state of existence. This is beyond question true of the righteous, and there is not a word of intimation that the same *general* fact will not hold good of the wicked. Now if the latter are to "come forth" from "their graves" to be judged, as Christ assures us will be the case, for what purpose is this new bodily organization bestowed? Merely that it may be destroyed again? The transaction wears no such appearance. It seems rather to be the preparative for an abiding condition, the reuniting of soul and body that together they may enter upon a new, even an eternal state, in which shall be reaped the harvest of which earthly life was the seed-time. How much more rational and scriptural is the idea that the resurrection of the wicked will complete the likeness,

so imperfect on earth, of soul and body, so that the character will be portrayed eternally in the physical appearance of the lost; deformity being in hell united with sin, as in heaven beauty will be associated with holiness.

5. The annihilation theory is inconsistent with various words and phrases by which Christ describes the future punishment of the wicked. These words imply continued existence, during which the punishment is borne. One instance occurs in connection with the last point named, to wit, the resurrection, as our Saviour says: "The hour is coming in which all that are in their graves shall hear his voice and shall come forth; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation," or condemnation. That is, they rise only to receive a portion of sorrow and shame, as being under the frown of God. And this is still more clearly the meaning, if we regard Christ not as making a new statement, but as calling to the minds of his hearers the well-known words of Daniel, which are so strikingly parallel that they were probably in his own mind and must have been recalled instantly to theirs: "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." Thus life is in both passages promised to the righteous, while to the wicked the one predicts a coming forth to "condemnation," and the other an "awaking" to "shame and everlasting contempt," words which, thus synonymously used, admit of no consistent meaning on the theory of annihilation. Take, also, the fearful words in the judgment scene: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." "And these shall go away into everlasting punishment, prepared for the devil and his angels." These words point out not merely eternal *results*, but an eternal *condition of being.* What can be meant by "*departing*" and "*going away*" from God "*into* everlasting fire," but eternal exclusion from the joys of heaven and endurance of the pains of hell? To say that "everlasting fire" has reference only to the permanence of the effect, and means a fire that burns up a thing so completely that it has no being afterward, is to affirm an unnatural meaning of a very simple phrase. To kindle a fire that entirely consumed an article placed in it has been done in

millions of instances, and is in fact a matter of daily occurrence, but we are not in the habit of calling such a fire "everlasting." Everlasting means ever-existing, and denotes the continuance of the thing to which the epithet is applied. Nor is the case at all at variance which is quoted from Jude: "Even as Sodom and Gomorrah, and the cities about them in like manner, giving themselves over to fornication and going after strange flesh, are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire." This does not mean, as annihilationists claim, that the material cities of the plain are "suffering the vengeance of eternal fire;" that their overthrow by fire was complete and perpetual, and that the fire is said to be "eternal" because its effect was enduring. The sacred writer is not speaking of the material cities, the dwellings and public buildings which were burned, but, according to a common mode of expression, of the cities in the sense of the inhabitants, as appears from his specifying their characteristic sins. *Of these fornicators* he says, precisely as Jesus did of the rich sinner in hell, that they are now "suffering the vengeance of eternal fire," just as in the previous verse he had said of the fallen angels, that they were "reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day." And even if the material cities were meant, the fire may have been termed eternal, as being supposed still to be burning, that country being alluded to by authors of that day as still "smoking." There is no proof, then, that "everlasting fire" means anything but fire that shall burn on forever, implying that those who are sent into it are consigned not to annihilation but to endless suffering. The same thing may be argued from the phrase "everlasting *punishment*." The Greek word κολλασις means chastisement, punishment, and refers to the infliction and experience of suffering. It occurs in but one other passage in the Bible, (1 John iv, 18,) and is there rendered *torment*. "Everlasting punishment" as a phrase, naturally, if not necessarily, means everlasting infliction of suffering or torment, which of course excludes the idea of annihilation.

But the idea of the eternal continuance of the suffering of the wicked, as indicated by the expressions under examination, does not depend upon the word "everlasting," merely as the epithet of the "fire" and of the "punishment;" nor yet upon the natural

implication of the word punishment in addition; nor yet upon the words "depart" and "go away into," as signifying a condition or abiding state to which the wicked are remanded. There is fearful accumulation of evidence in the added declaration, that this is the very fire and punishment "prepared for the devil and his angels." Now does the Bible teach that this fire is to annihilate the devil, or simply to torment him? Let Rev. xx, 10, answer: "And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are, and shall be *tormented day and night forever and ever.*"

To the same effect are all those passages, in the parables and elsewhere, which represent the punishment of the lost by the figure of an exclusion from the feast in the palace, and an expulsion into the utter darkness without, where they stand venting their rage and disappointment in unavailing cries. The figure points not to extinction of *being* but of *happiness.* The narrative of the rich man and Lazarus, which must be taken as depicting future scenes before, not after the resurrection, is also at war with annihilationism, in so far at least as this, that in its use of flame as a symbol of punishment, it points wholly to torment and not to extinction. The figure of fire, upon which, as used in other passages, great reliance is placed to prove that the wicked are to be utterly burned up and consumed, like the chaff of the thrashing-floor, is there set forth not as the symbol or instrument of destruction, but of torment. "I am tormented in this flame," said the rich man; and Abraham, while denying the request that Lazarus should be sent with a drop of water to cool his tongue, did not intimate, as might have been expected on the annihilation theory, that after a while relief would come in the cessation of consciousness as the fire should do its work and reduce him to nothing! So also in the parable of the tares and of the net, fire is as obviously used to denote suffering and not destruction. "They (the angels) shall sever the wicked from among the just, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire; there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth." One other, a significant expression of the Saviour, may be quoted as implying continued being: "He that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God *abideth on him.*" The use of the present tense—precisely as in the case of the life as-

cribed to the believer: "He that believeth on the Son *hath* everlasting life"—seems to denote that God's wrath begins even now to rest upon the man and continues thenceforward to crush him down into ruin.

6. The last objection which I bring to the theory in question is its lack of sufficient moral power. It is confessedly resorted to by those who shudder at the thought of endless misery, and wish to find some other explanation of Christ's words without embracing the absurd interpretations of the Universalists. They thus imply the fact, that annihilation is preferable to everlasting punishment. And precisely here is its weakness as a threatening against sin, and that in three respects:

(1.) It does not seem to provide for degrees of punishment according to degrees of guilt, as insisted upon so frequently by Christ and by the inspired writers. If the penalty of the divine law is simple death, in the sense of annihilation, then the same punishment overtakes all the wicked whatever their guilt; for how can there be degrees in annihilation? Thus there is no restraint for the transgressor in the thought that added wickedness will bring added punishment. If, to escape this fatal objection, the annihilationist contends that the process of annihilation will be gradual, by the operation of some divine law, and that preceding the extinction of being there will be suffering, which may be made to vary in length and in degree, he in effect gives up an important part of his theory, and in a way too to endanger the whole. For in that case the penalty is after all not mere annihilation, but annihilation preceded by intense, and in many cases protracted suffering. But if that be the meaning of death, and if much of its moral power lie in that fact, he is assuming new ground, and departing from his pertinacious arguments as to the proper and literal meaning of the threatening. And if he thus enlarges the signification to embrace a distinct idea, found to be necessary to fill out the Saviour's meaning, how shall he resist those who present evidence that the idea of suffering is the prominent and characteristic one, especially when simple annihilation is thus made the *smallest* degree of punishment for the *lightest* offenders? Besides, this view of a gradual process of annihilation, as by some natural law, is either purely materialistic or without any evidence whatever. Allowing that the body may be consumed in

the flames, can fire touch the spirit? Or is there any literally destructive power in sin by which it actually wastes the constitution of the soul until it is reduced to nothing? Wicked spirits lose goodness, and the peculiar developments of intellect and sensibility which depend thereupon, but where is the proof that they lose physical or psychical vitality? In that sense, is Satan less *alive* and *energetic* now than he was six thousand years ago?

(2.) The moral power of the appeal made by the threat of annihilation diminishes very rapidly with the degree of sin. The good man would feel it sensibly, but the depraved man in a very small degree; and depravity has only to gain a moderate development before the restraining power ceases, and a marvelous power to the contrary appears. The proof of this assertion lies in numberless facts of human history. The most glaring is that Boodhism, which for centuries has numbered its votaries by millions in India, Burmah, and China, has actually presented annihilation (or the state called *nigban* or *nirvana*) as the summit of hope, the final point of desire and perfection to be reached by gods and men! Thus in the Memoir of Dr. Judson we read that "it is the common opinion that *nigban* is non-existence, and that annihilation is the greatest good after which we can aspire. Nor is this the belief of the uneducated alone; the priests themselves teach this doctrine, and defend it on philosophical principles. They hold that it . . . is base and groveling to cling to existence . . . and noble and philosophic, the mark of a superior mind not in love with mean and paltry things, to choose *not to be*." What a commentary is this upon the annihilation theory! How it demonstrates at a glance its impotence to restrain human depravity, or to stand as the representative of divine justice! But we need not wander to the far East, amid the mazes of its subtle philosophy, to find the proof we need. Who does not know that annihilation has been the favorite infidel theory, both in the form of Greek and Roman philosophy, and of modern Deism and Atheism? "Death is an eternal sleep," was the motto of the French skeptics in the time of their revolution, and they wrote this creed of one article over the gate of the cemetery. If we descend to those who occupy themselves less with reasoning than with sinning, and who are mere sensualists in character and

practice, who is not aware that such gratify their lusts on the avowed principle of getting all the pleasure possible out of the present life, seeing that soon they shall cease to exist? Thus Isaiah (xxii, 13) says that when God called the Jews to repentance: "Behold joy and gladness, slaying oxen and killing sheep, eating flesh and drinking wine: let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die." And Paul plainly intimated that such would be the universal effect of a disbelief of a future life, such as he was pleading for in connection with the resurrection: "If, after the manner of men, [that is, reasoning as men ordinarily will,] I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, [that is, exposed my life for Christ's sake,] what advantageth it me? If the dead rise not, let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die." Thus Paul asserts the necessity of faith in a future life, (through the resurrection,) in which men will receive according to their present deeds, in order to restrain them from virtual atheism of heart and life. Nor is the case essentially altered if a resurrection be conceded of a temporary nature, to be followed by the desired annihilation.

Annihilation is indeed revolting to a thoughtful, serious, cultivated mind; and still more to a truly Christian soul, filled with the hopes of the Gospel. Such will dread it next to Bible perdition. But let them not think that all minds are thus affected. In proportion as men are rude and uncultivated, or are inclined to pantheistic or atheistic views, or are devoted to sensual indulgence, or are in any respect degraded or imbruted by sin, in that proportion will the idea of non-existence lose its repulsiveness and even come to be a welcome thought. The theory may not work great and immediate mischief when received by persons trained under the ordinary views, who may be Christians at heart, and who at present are a very small minority of the community. But should such a doctrine become prevalent, there is reason to apprehend disastrous results to morals and religion, for practically and negatively it would operate as modified Universalism. Sinners, delivered from fear of an eternal hell, and having nothing but annihilation to dread, would easily consent to forego a pious heaven hereafter to secure unlimited indulgence in sin on earth. Men ought not so to act, nor should they be influenced by fear alone in avoiding sin; but the course indicated would be natural; sin always tends in that direction,

and therefore the doctrine of annihilation is morally weak and of evil tendency.*

(3.) Once more, if we expand our thoughts and embrace a conception of God's moral universe in its future history, if we realize that it is now probably in its infancy, and will receive eventually a development far beyond our anticipations in the creation, training, and confirmation in holiness of new races of beings; and if we ponder the hints in Scripture which authorize us to believe that God will use the facts of human history as means of impressing younger races, we shall see that the moral power of the annihilation scheme will be unspeakably less in these wide relations than that of the orthodox. An eternal hell will be an eternal warning against sin, always visible and accessible, and of untold power in counteracting temptation to sin. Who can affirm that it will not be a necessary instrumentality to that end, and that God may not have wisely and benevolently appointed it for that purpose? And if there shall need to be an appeal on that side of mind, who does not perceive that the mere blank left by annihilation (which indeed would not be discoverable in itself, but would need to be revealed) would have far less power of moral impression?

Thus viewed, from every side, the annihilation theory is found both for immediate and ultimate use, among men and among other orders of beings, to be devoid of the necessary moral force.

The reader has now had opportunity to judge whether Christ taught that doctrine. Errors of fact, of philosophy, and of biblical interpretation upon which it is based, have been pointed out, and were the writer discussing the question without any restrictions of space or method, these indications of error could

* The writer is far from wishing to make appeals to theological prejudice. He would not confound annihilationism with Universalism in order to load it with undeserved opprobrium. In their positive affirmations the two theories are widely dissimilar; the former allowing the grand doctrines of evangelical religion, and even of rigid Calvinism, and giving a testimony, fearful to many minds, against the fatal consequence of persisting in sin; and the other being at war in theory and influence with the whole scheme of Christianity. We should count it great gain if all Universalists became annihilationists. Still, in the negative and incidental working of the annihilation doctrine, it will operate in common with Universalism, and we have not been pleased with the manifestation of personal and spiritual affinities or sympathies between the advocates of the two views. If annihilationists would claim recognition as evangelical Christians, they must treat Universalism as fundamental heresy.

be greatly multiplied. Enough, however, has been said to show the impenitent sinner that he cannot safely comfort himself in his sin with the idea that at the worst he will only sink into a state of nothingness, devoid indeed of joy, but equally free from pain. He has begun to live under God's government, and he can never pass away from it. He must exist forever, and it is for him to say whether that forever shall be filled with bliss or woe.

Art. III.—ANOTHER NEW HYMN BOOK.

The Sabbath Hymn Book: for the Service of Song in the House of the Lord. New York: Mason Brothers. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co.

The preparation of a new volume of hymns for Christian worship is a difficult task. It requires not only an acquaintance with the religious poetry of the language, and a general knowledge of similar preceding publications, but good judgment, poetic taste, and not a little patience. Attention is to be paid not only to the doctrinal teaching of every hymn, but to the language in which it is taught. The rejection of doggerel is as imperative as the insertion of poetic gems, while no beauty of diction can excuse false theology.

We welcome the appearance of every new hymn book. We expect it to be better than any of its predecessors. It ought to be, inasmuch as the compilers have had the benefit of the labors of all who have gone before them. With such expectation we took up this volume, the title of which we may say, at the outset, did not strike us as exceedingly happy. Not to speak of its affected quaintness, it seems to restrict the use of the book to public worship in church on Sundays. This is by no means the intention of the compilers. They tell us, on the contrary, that it is designed "to aid in the more private social devotions in the conference room, the family, and the closet." It is certain, moreover, that many of the hymns are not at all adapted for congregations of mixed worshipers on Sunday.

There is another objection to the *title* of this collection of hymns. It is calculated, to mislead the public. It seems to imply that sectarianism has been kept out of sight. It is not a book for the service of any one religious denomination. It is *The* Sabbath Hymn Book, implying that, in the judgment of the compilers, those who cannot use it are not evangelical Christians. Surely they ought to know that it is too late in the world's history to base the title of a volume of sacred poetry upon the arrogant assumption that Calvinism and Christianity are synonymous. The revelations of the last census, by which it appears that not one half of the professing Christians of the United States have any sympathy for the specialities of Calvinism, ought to have suggested the propriety of giving their book a more modestly-distinctive title, or of omitting many of the hymns that have found a place in it. We transcribe a few specimens of its theological teaching:

I cast my burdens on the Lord,
  The Lord sustains them all;
My courage rests upon his word
  That saints shall never fall.—H. 199, v. 5.

Before his throne a volume lies,
  With all the fates of men;
With every angel's form and size
  Drawn by th' eternal pen.—H. 235, v. 3.

May not the Sovereign Lord on high
  Dispense his favors as he will;
Choose some to life while others die,
  And yet be just and gracious still?—H. 238, v. 1.

His honor is engaged to save
  The meanest of his sheep;
All whom his heavenly Father gave
  His hands securely keep.—H. 882, v. 2.

Since thy sheep shall never perish,*
  What have I to do with fear?—H. 980, v. 3.

*It is due to candor to add that in one of the hymns of this collection (1106) a different doctrine seems to be taught:

He knows the secret line which led
  Those youthful steps astray;
He knows that they *who holiest are*
  Might fall from him away.

This stanza possibly found its way into the book through carelessness on the part of the compilers. If those who are holiest might fall away, and we suppose they might, one would think it were better to be numbered among those very mean sheep whom "his honor" has engaged to save.

Other specimens of a similar character might be quoted, which the compilers must have known were not in harmony with the creed of the larger portion of Christ's militant Church. The fact is, the book was intended for the use of Calvinists, and it would have been honest to have said so on the title-page.

We shall have more to say presently upon the alterations and improvements made by our compilers. Just here, on the doctrinal teachings of their book, we may notice the manner in which they print one of Charles Wesley's stanzas. It is from hymn 133 of the Methodist collection, where it may be found as it came from the poet's pen:

> Is crucified for me and you,
> To bring us rebels back to God:
> Believe, believe the record true,
> Ye all are bought with Jesus' blood:
> Pardon for all flows from his side:
> My Lord, my Love, is crucified.

Our compilers thus mend the stanza, and give no intimation that it differs at all from the original:

> Was crucified for you and me,
> To bring us rebels back to God;
> Salvation now *for us* is free,
> *His Church* is purchased with his blood.
> Pardon *and life* flow from his side;
> The Lord, my love, is crucified.—H. 502, v. 3.

On the subject of *alterations* generally the compilers are very explicit—in theory. They tell us that, "in general the author's words should be preferred to others," and assure us that they "have admitted no changes for slight reasons, and few without obvious necessity." Doubtless they believed this statement, and made it in good faith. It has been our misfortune, in examining the book, to stumble on the "few" that seem to have been made without obvious necessity; and if the compilers had not told us the contrary, we should have thought that they had made *some* changes for slight reasons. The first hymn in the Methodist collection,

> O for a thousand tongues to sing,

has been transferred to the Sabbath Hymn Book, (No. 247.) It is altered a little in four of the six stanzas. In the third, where the poet says of the name of Jesus,

'Tis music in *the sinner's* ears,

our compilers have it,

'Tis music in *my ravished* ears,

an alteration, the necessity of which, either theologically or poetically, is not to us "obvious."

The 306th of the Methodist collection was also, in part, thought worthy of a place. The line,

And dances his glad heart for joy,

was, however, too poetical for our compilers. Dancing is such a bad thing *per se*, that they will not allow even the *heart* of him who is from sin set free, to usurp a function which prosaically belongs only to the heels. So they say,

And *bounds* his *gladdened* heart *with* joy.

That well-known lyric,

Jesus, lover of my soul,

finds a place, in whole or in part, in almost every collection. Compilers generally insert it without mutilation. The committee who prepared the volume before us have made two hymns of it, (408, 409.) In reading it, however, it occurred to one of them, and the others appear to have agreed with him, that there was "an obvious necessity" for an alteration in the first stanza:

While the *nearer* waters roll,
While the tempest still is high.

Nearer? nearer waters? What can that mean? Verily, the compilers didn't know. Of course they took it for granted that nobody else would; so, felicitously, one of them hit upon this alteration:

While the waters *near me* roll.

That's plain, certainly, but as certainly prosy. Our compilers' hymn 604 is a part of Charles Wesley's beautiful lyric, beginning,

Depth of mercy! Can there be
Mercy still reserved for me?

Instead of the poet's language, (v. 2,)

I have long withstood his grace,
Long provoked him to his face,

we are taught in the Sabbath Hymn Book to sing,

I have scorned the Son of God,
Trampled on his precious blood,

which is an alteration not required, as it seems to us, by any obvious necessity. The rhyme is spoiled and the rhythm mangled. So their hymn 622, which is 865 of the Methodist collection, in which the first stanza reads,

And wilt thou yet be found,
And may I still draw near?
Then listen to the plaintive sound
Of a poor sinner's prayer,

our compilers have altered so that it reads:

Still wilt thou, *Lord*, be found?
And may I still draw near?
Then listen to the plaintive sound—
A *sinner's earnest* prayer.

There may have been some plausible pretext for the alteration in the last line. "A sinner's earnest prayer" may be more poetical, perhaps, than "A poor sinner's prayer." It will suit a rich sinner, or a sinner in comfortable circumstances better doubtless. But the iteration in the first and second lines, "still," "wilt," and "still," does not strike us as an improvement on the original.

In a number of instances, as if the compilers had been seeking to gratify Unitarians, they obliterate the name of Jesus and substitute for it God, as in their hymn 634, which, in the Methodist collection, reads,

Jesus, my strength, my hope,

but which they have altered (or followed an alteration made by some one else) to

O God, my strength, my hope,

And in their hymn 644 we read,

But thou, *O God*, my wisdom art,

instead of, as the poet wrote,

But thou, *O Christ*, my wisdom art.

And the lines of the same beautiful hymn,

Whither, O whither, should I fly
But to my loving *Saviour's* breast!

are barbarously, we were going to say sacrilegiously, altered to

Whither, O whither, should I fly
But to my loving *Father's* breast!

Perhaps no single doctrine have our compilers labored so assiduously to exclude from their book as that of the fullness of the atonement made by Christ Jesus. That beautiful lyric, beginning

Light of those whose dreary dwelling,

has, in the last stanza, this line:

By thine all-atoning merit, etc.,

Our compilers alter it to

By thine *all-sufficient* merit,

they being willing to admit that the Saviour's merit is *all-sufficient*, but not that it is *all-atoning*. On this point, of course, no one would have any right to complain if the Sabbath Hymn Book were avowedly and openly what it is really and secretly, Calvinistic in its teachings.

On the score of good taste many of our compilers' alterations are objectionable. The first stanza of their hymn 158 (107 of the Methodist collection) reads:

Eternal Power! Almighty God!
Who can approach thy throne!
Accessless light is thine abode, etc.

What kind of light that may be of course everybody knows; but the word is composed of harsh syllables, and is, we are thankful to know, not English.

This leads to the remark that our compilers seem to have a

great fondness for long words, a peculiarity found in very few similar compilations. Indeed, all other hymn-book makers, so far as we know, go to the other extreme in their alterations, and, as some of them tell us, for the sake of those who sing, prefer short words. Here we have,

> This *acknowledgment* I'll make.—H. 695.
> His praise with *melodious accordance.*—H. 35.
> Life's strange *vicissitude.*—H. 207.
> Come, *repossess* these longing hearts.—H. 463.
> *Remembrances* of broken vows.—H. 633.
> *Resolutions* vainly made.—H. 633.
> *Inhabitest* the humble mind.—H. 42.

As to the number and variety of the hymns which make up the collection, we have of course all the favorite productions of Watts, Mrs. Steele, Cowper, Newton, Doddridge, quite a number from the pen of Montgomery, and but a few, comparatively, from the Wesleys. Determined, however, that their collection should not be lacking in quantity, the compilers have pressed into "the service of song in the house of the Lord" a great many stanzas, and not a few entire hymns, that are utterly unworthy of the honor. A large number have no other merit than that they are new, and have never found a place in any former collection. "The Sabbath Hymn Book," the compilers tell us, "has been enriched by several contributions prepared expressly for it by the Rev. Horatius Bonar, of Scotland, and by many of his poems, abridged and accommodated to the use of our psalmody, after a full consultation with him and with his very kind permission. It has been also enriched by several hymns, some of them written immediately for us by Rev. Ray Palmer, D. D., of Albany, and others translated expressly for it by him from the original Latin." We have a word or two to say about these novelties presently. Just now we notice the hymns that have been inserted for the very opposite reason, namely, that they are "old;" and although the compilers fear that some of them may be thought "too quaint for modern psalmody," they nevertheless insert them, and thus swell the size of their book. They give us, for instance, no less than four very good versions of the one hundredth psalm,

including that of Watts's, for which John Wesley wrote the majestic first line:

Before Jehovah's awful throne.

But four versions of the same psalm were not thought enough, and so, from the almost forgotten and deservedly neglected doggerel of Sternhold & Hopkins, they give us such stanzas as these:

All people that on earth *do* dwell,
Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice;
Him serve with fear, his praise *forth tell*,
Come ye before him and rejoice.

The Lord, ye know, is God indeed;
Without our aid he *did us make;*
We are his flock, he doth us feed,
And for his sheep he *doth us take.*

O enter then his gates with praise,
Approach with joy his courts into;
Praise, *laud*, and bless his name always,
For it is comely so to do.

Hymn No. 646, entitled *Blessedness of Love to God*, is a translation from the German, "done into English" by one who had no knowledge of the niceties of either language. Notice in the first stanza with what resolute determination the translator "compiles" the rhyme:

Ah, happy hours! *whene'er upsprings*
My soul to *yon* eternal source,
Whence the *glad river* downward *sings*,
Watering with goodness all my course.

The second and third verses are in a similar strain, and the fourth—O yes, do read the fourth!

Nor here alone; hope pierces *far*
Through all the *shades* of *earth* and *time;*
Faith *mounts* beyond the *farthest star;*
Yon shining heights *she fain would climb.*

On these lines comment is needless; but a hard question suggests itself: If when faith has mounted away beyond the farthest star, how immensely far off must be those shining heights which she *fain would climb?*

We know not whence our compilers obtained their hymn 661. It is certain we never saw anything like it elsewhere. We copy the first two verses:

Along my earthly way
How many clouds are spread!
Darkness, and scarce one cheerful ray,
Seems gathering on my head.

Yet, Father, thou art true;
O *hide not from my view!*
But when I look in prayer above
Appear in *mercy through!*

The rhyme you perceive is perfect, but the sense, the meaning, the idea—well, we can't find it. What kind of mercy that is in which the poet entreats his Father to appear when he looks in prayer above is beyond our comprehension:

Appear in mercy through!

Hymn 83 is a part of Tate & Brady's version of the ninety-fifth psalm. It is perfect doggerel, apparently not objectionable to the compilers on that account; but we should have thought the invitation to "fall on our knees" would have been erased, or altered, in a collection of hymns intended for that denomination which prefer to stand erect in prayer. Possibly they overlooked the stanza:

O let us to thy courts repair,
And bow with adoration there!
Down on our knees, devoutly, all
Before the Lord our maker fall.

To our ear (perhaps we may be fastidious) there is something offensive, almost like blasphemy, in the pertness of the manufactured rhyme in hymn 243:

To thee all angels cry aloud,
Through heaven's *extended coasts*,
Hail, holy, holy, holy Lord
Of glory and of—*hosts.*

Something like irreverence too, it seems to us, is found in the first stanza of hymn 156. Perhaps it may be owing to unfamiliarity with the use of the word as applied to the

Supreme Being; but that, so far as we are concerned, does not alter the fact. We submit it to the reader:

> Jehovah reigns; let all the earth
> In his just government rejoice;
> Let all the isles, with sacred mirth,
> In his *applause* unite their voice.

A stanza from one of Dr. Watts's hymns, omitted by other compilers for the sake of their own reputation, as well as out of regard to that of the poet, has been dragged from the oblivion to which it had been consigned, and spread out in hymn 179:

> Praise to *the God* whose strong decrees
> Sway the creation *as he please!*

The good doctor very seldom fell into bad grammar, and it was unkind to restereotype this unfortunate line.

There is another stanza by the same poet, which, although grammatically not so bad as the one just quoted, adds no beauty to the collection, does no credit to the author, and, if we may be pardoned for expressing the opinion, does no honor to the Supreme Being:

> To thee ten thousand thanks we bring,
> Great Advocate on high;
> And glory to th' eternal king,
> *Who lays his anger by.*

In the stanza just quoted, as the reader will observe, the poet has carefully attended to the rhyme, which is faultless, however ungrammatical the language or unscriptural the sentiment. But Watts perpetrated occasionally (even Homer, it is said, sometimes nods) the most bungling rhymes. Most compilers pass them by, but the ambitious brethren who prepared "The Sabbath Hymn Book" uncover to the world's gaze the old man's nakedness, and affix his name to such trash as this:

> From the provisions of thy house
> We shall be fed with sweet repast;
> There mercy, like a river, flows
> And brings salvation to our taste.—H. 157.

The incongruity of the imagery, "*fed* with *sweet* repast from a river which *brings* salvation *to our taste*," is not in the usual

style of this admirable lyric poet; and, of the myriad of stanzas which he wrote, it would not be easy to find another so faulty in every respect. But here is one nearly as bad:

Israel, rejoice, and rest secure;
Thy keeper is the Lord;
His *wakeful eyes employ his power*
For thine eternal guard.—H. 232.

There is an unhappy equivoke in the first line of the hymn numbered 810:

Up to the hills where angels *lie.*

It is at least doubtful whether angels "lie" on the hills up there, even in the sense in which the poet intended to be understood.

Now, we protest against the perpetuation of such blots as these: first, because the stanzas in which they are found do not deserve a place in any collection of sacred poetry. The "maimed" and the "halt" were not allowed in sacrifice even under the old dispensation. And secondly, we are jealous of the fame of "the good and great Dr. Watts," as John Wesley calls him. A very few such verses as these, paraded in a hymn book with the writer's name, are enough to ruin the reputation of any man; and that of Watts, who wrote so much that is as near perfection as we may hope for in the Church militant, ought not to be jeoparded by the unwise ambition of men whose aim is to make a big hymn book.

There is one other piece of rhyme attributed to the doctor which we do not remember to have met with in any previous collection of hymns. By a perusal of one or two stanzas the reader will have no difficulty in assigning a reason for their omission by former hymn-book makers. We quote from hymn 629, verses 2, 3, 5:

When my forgetful *soul renews*
The *savor* of thy grace,
My *heart presumes* I cannot lose
The *relish* all my days.

But ere one fleeting hour is past,
The flattering world employ
Some *sensual bait* to *seize my taste,*
And to *pollute* my joy.

Make haste, my *days*,* to reach the goal,
And *bring my heart to rest*
On the dear *center* of my soul,
My God, my Saviour's breast!

But it is time to turn our attention for a few moments to the novelties of this collection, "the contributions prepared expressly for it," by which, as we are assured, "it has been *enriched*." And first, by all means, let us pay our respects to the Rev. Horatius Bonar, of Scotland. He is the *Magnus Apollo* of the Sabbath Hymn Book in the way of novelty. He "prepared"—that is the word—he "prepared" many contributions expressly for it. In general terms let us say, then, that the Rev. Horatius is no poet; and yet some of his verses are very well expressed, and, in most of them, the jingle of the rhyme is well sustained; but in not a solitary stanza "prepared" by him is there a scintillation of genuine poetry. We may take at random a few specimens. Hymn 469 is one of Mr. Bonar's "preparations." It is entitled, "Praise to the Trinity," and thus plunges *in medias res:*

Praises to him who *built* the hills;
Praises to him *the streams who fills;*
Praises to him who *lights* each star
That sparkles in the *blue afar.*

Praises to him who *wakes* the morn,
And bids it glow with *beams new born;*
Who draws the shadows of the night
Like curtains o'er our wearied sight.

And thus he dawdles on through seven stanzas, each beginning with "praises to *him*," the pronoun uniformly spelt with a small h, and each inducing the reader to wish from his heart that the whole of it had remained "in the blue afar," and had never reached this western world.

Hymn 717 is also one of Mr. Bonar's. It is entitled, quaintly enough, "Mine—Thine," and is chiefly remarkable as an ingenious play upon those two pronouns. It indicates the wonderful facility with which hymns may be "prepared" in Scotland for the American market. We copy the second and third stanzas:

* Watts has it, "Make haste, my *soul*, to reach the goal." The emendation is by our compilers, one of those, we presume, that was deemed absolutely necessary.

The *evil* of my *former state*
Was *mine* and *only mine;*
The good in which I now rejoice
Is *thine* and *only thine.*

The *darkness* of my *former state,*
The bondage—all was *mine;*
The light of life in which I walk,
The liberty—is *thine.*

But Mr. Bonar does not confine himself to the pronouns. The interjections are made to do service, as in hymn 623:

O these eyes, how dark and blind!
O this foolish, earthly mind!
O this froward, selfish will,
Which *refuses to be still!*

O, these ever-roaming eyes,
Upward that refuse to rise!
O these *wayward feet* of mine,
Found in every path but thine!

O this stubborn, *prayerless knee*, etc.

The reader will understand that we are responsible for the *italics* in these quotations, but the punctuation, the marks of admiration, are Mr. Bonar's.

Hymn 315 is, without exception, the most remarkable specimen of "preparation" that ever found, so far as we know, its way into a hymn book; it is entitled "*The Name of Names,*" and we allow ourselves to disfigure these pages with but one, the first, stanza:

Father, thy Son hath died
The sinner's death of woe;
Stooping in love from heaven to earth
Our curse to *undergo*—
Our curse to undergo
Upon the hateful tree:
Give glory to thy Son, O Lord!
Put honor on that Name of names
By blessing me!

In hymn 747 Mr. Bonar assumes a loftier tone, and gives us a specimen of what the critics call the figure of vision. Thus he commences:

I see the crowd in Pilate's hall,
I mark their wrathful mien;
Their shouts of "crucify" appall,
With blasphemy between.

And of that shouting multitude
I feel that I am one;
And in that din of voices rude
I recognize my own.

There are men, we are told, to whom nothing is so agreeable as the sound of their own voices. Mr. Bonar does not tell us whether he felt glad to recognize his own voice when, in Scotia, he had that wonderful vision of what was done so many ages ago in Judea—"with blasphemy between." The presumption is that he rather enjoyed it upon the whole, and that he kept on shouting after he recognized his own voice. We formerly thought that Pat's description of a certain telescope that brought people a mile off so near that you might hear their conversation was a—bull. Mr. Bonar beats that entirely. He hears his own voice in the chorus of a rabble of Jews, not only thousands of miles distant, but hundreds of years ago.

Occasionally Mr. Bonar prepares a hymn of very peculiar meter. His grateful patrons astonish cisatlantic worshipers by inserting in the Sabbath Hymn Book for the service of song in the house of the Lord stanzas like this, found in hymn 384:

Hallelujah, hallelujah!
Closed are the gates *below*,
Heaven's halls are open *now*.
Let us praise, and *shout*
Hallelujah!

If there ever appeared in print a more wretched piece of doggerel than this we have not seen it. The lines ending with the words "below," "now," and "shout," are intended to be a triplet of rhyme. Mr. Bonar might have come nearer if he had taken words out of a dictionary blindfolded; he certainly could not have done much worse.

We saw an intimation in a cotemporary Journal, that our compilers had probably been "taken in and done for" by Mr. Bonar. Having engaged him to make "preparations" for their hymn book, they felt bound to insert what he sent them,

more especially as he made no charge for his "preparations." This is plausible, and evinces a tenderness of feeling on their part. Between the two horns of a dilemma, giving offense to the canny Scot and disfiguring a hymn-book by the insertion of forty or fifty such "preparations," we should for our parts have chosen differently.

But there are other "novelties" in the Sabbath Hymn Book, some of them by authors whose names are modestly withheld, and for a knowledge of which the public will not, in all probability, evince any distressing anxiety. Hymn 63, entitled "Bless us to-night," is of this class. We quote stanza No. 2:

> Jesus, Immanuel,
> Come in thy love to dwell
> In hearts contrite:
> For many sins we grieve,
> But we thy grace receive,
> And in thy word believe;
> Bless us to-night.

Pretty good that, isn't it? A parody, you perceive, on "God save the king." To be sure, there is no such word as con-trite'; but then, barring that, the rhyme is good, which is something. Of hymn 150, which is another anonymous novelty, we cannot say as much. It commences thus:

> Amid the splendors of thy state,
> O God! thy love appears,
> *Soft* as the radiance of the *moon*
> Among a thousand stars.

We will not allow ourselves to criticise that stanza. It is too ridiculously soft. But here is a hymn (222) in which, evidently for the sake of the rhyme, we have a totally false idea of a beautiful sentiment of the Saviour's:

> Behold the birds that wing the air,
> Nor sow nor reap the grain;
> Yet God, with all a father's care,
> Relieves *when they complain.*

Indeed! Such is very far from the teaching of the Saviour. Our heavenly Father does not wait until they complain. The poet of course knew that well enough, but

> "Rhymes
> Are more imperative than kings sometimes."

There is a poet, as yet unknown to fame, who, judging from internal evidence only, we take to be the author of several of the hymns in this collection. His name is not given. His distinguishing peculiarity is an utter disregard of the tenses. Past and present seem strangely jumbled in his verses, but then his rhymes are, for the most part, faultless. Hymn 279 begins thus:

O, where is he that *trod* the sea?
O, where is he that *spake?*
And lepers from their pains *are free,*
And slaves their fetters *break.*

The second stanza is like unto the first:

O, where is he that *trod* the sea?
O, where is he that *spake?*
And demons from their victims *flee,*
The dead from slumber *wake.*

Hymn 957 is entitled "The precious Son of Zion," of whom we are told many precious things; among others, in the second stanza:

God did love them in his Son
Long before the world *begun.*

Hymn 529 is from the same source, or from some other poetaster equally ignorant, or equally regardless of his tenses:

Come to the ark, ere yet the flood
Your lingering steps oppose;
Come, for the door which open *stood*
Is now about to close.

What may be the state of that door just now? The penultimate line seems to imply, to say, indeed, that it *did stand* (stood) *open* once; but it must be standing open yet if the last line be true, that it

Is now about to close.

Hymn 661 we attribute to the same source. We judge, however, only from the strange jumbling of the tenses. In verse 3 it is done without even the excuse of its being necessary for the rhyme's sake:

My pathway is not hid;
Thou knowest all my need;
And I *would do* as Israel *did,*
Follow where thou *wilt* lead.

That is certainly very prosaic, and the whole hymn is in the same style. The fourth stanza was evidently concocted with violent effort:

> Lead me, and then my feet
> Shall never, never stray;
> But safely I shall reach *the seat*
> Of happiness and *day*.

Hymn 233 is another "novelty." The author's name is not given. It is under the general head, "Sovereign Decrees of God." Thus readeth the first stanza:

> Ere earth's foundations *yet* were laid,
> Or heaven's fair roof *were* (!) spread abroad;
> Ere man a living soul was made,
> Love *stirred within the heart* of God.

That will do. We need copy no more of it, and comment is unnecessary.

Another candidate for hymnological honors is permitted to have his own way, and to torture the English language at his pleasure in hymn 791. There is certainly a difference between being blesséd and being merely blest, but we never before saw it brought out so clearly. Thus the hymn commences:

> *Blesséd* be God! forever *blest*,
> And glorious be his name!
> His Son he gave our souls to save
> From everlasting shame.

In the next verse the author indulges in a propensity to iterate which sounds rather flippant:

> Th' eternal *Life* his *life* laid down—
> Such was his wondrous *plan*—
> And Christ, the Son of God, was made
> A *curse* for *curséd* man!

But the concluding stanza caps the climax of iterations:

> Bless, then, Jehovah's blesséd name,
> And bless our blesséd King!
> And songs of glad de-liv-er-ance
> Forever, ever sing!

Readers of sacred poetry are frequently annoyed by the use of feeble expletives. "Do" and "did" are often dragged in

to eke out the requisite number of feet. Every good poet avoids them so far as he can, and almost every reader regards them as blemishes. One of the authors of the "novelties" of the Sabbath Hymn Book appears to think them beauties. In this respect the following stanza, from hymn 792, has never been exceeded:

> This fleshly robe the Lord *did* wear;
> This watch the Lord *did* keep;
> These burdens sore the Lord *did* bear;
> These tears the Lord *did* weep.

A few of the hymns have been materially altered by the compilers. These, for the gratification of the reader, are marked in the index with a dagger. Here is one thus designated. It is No. 1140, and is entitled: "*They are no more twain, but one flesh:*"

> We join to pray, with wishes kind,
> A blessing, Lord, from thee,
> On those who now the bands have twined
> Which ne'er may broken be.

To pray a blessing is not grammatical, but well meant; and to twine bands is scarcely English, but sentimental. The whole hymn is in the same strain. Never having met with it as it came from the author, whose name we are told is Gaskell, we are not prepared to estimate the value of the emendations it has undergone.

But leaving these specimens of doggerel, which never deserved place in a manual intended for the "service of song in the house of the Lord," we notice another peculiarity of our compilers. It is that of printing the same hymn twice, and giving it in each case a separate number. Thus Cowper's hymn,

> There is a fountain filled with blood,

is first given as written by the author, and then as improved by omissions and alterations. Then we have the hymn,

> Guide me, O thou great Jehovah!

in its original form as No. 1221. No. 1222 is said to be "another form of the preceding hymn," which it certainly is

but a form ludicrously worse, as witness the cockneyism of the rhythm in the second stanza:

> Feed us with the heavenly *manna;*
> Fainting, may we feel thy might;
> Go before us as *our banner*, etc.

Mrs. Barbauld's beautiful hymn,

> How blest the righteous when he dies,

which is here numbered 1192, is also duplicated. No. 1193 is called "another form of the preceding hymn." The original has five stanzas, the improvement but three. Of the former the first stanza is:

> How blest the righteous when he dies!
> When sinks a weary soul to rest,
> How mildly beam the closing eyes,
> How gently heaves th' expiring breast!

The "other form" reads:

> Sweet is the scene when Christians die;
> When holy souls retire to rest,
> How mildly beams the closing eye!
> How gently heaves th' expiring breast!

In our judgment the "improvement" is infinitely inferior to the original. Mrs. Barbauld is scriptural in her first line: "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord." How tame, flat, and false indeed is the emendation which tells us that *the scene* when Christians die is—*sweet.* And what a falling off is there in the next line:

> When holy souls retire to rest,

instead of the nervous and poetic strain:

> When sinks a *weary* soul to *rest.*

The two remaining lines are unaltered, save that while the poet allows two eyes to one righteous person, "the improvement" has but one eye for all dead Christians.

So, again, hymn 1253 is that well-known lyric of Doddridge's:

> Lord of the Sabbath hear our vows;

and 1254 is the same thing in what the compilers call an "abridged form;" that is to say, there are five stanzas in the

former and only four in the latter. This same sort of reduplication might have been indulged in, so far as we see, with almost every other hymn in the book; and the reason why it was *not*, in many other cases, is as hard to find as any satisfactory answer to the question why it *was* done in the instances referred to.

There is ample internal evidence that the compilers had the standard *Methodist* Hymn Book before them when they prepared this volume. They have copied therefrom stanzas and entire hymns, but they seem carefully to have avoided all public recognition of its existence, and specially to have ignored its authority in assigning the names of the poets whose hymns they appropriate. Thus, with the most consummate coolness, their readers are assured that, with all their painstaking, they are unable to tell who wrote their hymn 426, beginning

Light of those whose dreary dwelling.

It was written by Charles Wesley, and is No. 367 of the Methodist collection. If our word may not be taken for this statement, we refer the gentlemen and all others interested in the subject to a collection of hymns published originally by John Wesley, and still in use among the Wesleyans in England and in Canada. In that collection it is No. 606, and contains two additional verses.

We had thought that the authorship of that favorite lyric,

Blow ye the trumpet, blow,

was definitely settled, and so indeed it was; every man capable of compiling a selection of hymns knows that it was written by Charles Wesley. We place on record here, once more, the incontrovertible fact that it first appeared in a small volume published by him in 1755, and that although Mr. Top lady inserted it, with alterations, in his collection published many years afterward, yet it is most unquestionably the offspring of Charles Wesley's muse.

Hymn 694,

Jesus! thy boundless love to me,

is also one of those the authorship of which is unknown to our compilers. It is No. 833 of our collection, and is found with

six additional stanzas in the Wesleyan collection, No. 373. It is a translation from the German.

Hymn 917 in this collection has cost us some trouble. It is another of those for which the compilers were unable to find a responsible author, a waif upon the sea of poesy. It begins,

Now, O my God, thou hast my soul;
No longer mine but thine I am.

These lines had a familiar sound, but we hunted in vain among the first lines in the index of the Methodist Hymn Book. At length, however, the mystery was solved. It is the second stanza (the first being omitted) of our hymn 533:

O God, what off'ring shall I give
To thee, the Lord of earth and skies?

It is one of John Wesley's translations from the German. Of this our compilers may be assured, although the last line has been altered either by themselves or by those from whom they copied. Wesley has it,

And my sole business be thy praise.

The new Hymn Book reads,

And *all my pleasure* be thy praise.

Hymns 1078 and 1079 of the Methodist collection, beginning

Hark! a voice divides the sky;
Happy are the faithful dead,

make, together, one of the most striking poems on the subject of a Christian's death to be found in the English language. The gentlemen who compiled the Sabbath Hymn Book select from the poem five stanzas, some of which they alter a little, being under the absolute necessity of so doing, and then print it as their No. 1264; but they do not know—of course as honest men they have taken all reasonable pains to discover—but they do not know who may have been its author. It is rather a curious circumstance, and not creditable, that they were unable to ascertain who wrote those striking lines which, once heard, are never forgotten:

When from flesh the spirit freed
Hastens homeward to return,
Mortals cry, "A man is dead;"
Angels sing, "A child is born."

One of the alterations made by our compilers is in their second stanza. The author wrote,

> Justified through faith alone,
> Here they know their sins forgiven.

A dangerous sentiment that, in the judgment of our compilers, and the hymn having been written by some unknown wight, they had no hesitancy in altering it thus:

> *Ready for their glorious crown,*
> *Sorrows past and sins forgiven.*

We can guess at a reason for the alteration of the latter line; the former seems to have been mangled for the mere fun of the thing.

There is a hymn, entitled "*The wondrous name,*" (No. 473,) which sounds very much like an old acquaintance. The manufacturer's name is modestly withheld. As it contains but three stanzas we copy it entire:

> Great One in Three, great Three in One!
> Thy wondrous name we sound abroad;
> Prostrate we fall before thy throne,
> O holy, holy, holy Lord!
>
> Thee, holy Father, we confess;
> Thee, holy Saviour, we adore;
> And thee, O Holy Ghost, we bless,
> And praise and worship evermore.
>
> Thou art by heaven and earth adored;
> Thy universe is full of thee,
> O holy, holy, holy Lord,
> Great Three in One, great One in Three!

In the Methodist collection we have from the pen of Charles Wesley a hymn (No. 101) entitled "*The Trinity.*" We copy that also, that the reader may have before him a specimen of literary larceny that would be amusing if it were not contemptible. The hymn above quoted is in the long meter; Wesley's is common meter. Here it is:

> Hail! holy, holy, holy Lord,
> Whom one in three we know;
> By all thy heavenly host adored,
> By all thy Church below.
>
> One undivided Trinity
> With triumph we proclaim;

The universe is full of thee,
And speaks thy glorious Name.

Thee, holy Father, we confess;
Thee, holy Son, adore;
And thee, the Holy Ghost, we bless,
And worship evermore.

Hail! holy, holy, holy Lord,
Our heavenly song shall be;
Supreme, essential One, adored
In co-eternal Three!

But the most remarkable instance of assumed ignorance, for which we find it difficult to account and to retain respect for these compilers, has reference to their hymn No. 1289. They not only do not know who wrote it, but in their introduction they specially refer to it as one of the "hymns which *we have not seen in any American manual for worship.*" The hymn was written by Charles Wesley. In the old Methodist collection it contained six stanzas, as it does now in the Wesleyan Hymn Book. When our new "manual for worship" was prepared in 1849 one half of the hymn was rejected, and three stanzas, the third, fourth, and sixth, were retained as hymn 386. That the gentleman who inserted these stanzas in the Sabbath Hymn Book knew where they came from is to us most manifest; that he had the Methodist Hymn Book before him and copied the lines therefrom is equally clear. The reader shall judge for himself. We print the two in parallel columns:

METHODIST HYMN BOOK.	SABBATH HYMN BOOK.
386 L. M.	1289 L. M.
Deprecating eternal death.	*Trembling in fear of hell.*
1. Father, if I may call thee so, Regard my fearful heart's desire: Remove this load of guilty woe, Nor let me in my sins expire.	1. Father!—if I may call thee so,— I tremble with my one desire: Lift up this heavy load of woe, Nor let me in my sins expire.
2. I tremble, lest the wrath divine, Which bruises now my wretched soul, Should bruise this wretched soul of mine, Long as eternal ages roll.	2. I tremble lest the wrath divine Which bruises now my sinful soul, Should bruise and break this soul of mine, Long as eternal ages roll.
3. I deprecate that death alone,— That endless banishment from thee; O save, and give me to thy Son, Who suffer'd, wept, and bled for me.	3. Thy wrath I fear, thy wrath alone, This endless exile, Lord, from thee! O save! O give me to thy Son, Who trembled, wept, and bled for me!

If the reader will carefully compare these two versions, and bear in mind that the one was printed precisely as here given nearly ten years before the other, and that the verses were then credited to Charles Wesley, as they continue to be in more than a million hymn books scattered through all parts of the land he will share our astonishment at the statement put forth in the Sabbath Hymn Book.

The hymns in this collection are arranged in two grand divisions, and these divisions are subdivided into fifteen different "books." Each book has several parts—book third has as many as sixteen—and the parts are again subdivided into sections ranging in number from two to seventeen, while some of the sections are again subdivided and distinguished by letters of the alphabet. Many of the divisions contain but a single hymn, and many of the hymns would have found a place quite as appropriate in any one of half a dozen other divisions. As a specimen of the minuteness of this arrangement we may refer to book viii. It is entitled, "Hymns pertaining to the Christian Virtues." It has thirteen different "parts." Part iii is entitled, "Feelings of a Christian toward Christ." This part has nine different "sections." Section fifth is called "Trust in Christ," and is thus subdivided:

a. Prayers expressive of general trust in Christ.
b. Prayers expressive of trust amid sorrow.
c. Prayers expressive of trust amid temptation.
d. Prayers expressive of trust amid sorrow and temptation.
e. Prayers expressive of trust amid weakness.
f. Calls to trust in Christ.

This classification took a great deal of time, doubtless, in its preparation. Possibly it may be of some use to those who search for hymns on any given subject. It is, at any rate, evidence of painstaking on the part of the compilers; and, after being obliged to find so much fault with the contents of their book, it is a source of some little gratification that we can at least commend their industry in this part of their labors; and that we are enabled to add, also, that in no other hymn book have we met with so complete an "alphabetical index of subjects," or so full an index of the passages of Scripture which are illustrated.

Art. IV.—THE PRAYER OF HABAKKUK.

(CHAP. III.)

This passage of Scripture has usually been regarded as one of the most difficult of interpretation, not on account of prophetical obscurity, but by reason of its abrupt transition and imaginative fire. At the same time its highly evangelical tone and aptness to many themes of Christian discourse have made it the frequent subject of formal exegetical essays and pulpit exposition. On both these accounts we have selected it as specially worthy a more copious and critical elucidation than is to be found in the commentaries usually accessible, and we hope to be able to set it in a somewhat clearer light even than those who have heretofore expressly treated it.

Of the personal history of the prophet Habakkuk very little is known. From a comparison of chap. i, 6, with chap. ii, 3, of his own prophecy, it appears that he lived and wrote not long before the Babylonian invasion of Judea, therefore about B.C. 608, near the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim. The Jewish state at this time was tottering to its fall under the long accumulation of public and private guilt, and the prophet vividly describes the impending overthrow by the Chaldeans as the divine retribution. He then (chap. ii) predicts the humiliation in turn of the cruel and impious instrument of their chastisement, at a date distant in comparison with the inflictions upon Judah; and in the concluding chapter celebrates Jehovah's ancient interferences in his people's behalf, and implores a similar intervention for them in view of their desolation, now depicted as already complete. His style is highly vigorous and poetical throughout, and has been greatly extolled, especially by Eichhorn, (*Einleitung ins Alte Testament*, Reutlingen, 1790, iii, 292 sq.) Lowth (*De Sacra Poësi Hebræorum*, Oxon., 1763, p. 282) pronounces the last chapter "oda quæ inter absolutissimas in eo genere merito numerari potest." Besides the numerous introductions, commentaries, and general works on the entire prophecy, the following are the principal special treatises on this chapter in particular: C. H. Bahrdt, *De equitatione Dei in mari* [ad ver. 15,] (Lips., 1749, 4to.;)

J. M. Feder, *Canticum prophetæ Habacuc*, (Wirceb., 1774, 4to.;) G. Perschke, *Comment. in cap. iii Habacuci*, (Frankf., 1777, 4to.;) J. C. Busing, *De fulgoribus e manu Dei*, [ad ver. 3, 4,] (Brem., 1778, 4to.;) W. A. Schröder, *Canticum Habacuci*, (Groning., 1781, 4to.;) C. F. Schnurrer, *Carmen Habacuci*, (Tubing., 1786, 4to.;) G. A. Ruperti, *Obss. in Habacuci cap. iii*, (in his *Symbolæ ad interpretat.*, etc., Gött., 1792, fasc. ii;) Mörner, *Hymnus Habacuci*, (Upsal, 1794, 4to.;) *Habakuk's lyr. Gesang*, (Lpsg., 1796, 4to.;) C. G. Anton, *Capitis iii Habac. Versio*, etc., (Goerlic., 1810, 4to.;) J. K. Nachtigal, *Ueb Habakuk iii*, 3–15, (in Henke's *Magaz.*, iv, 180–190;) G. C. Steiger, *D. 3te Kap. Habak.*, (in Schwarz's *Jahrbüch*, 1824, Nachr., p. 136 sq.;) G. Stickel, *Interpretat. cap. iii, Habacuci*, (Neost., 1827, 8vo.;) J. V. Reissmann, *De Cantico Habacuci*, (Herbipol., 1831, 8vo.;) Simon de Muis, *Selecta Cantica V. T.*, (in his *Opera*.) In the preparation of the present essay, the following hermeneutical works have been chiefly consulted: M. Poli, *Synopsis Criticorum*, (Francof. ad M., 1694;) E. F. C. Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Vet. Test.*, (Lips., 1814;) F. J. V. D. Maurer, *Commentarius in Vet. Test.*, (Lips., 1836;) F. Delitzsch, *Exeg. Handb. z. a. Propheten*, (Leipz., 1843;) E. Henderson, *The Minor Prophets*, (Lond. 1845;) F. Hitzig, *Die Kleinen Propheten erklärt*, (Leipz. 1852.)

NEW TRANSLATION.

A Prayer, by Chabakkúk, the Prophet. On hymns.

I.

O Jehovah, I have heard thy report,—
I feared. O Jehovah,
Thy work—in the midst of the years revive thou it;
In the midst of the years mayest thou make known,
In ire mayest thou remember to pity!
God from Teymán would come,
Even the Holy One from Mount Parán.
(*Pause.*)

II.

His glory covered over the heavens,
And the earth was full of his praise.
Then a glitter like light there would be,
Rays from his hand were his;
But he made a hiding of his power.
Before him would go Pestilence,
And there would issue Fever at his feet.

III.

He stood, and shook the earth;
He looked, and made the nations tremble:
Then broke asunder the perpetual mountains,
Bowed the ancient hills.—
The ancient paths are his.

IV.

Under trouble I saw the tents of Cushán,
Would flutter the curtains of the land of Midyán.
With rivers was Jehovah enraged;
With the rivers was thy anger,
With the sea was thy fury?

V.

For thou wouldst ride upon thy horses,
Thy chariots of deliverance.
Quite bared would be thy bow:
As oaths are the rods of thy word.
(*Pause.*)

VI.

With rivers thou wouldst cleave the land;
The mountains saw thee,—They would writhe:
A storm of waters passed;
The deep gave forth its voice,
Aloft its hands it raised.
Sun, Moon stood in its dwelling,
At the light of thy arrows that would flit,
At the lightning-glitter of thy lance.

VII.

With indignation wouldst thou march through the land,
With anger wouldst thou trample the nations:
Thou wentest forth for the deliverance of thy people,
For delivering thy anointed:
Thou crushedst the head from the house of the wicked,
Laying bare the foundation to the very neck.
(*Pause.*)

VIII.

Thou piercedst with his own spears the head of his leaders,
That would rush on to disperse me;
Their exultation is but to devour the humble in secret:
Thou didst tread through the sea with thy horses,
The boiling up of many waters.

IX.

I heard, And my inwards trembled,
At the sound my lips quivered;
Decay would come into my bones,
And in my lower parts would I tremble:
That I might be quiet at the day of distress,
At the coming up by the people that should invade us.

X.

For the fig-tree shall not blossom,
And there shall be no produce in the vines;
The yield of the olive has failed,
And fields have not yielded food;
The flock is cut off from the fold,
And there is no herd in the stalls.

XI.

But I—in Jehovah will I triumph,
I will rejoice in the God of my deliverance:
Jehovah the Lord is my might;
And he has made my feet like the hinds',
Even upon my heights will he cause me to tread.

(*For the Precentor. With my stringed instruments.*)

COMMENTARY.

The *inscription* (verse 1) entitles this composition a "prayer," תְּפִלָּה, because it has in general an intercessory or deprecatory tone in view of the impending calamities, which it nevertheless describes as actually present, at least to the prophet's mind. The word, however, will bear the sense of sacred "song," and is applied in Psalm lxxii, 20, to the preceding musical compositions of David. The ode of Habakkuk is in fact a true *Psalm*, partaking of all the characteristics of Hebrew lyrical poetry in their highest form. As such, it contains even the technical directions to the Levitical orchestra; an evidence, it may be observed, of the authenticity of these artistic notanda, in opposition to the views of those who attribute them altogether to the performers of later date. One of these terms is the שִׁגְיֹנוֹת, *shigyonóth*, the singular שִׁגָּיוֹן of which occurs in Psalm vii, 1, and is referred by Gesenius to an obsolete root שָׁגָה, ascertained from its use in the cognate dialects to signify in Piel, to "magnify" with praises. Others,

seeking a more definite import, derive it from another frequent root of the same form, meaning to "wander" or "reel," thus deducing the sense of an "erratic," or rambling composition, q. d., (so Delitzsch,) a *dithyramb.* Others again, deeming this interpretation little more to the point, have recourse to a similar Arabic root, signifying to "be sad," and hence understand this to be designated as an *elegiac* or penitential ode; but this is little appropriate to the contents of either of the two poems to which it is applied. The particle עַל, "upon," which is here prefixed, would most naturally point to some musical instrument as being denoted by the term; but, as this application is otherwise unsupported, it seems best on the whole to understand the two words to contain a general intimation of the *psalmodic* character of the present chapter, as distinguished from the preceding prophecies, and as a qualifying epithet of the associated title "a prayer." The prefix לְ in connection with the prophet's name of course denotes authorship, as usual in such cases.

Strophe I contains the expression of three somewhat distinct ideas in as many parallelisms: first, the prophet's dismay at the intimation of the coming disasters; second, his entreaties for a mitigation of the divine stroke; third, an allusion to the ancient exodus of the chosen people from national distress.

Verse 2. The שֵׁמַע, "hearing," of Jehovah, here referred to, may be (and is by different interpreters) taken in either of two senses: Jehovah's announcement of the future inflictions, or the traditionary fame of his early acts; that the former is the true meaning, we think, must appear from several considerations: (1.) The phrase שָׁמַעְתִּי שִׁמְעֲךָ, "I have heard thy hearing," is a Hebrew intensive, equivalent to *I have fully heard thee*, that is, I now distinctly and vividly apprehend thy communication. (2.) The suffix "thy" more naturally refers to the *source* than to the mere subject of the report. (3.) The past tense employed carries us almost necessarily back to the foregoing announcements of imminent ruin, and is especially appropriate to the injunction of silence upon all the earth that just precedes, (chapter ii, 20,) namely, that during the intervening pause the divine message may fall with full effect upon every ear. (4.) The terror immediately stated as the effect of the tidings upon the prophet is exactly parallel with the

tremor which he describes in verse 16 as seizing his whole frame at the vision of the approaching conflict; whereas any fear would be out of place if the divine interposition simply were the subject of contemplation. (5.) The alarm at this distressing picture of his country's downfall is much better calculated to elicit the deprecatory outburst that follows, and far more suited to the melancholy tinge of even its consolations than the opposite view. The transposition of the name of Jehovah in the second line, seems to indicate that it belongs to the counterpart of the first line, as we have arranged the couplet, although the punctuation is conformed to that of the Masoretes. In the triplet that follows the parallelism explains the several phrases: Jehovah's פֹּעַל, or "deed," is his own favorite act of "sympathy" for his people, which he is now implored to "cause to live" again, or flourish anew, (חַיֵּהוּ), although apparently forgotten amid this period of vindictiveness. The infinitive רַחֵם is used as the object of תַּזְכּוֹר, and is also to be supplied after תּוֹדִיעַ, which has the customary sense of "exhibiting." The term בְּקֶרֶב, "amid," implies a *staying* of the uplifted hand of vengeance, at least a mitigating *ingredient* within the bitter cup which must be pressed to the country's lip. It was this sense of the divine regard, despite the severe chastisement, that formed the prophet's only source of confidence or comfort, (verse 18.)

Verse 3. The term for "God" here, אֱלוֹהַּ, seems to be emphatic, i. q. *Deity*, in distinction from the ordinary plural form אֱלֹהִים. Teman, or "the South," was a frequent designation of Idumea, of which it was strictly only the eastern part bordering on Arabia; Paran was the name of the desert adjoining it, through which the Israelites wandered; the high rocky plateau immediately southwest of Palestine especially being poetically styled Mount Paran, (Deut. xxxiii, 2,) grammatically construed as a single name, (the הַר being treated, as frequent with this and similar geographical terms, like a sort of prefix:) the two names are, therefore, here used as synonymously equivalent to the region of the exode, and the allusion must be to the many glorious displays of the divine power in conducting his people safely through that perilous route; the Almighty being said to come *from* Idumea because it was the last stage of the journey and nearest the writer. The future יָבוֹא is evidently the cus-

tomary *aorist*, i. q., "arrived," like the usage in English biography, "He *would* often do so and so;" to render it directly by a preterite tense, however, as translators generally do, is to fail to represent the idiom. The employment of phrases significant of Jehovah's *coming* for his appearance in miraculous exhibitions, especially of a national character, is too frequent in Scripture, from the first theophany or record down to the intimations of the final Advent, to require special elucidation. The key-note in the lyrist's theme is here struck, and it was a chord that ever vibrated in symphony with the pulsations of the Jewish heart. The opening stanza introduces us "*in medias res*," to the main topic of the poem. But for the distinctive musical notation at the close of this couplet, it might seem to be more naturally joined to the following; and yet, from the reflection that *a Father's hand still guides the penal rod*, the transition is not very abrupt to the thought that *the great King will not fail to avenge the oppression of his peculiar subjects by their fellow-mortals.* The latter eminently Hebraistic idea at once kindles the seer into rhapsody. The word סֶלָה, *Sélah*, which is subjoined as a separatrix of the strophes, is generally conceded to have the exclamatory force of "*Stop!*" like the modern *rest* in music, being probably designed to allow an instrumental interlude in the vocal performance. By a suspension of the chant it thus naturally gives impressiveness to the sentiment just preceding it. It seems to be derived, by an interchange of sibilants, from the root שָׂלָה, to "suspend," hence to "be silent."

Strophe II describes the splendid phenomena and dread attendants of the divine Shekinah, which, in the figurative representations of Scripture, is always assumed as the special symbol of Jehovah's presence and power. (*a.*) In general terms, the celestial radiance was reflected by the whole land beneath. תְּהִלָּה, "laudation," is evidently the correlative, as the appropriate effect in the human sphere, of הוֹד, "majesty," the exhibition in the supernal vault. There is an idiomatic transposition in the members of the parallelism, "Covered the heavens, his glory, And (with) his praise, was full the earth."

Verse 4. (*b.*) The picture proceeds to the active state of this preternatural splendor. Brilliant beams emanated from the hands that now appear as more palpable indications of con-

crete potency. Henderson renders כְּאוֹר, "like that of the sun," regarding the kamets of the prefix as equivalent to the article, and thus rendering the noun emphatic; but it is simply the regular pointing before an accented syllable, and the noun (as in Job xxxvi, 32) is significant of *lightning*, which renders the mention of the right hand appropriate, and is tantamount to the parallel קַרְנַיִם, "two horns," that is, forked *flashes*, as if it were said, thunderbolts. Yet even this halo is but the screen of his more awful energy. The obscurity of this clause is enhanced by the ambiguity of שָׁם, which, if pointed as in the Masoretic text שָׂם, signifies "there" or "then;" if as in the Septuagint (ἔθετο) שָׂם, will signify "he put" or "caused." The leading idea is, in either case, essentially the same, that these visible tokens were not the full development, but the mere חֲבִיוֹן, or *vail*, of the Almighty's ability to vindicate the cause of his people.

Verse 5. (*c.*) A glance is allowed at some of these direr messengers of God's vengeance. The *plague* stalks as his vanguard, and its fiercest symptom attends close behind him. In the poetic "machinery" of the Hebrews the angel of death is always depicted as bearing a special commission from divine providence. Compare 2 Samuel xxii, 10–17.

Strophe III contains a representation of some of the *terrestrial* or physical convulsions that evince the divine sovereignty over the realm of nature, and tend to inspire awe in his subjects. This is the well-known scriptural imagery for national disturbances and political overthrow.

Verse 6. The mere presence of Jehovah, although silent and stationary, is like the tread of an earthquake; his gaze alone throws consternation amid the ranks of his enemies. The verb וַיְמַדֵּד is ambiguous, like "shook," so that אֶרֶץ, the "land," may be either its subject or object; but the parallelism seems to show that it is here transitive. The granite peaks of the enduring hills are riven by the volcanic shock, and fall in ruins at their Maker's approach. The concluding clause of the triplet is somewhat uncertain in its construction and application, some rendering it simply "His ancient paths," referring merely to the mountains. But this is rather jejune. The words are literally, "goings of old [are] to him," הֲלִיכוֹת עוֹלָם לוֹ. The sentiment seems to be, that God's march

is not to be obstructed by such puny barriers, inasmuch as the avenues of his power were prior to the oldest monuments of earth.

Strophe IV shows more particularly what was the occasion of this wrathful demonstration on the part of Jehovah, or at least points out those who were most immediately affected by its occurrence in their midst. The first couplet describes the consternation of the inhabitants of the land, and the concluding triplet intimates that the very waters seemed to sympathize in the terror.

Verse 7. The vividness and earnestness of the representation is heightened by the statement of the clear impression upon the mental vision of the seer: רָאִיתִי, "I beheld," as if it were said, Lo! The disturbance of the inmates is evinced by the agitation of their tenements, the hangings (יְרִיעוֹת, *tremulous* awnings) of their canvas tabernacles betray the internal commotion. The nomadic natives were not simply *in* (בְּ־) dismay, but *under* (תַּחַת) a burden of fear and anxiety. The *cause* of this is not expressed, but the national appellations following suggest that it was the unprecedented phenomena attending the progress of the Israelitish host in its exodus, so like a hostile invasion. By Cushan (כּוּשָׁן, a prolonged or *locative* form that occurs uncombined in this passage only for the simple and frequent *Cush*, כּוּשׁ) or *Ethiopia*, we must understand the Arabian branch of that people, (who bordered either side of the Red Sea,) as is evident from the synonym Midian of the parallel clause, the latter being the well-known title of the Bedouin tribe inhabiting the central part of the Sinaitic peninsula. Their roving mode of life is here hinted at in the terms applied to their frail and movable dwellings. There is no historical statement of their alarm at the approach of the Hebrew camp, as here set forth; perhaps their previous familiarity with Moses, while resident among them, had neutralized any such apprehensions; it is sufficient for the poetic imagery here employed, to know that such a terror was inspired among other nations through whom the route of the Israelites lay. (See Joshua ii, 9–11, and compare Exodus xv, 14–16.)

Verse 8. The question here implies that inanimate nature, which felt the first shocks of Jehovah's power, was not the object really intended to be impressed; there was a *moral* effect

designed by these exhibitions, calculated to convince intelligent creation of his sovereignty. The omission of the article with the first נְהָרִים, as if it were said, "mere *streams*," is significant. The Red Sea is evidently intended, a branch of which the poet represents as having been unceremoniously treated for the passage of the Hebrews, as if their divine Leader had indignantly thrust aside this obstacle. The words expressing this violent treatment are climactic: חָרָה, to "kindle," etc., *passion*, as incipient; אַף, hard "breathing," in the cumulative force of *ire;* עֶבְרָה, "outburst" of ebullient *wrath*. The construction of the words חָרָה יְהוָה, however, is uncertain. Some, following the Septuagint and Vulgate, render them directly, "Wast thou angry, Jehovah?" But this is clearly against the *usus loquendi*, which would require the form חָרָה לְךָ. Most later interpreters (Maurer, Delitzsch, Henderson, Hitzig) render, "Did it burn, O Jehovah?" insisting that usage demands חָרָה to be taken impersonally, or with the אַף of the following member. Gesenius, Winer, and Fürst, however, (in their respective *Hebrew Lexicons*,) construe חָרָה directly with יְהוָה as its subject in a neuter-passive sense, *Jehovah burned*, etc., with anger. It is true this passage is the only instance of such a construction, but in favor of its adoption the following arguments may be adduced: [1.] This is the most simple, smooth, and natural method of rendering, and that which the Masoretic interpunction seems most to countenance, (these two words being connected by a conjunctive accent, with the disjunctive on the preceding; compare Nordheimer's *Hebrew Grammar*, ii, 338, *c.* d.) [2.] The distinctive use of the two introductory interrogative particles הַ־ and אִם, forbids the transfer of אַפֶּךָ from the second clause as the subject of חָרָה in the first, (it being moreover required where it stands by the substantive verb evidently to be supplied there, as well as by the repetition of בַּנְּהָרִים,) while usage does not allow the omission *at once* of the nominative אַף and the subject indicated by לְ־, in connection with חָרָה. [3.] The name יְהוָה is indeed appropriate as a vocative to the second persons following, but equally apposite as a nominative to the third persons preceding, and perhaps most apt as a link, in the latter view, between the two forms.

Strophe V portrays this divine act of interference under the symbol of a horseman in battle at the head of a rescuing troop

of charioteers, ready armed as an archer, and dealing determined blows of vengeance on every foe. The connective particle כִּי is here inaptly rendered "that" by many expositors; the clause which it serves to introduce no doubt contains an exemplification of the wrathful demonstration just referred to, but the change of figure is too great to allow so close a relation; the *sea* is not the appropriate field for the maneuvers of *cavalry*, although in this case it was really the scene of contest. The *horses* and *chariots* perhaps contain an allusion to the Egyptian army there overthrown, but they are a frequent emblem of the divine prowess, and are here used synonymously of the vehicle of Jehovah's power. The term יְשׁוּעָה is to be taken as an adjective, as if it were said, "delivering," to indicate the design of the martial array.

Verse 9. The weapon of vengeance is that adapted to a distant and flying foe; the quiver of arrows is, moreover, the constant accompaniment of the war chariot upon the Egyptian monuments. The bow appears to have been kept in a sheath or case, (like the shield, Isaiah xxii, 6,) from which it was drawn forth at the time of battle; this act seems to be referred to in the phrase עָרֹה תְעוֹר, literally, "(in) nakedness will be made naked;" that is, *was wont to be fully uncovered*, the intensive form of the expression apparently referring to the complete determination and equipment for combat. The next clause is quite obscure from its terseness, and has been very variously rendered: שִׁבְעוֹת מַטּוֹת אֹמֶר, literally, "(like) oaths (are) the rods of (the) word;" the Septuagint is evidently at fault, *ἐπὶ τὰ σκῆπτρα, λέγει Κύριος*; the Vulgate little better, *juramenta tribubus quæ locutus es;* Rosenmüller paraphrastically, *ut tribubus jurejurando promissum erat;* Maurer ingeniously, *satiatæ* [reading מִשְׁבָּעוֹת] sanguine sunt *hastæ*, *epicinium!;* Delitzsch prosaically, *Beschworen sind die Geschosse durch dein Machtwort;* Henderson idiomatically, "*Sevens of spears*," *was the word;* Ewald vaguely, *siebenfache Geschosse des Wortes;* Hitzig simply, *Eidschwüre*, *Ruthen des Wortes*, etc. The only real ambiguities allowable, as to the *signification of the several words*, are: שִׁבְעוֹת in the sense of *sevens;* but this very rarely occurs, (Ezekiel xlv, 21,) and not in such a construction as to justify such a rendering here. (2.) מַטּוֹת in the sense of *tribes* is of frequent occurrence, with reference to the subdivisions of

the Israelitish stock; but it is difficult to see the pertinency of this meaning here. (3.) אִמְרָה (literally "a saying," slightly different from דָּבָר, i. q., *dictum*) would give a very lively figure in the sense of *watchword* or battle-cry, if this could be sustained by any other passage; but the term rather applies to a prolonged communication by word of mouth than to a single exclamatory utterance. The natural import of the words themselves, their manner of collocation, the force of the parallelism, and the general drift of the context, seem best to suit this sentiment: *Sworn are the inflictions threatened*, that is, the vengeance thou dost propose to execute is sure as if vowed. The interlude follows, allowing the mind to dwell upon this emphatic idea.

Strophe VI resumes the description of the natural commotions emblematic of the exode and its attendant marvels. The word נְהָרוֹת, "gullies," as the indirect object of the verb תִּבְקַע, "thou wouldst [didst] split," is without the instrumental prefix בְּ־, as being likewise the immediate effect of the drenching tempest or flood here used as a symbol of the divine power. The אֶרֶץ referred to, although destitute of the article, is not the earth in general, but the region that became the theater of the theophanic displays.

Verse 10. In the term הָרִים, "mounts," likewise anarthrous, there seems to be a special allusion to the tremor figuratively ascribed in many similar passages to Sinai on occasion of the giving of the Law; indeed, that awful scene almost literally corresponded to the tersely emphatic language here employed, "Saw thee—would writhe, mountains," as if it were said, At thy manifestation the very hills shook with fear. The thunder clap, whose divine tread quakes the hill-tops, is accompanied by the deluging shower, that pours adown their chasms to join the sea, whose bosom heaves responsive to the sounding surge, tossing up its waves as if at once in welcome and in praise.

Verse 11. The very heavens sympathize with the sublime enactment; the celestial orbs of day and night check their high career at the absorbing spectacle, like wondering peasants gazing from their doors at a passing procession. One can scarcely refrain from comparing this splendid imagery with the unexampled prodigy recorded of Joshua, itself apparently

an extract from some similar poetic account of "the wars of Jehovah," (Joshua x, 12–14; compare Numbers xxi, 14.) The חִצִּים, "arrows," and חֲנִית, "lance," are evidently the *thunderbolts*, that is, flashes of lightning, whose gleaming track the eclipsed luminaries are represented as watching with breathless awe. In רַהֲלֹכוּ, "would stalk" or "go swiftly," there is an idiomatic suppression of the relative (see Nordheimer's *Hebrew Grammar*, § 907 sq.) not apprehended by most translators.

Strophe VII assumes a more majestic tone, or rather reverts to the personal vindication by Jehovah of his chosen people in these tokens of his power. Verse 12. The Gentiles (גּוֹיִם) trodden under foot in the victorious progress of the great King are, first, the Egyptians, then the Amalekites of the desert, and finally, the Canaanitish inhabitants of the promised land, (אָרֶץ,) whose heathenish practices and opposition were the cause of the divine resentment, (זַעַם, אַף.)

Verse 13. The object of this onslaught of divine interposition was the rescue of the Israelites, here called in general by the royal epithet of the *anointed* ones (מְשִׁיחַ, used collectively in the singular in opposition with עַם of the parallel clause,) from the straits into which they were at various points brought. Its execution is described as a summary dashing out of the brains of the ringleaders (by a play upon the word רֹאשׁ, which at once refers to breaking the *skull*, and signifies a *chieftain*) of the enemy, (בֵּית רָשָׁע, "*house* [family] *of* the *wicked* man," as if it were said, apostate inhabitants,) alluding perhaps to the signal fate of such kings as (Pharoah) Og, Jabin, and others. The last clause of the verse is somewhat enigmatical from the continuation of the metaphor contained in the preceding רֹאשׁ, "head," (compare the phrase—a *capital* punishment,) and the blending with it of the previous figure of a sweeping torrent or freshet. The infinitive construction, Piel עָרוֹת, "to raze," is indicative of the *manner* in which the foregoing act is performed, like the Greek participle in connection with a finite verb, i. q., "by demolishing." It is thus equivalent to the participle, no connecting prefix being necessary, (for either לְ- or בְּ- would give a different sense.) It is in fact used like the infinitive *absolute* in continuation of a finite verb; and Maurer and Henderson have confounded it with that form, which however would be עָרֹה (both in Kal and Piel,) the peculiarity of point-

ing being due to the fact that עָרָה is a verb both Lamed-He and Ayin-guttural (Ayin-Resh.) The explanation of עָרוֹת as an anomalous infinitive absolute Kal with the final ה hardened into ת, can only be sustained by such rare instances as נָהוֹת, Isaiah xxii, 13, and רָאוֹת, Isaiah xlii, 20; but both these are peculiarities employed for the same of *paronomasia* with the associated verbs. The difference is, perhaps, not important, except that עָרָה is often used in Piel but never in Kal, and this gives an intensive sense, *utterly sweeping* away, eminently appropriate here. The term יְסוֹד, "foundation," e. g., of a structure, as being carried away by the flood, introduces so incongruous a metaphor in connection with the following צַוָּאר, "nape," that some interpreters are inclined to understand צוּר, "a *rock*," either pointing צוּאר, (Henderson inaccurately adduces צְוָארָם for צַוָּארָם, Nehemiah iii, 5, as a case in point,) or adopting the slenderly supported reading צוּר into the text; while others render עַד, *as high as*, extracting the not very apt sense, "razing the foundation [of the house] to the height of a man's neck;" that is, really leaving the foundation standing, and demolishing only the upper part of the building. On the contrary, we apprehend the force is represented as a stream undermining the basis of the edifice, and causing the whole to fall in ruins, (compare Matthew vii, 27.) The parallelism explains the "laying bare" as corresponding with the "crushing," that is, a complete destruction; the "foundation" answers to the "house," that is, the blow is aimed at the homestead or seat of the guilty; and the "head" or "neck" indicates that the chief or arch offenders are to be reached: the head is to be clean severed from the shoulders on which it stands. The interlude lends emphasis to the climactic strain.

Strophe VIII continues the military figure: the victorious Deliverer thrusts through the prematurely exultant oppressors with the lance wrenched from their grasp, and rides in triumph over their routed phalanx, like the swell of the mighty deep.

Verse 14. The pronominal suffix in מַטֵּהוּ and פְּרָזָיו (Keri) refers to the enemy collectively as an army, the *captains* of which are individualized in the latter term; while רֹאשׁ, as in the preceding verse, indicated the despoiling of the very *flower* of their chivalry. The same idiomatic omission of the subject relative, noticed in verse 11, occurs in סַעֲרָה, which literally

denotes the whirlwind swoop of a tempest, that scatters (לְהָפִיצֵנִי; where, in the singular suffix, the prophet puts himself in his nation's place) everything in its path. The ungodly character of the malicious but insidious foe is delineated in the next clause, where עָנִי, "poor one," is used in the *devout* sense (compare Matthew v, 3–5) so characteristic in the Psalms. In the rendering "is but to devour," I have endeavored to hit the peculiar force of the prolonged particle of comparison in כְּמוֹ־לָאֶכֶל, "as (it were) to eat up."

Verse 15. The verb וְרַכַּבְתָּ has almost the transitive force of "directing in a pathway," and hence סוּסֶיךָ (the divine cavalry of verse 8) is put directly as its object without any preposition. The יָם, or "sea," here is the serried ranks of battle, with an allusion perhaps to the passage of the Red Sea, the foam (חֹמֶר) of whose tumbling vortex (מַיִם רַבִּים, *huge billows*) was all that was left to mark the track of Jehovah's exterminating car.

Strophe IX. As the cry of the slaughtered vanquished mingles with the surge-like roar of the field of strife, the seer listens with appalled senses; his faculties are palsied with a feeling of personal danger, while he "stands still and sees the deliverance of God." There are no marks of the abrupt transition which many commentators find here from a contemplation of the divine achievements in ancient times to the impending calamities of the present conjuncture; the rapt poet views the oncoming invasion of heathen Babylon as but another act in the grand drama of Jehovah's encounter with his people's adversaries, and he shudders in mute dismay as he finds that he is himself to be involved amid the spectacle. In this way there is a natural recurrence to the opening sentiments of the ode, (verse 2.)

Verse 16. The prophet as yet hears only the still distant rumbling of the approaching storm, but all his physical powers take instant alarm: his bowels (בִּטְנִי) show their quick sympathy with his emotions, (referring to the spasmodic contraction of the abdominal muscles through sudden fright;) his blanched lips are nervously convulsed with fear; the firm, bony structure of his very body appears to break down with ricketty *caries;* his tottering limbs refuse their customary support to the fainting heart. He is struck dumb with terror and amazement at the omens that already present themselves, and in which he,

with inspired certainty, is enabled to read the fate of his nation—the direful invasion of the Chaldeans. The relative אֲשֶׁר with the subjunctive denotes simply the *result.* The prefix in לָעָם is ל "*auctoris.*"

Strophe X depicts the desolation that this hostile incursion (with the ensuing captivity) would occasion, singling out its most striking features to a rural people, under the figure of a general blight upon the most permanent and regular agricultural sources of prosperity, (the fig orchard, the vinery, and the olive-yard, as well as the annual crops,) and desolation of the pastoral means of wealth, (the sheepcote and the cattle-pen:) in short, absolute and universal famine should supervene. There is no occasion to render the introductory כִּי of verse 17, "Although," as most interpreters do.

Strophe XI. The prophet consoles himself, (and so, representatively, every faithful soul,) amid this gloomy prospect of national affairs, with the fact that Jehovah is yet the protector of his true people, and that he will not give them over (eventually and fully) to the will of their enemies, but will support them in the severest trial and, at length, rescue them; in a word, he seeks relief from outward trouble in spiritual comforts. Lightened by this thought, his depressed spirit bounds over the tops of the mountains of sacred joy with the agility of the light-footed deer. Some take בָּמוֹתַי in verse 19 to stand for בָּמוֹת אַרְצִי, (as in Psalm xviii, 34,) in the sense of securing one *in the citadels of the country;* but this is arbitrary and inconsistent with the context, which clearly indicates the utter subjugation of Judea, and is especially incongruent with the figure of the roving hind, (אַיָּלָה, the *female* being taken as the more delicate and fleet; not the *caprea*, or "wild goat," as some imagine, which, although appropriate to the mention of mountains, is designated by other terms, as is likewise the "gazelle.") These symbols of exuberant activity are meant as a contrast with the physical prostration expressed in verse 16.

The *subscription* contains the remainder of the musical notations which are elsewhere found only in the title of compositions like this. The force of the prefix in לַמְנַצֵּחַ is doubtful, whether it be *dedicatory* "to" or *directory* "for;" the latter sense seems preferable. We venture the suggestion that these directions may be added (either by the author or the first

editor of such psalms) to signify that the vocal part should be performed *solo;* while the term "Selah" may denote the proper intervals for the interlude or chorus. The officer intended is, doubtless, the *superintendent*, or "leader" of the Levitical orchestra in the temple. The concluding word בִּנְגִינֹתַי, expresses the *mode* of the musical performance (the *style* being probably indicated by the שִׁגְיוֹנוֹת of the title) as being, "by means of the *Neginâh*," which, as being derived from נָגַן, to *strike* the chords, "to play," probably designates some form of stringed instrument, as if it were said, *harpsichord.* The suffix "my" can hardly be pressed to show any special invention or participation in the performance by the writer, (compare Isaiah xxxviii, 20,) but seems to be used vaguely (as in the clause preceding) to express simply his sympathy or concurrence in the music.

Art. V.—DEAN SWIFT.

The Works of Jonathan Swift, D.D., Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. With Copious Notes and Additions, and a Memoir of the Author. By Thomas Roscoe. Complete in six volumes. New York: Derby & Jackson.

There is scarcely to be found in literature a term more vague than "classic." It is presumed to indicate some undefined excellence in an author to whom it is applied. For ages the ancient writers of Greece and Rome occupied this niche in the temple of fame, far beyond the reach of rivalry. To this day the word retains so much of its old and special signification, that a man can scarcely vindicate a claim to be called a classical scholar unless he is familiar with the renowned authors of Greece and Rome.

The term "classic," however, has no such exclusive application as of old. We have voted our favorite modern authors cards of admission into the charmed circle. An enterprising American publishing house has recently issued the works of a dozen English authors, who are catalogued as "Standard British Classics." To this choice library Addison, Smollett,

and Swift contribute six volumes each, while Sterne, De Foe, and Johnson furnish each but two. Seldom in any convivial assembly did the words of Dr. Johnson bear such a proportion to those of his companions as in this collection of British classics. As if in compensation, however, Boswell is allowed to present four volumes, with Dr. Johnson as his subject.

In this coterie of British classics there is no one who appears so unexpectedly to himself as Dean Swift. He was always sufficiently careful of his personal appearance in gay and fashionable circles, but for this unexpected presentment he manifestly made no special preparation. He is not clad in costume which he has carefully adjusted in reference to a fine appearance before posterity. He appears in plain every-day apparel. All his productions are of a practical character, written for immediate effect. Yet no author, who has treated solely on the ephemeral topics of his time, has ever appeared so well in the presence of posterity. Here is a collection of political pamphlets, thrown off in haste to subserve the fleeting purposes of the hour, which it seems the world will not willingly let die. This is a literary example well worthy of study. Here is an artist who never gave out that he "painted for immortality;" who applied the colors to the canvas for the amusement and instruction of his own times, and yet did his work so well that succeeding ages demand the right to be amused and edified by the same effective means.

Many Grub-street bards, learned prelates, and literary lords, ambitious of fame, have chosen to dwell upon "glittering generalities" as the best means of gaining their end. Failing to gain the attention and applause of their own times, they have found fault with the age. Presuming that there must be an immortal principle in their works, they have hoped to find at length an appreciating public. They sadly missed the immortality they aimed at, and the world does not imagine herself the loser that they have gone to oblivion. The lesson to be learned by the literary man is, that he should practically and earnestly further by his writings the great ends of the age in which he lives. If he does this with genius worthy of distinction, he is more likely to be known and honored in future ages than if he makes recognition by posterity his only end. Dean Swift trod no new and unexplored highway to immor-

tality, but pursued the broad and humble road along which were plodding all the plain pedestrians of his day. The reason why he is known while his fellow-travelers are forgotten is, that he pursued his course with more energy and vigor than they all.

Dean Swift is now introduced for the first time in due form to readers on this side of the Atlantic. His Gulliver's Travels have indeed been repeatedly published in America, yet no complete edition of his works has, until recently, been issued in this country.

The editor has, perhaps, done his peculiar and proper work well enough, though it seems to have amounted to little more than appending an occasional note to explain some of the more obvious political references in the satires. His work as a biographer is indifferently done. The voluminous "Life," which precedes the Works, is set forth with little skillfulness of style. As a writer, he seems to emulate the faults and avoid the virtues of his illustrious subject. He evidently lacks the rugged common sense of Swift. In his first paragraph he sets forth the "remarkable" coincidence that the works of Swift were originally published in the reign of a queen, and now Mr. Roscoe's complete edition sees the light under the auspicious scepter of another female sovereign!

Mr. Roscoe combines the office of the special pleader with that of biographer, and seems determined to procure the acquittal of his client on all the charges which society has preferred against him. To effect this end facts are placed in situations prominent or obscure, as suits the purpose; Addison and Johnson are accused of envy; and Sir Walter Scott, a former biographer, who has always been regarded sufficiently charitable, is charged with admitting too many circumstances injurious to the memory of Dr. Swift.

Jonathan Swift was of an "old family." As things old are liable to be, it was also a "*decayed* family." The decay in such cases consists in poverty, with inconvenient pride and superannuated aristocracy.

Swift's grandfather had ten sons and four daughters, and possessed no landed estate with which to endow them. They were, consequently, under the necessity of applying themselves to such pursuits as would secure a subsistence. Godwin, the

eldest, was at first a barrister of Gray's Inn. Subsequently going to Ireland, and being so fortunate as to contract a matrimonial alliance with a noble family of that island, he attained to the attorney-generalship of the palatinate of Tipperary. Godwin's success attracted his four brothers to follow him to that auspicious province. One of them was Jonathan, the father of the dean, who had also entered the profession of the law. He had a brief career, dying soon after his arrival in Ireland. He had been married but two years, and had made but slender provision for his family. Under these inauspicious circumstances, seven months after his father's death, Jonathan Swift was born on the 30th of November, 1667.

When but a few months old he was carried away to England by his nurse. There he remained until he was six years old, his mother dreading to expose him to the dangers of a voyage.

Soon after his return to Ireland he was placed at school in Kilkenny. Having remained here eight years, he entered the University of Dublin. The course of collegiate training at that day was very unreasonable. Swift had a decidedly practical mind and a keen sense of the ludicrous, and the consequence was, that he fully appreciated the scholastical absurdities with which he came in contact. Very naturally, but unwisely, he gave his college course as small a portion of his time as possible. As an inevitable result he was considered a blockhead, and received his degree, as the college record declared, *speciala gratia*. His own observation and experience pertaining to the pedantry of the schools gave edge to the keenest satire in his "*Tale of a Tub*," which was conceived and partly written while he was at college.

In his twenty-first year Swift left the University with no regrets, and after reaching England proceeded on foot to his mother's residence in Leicestershire. He consulted her as to his future course, and she advised him to apply to Sir William Temple, who had married a relation of hers. He was received with great kindness by that distinguished gentleman, who gave him a home under his roof. As Sir William was advanced in age, and much disabled by disease, he found the assistance of his young friend invaluable in his literary labors. The advice of the distinguished author and statesman was of great value to

Swift in the prosecution of his studies, to which he now applied himself with more assiduity than in his college days.

In the fourth year of his residence with Sir William Temple he proceeded to Oxford, and received his master's degree. Such was the kindness with which he was treated during his residence there of six weeks, that he ever afterward regarded Oxford with more affection than Dublin, his "mother university."

The king had great confidence in Sir William Temple, and frequently visited Moor Park to consult him on important measures of public policy. As Sir William was frequently confined to his room by indisposition on these occasions, Swift was often commissioned to communicate his patron's views to the king. The king and the young secretary met on very familiar terms. This intimacy no doubt kindled in Swift some hopes of advancement by royal favor; but he lived long enough to learn how uncertain a thing is the sunshine of princely smiles.

Swift being anxious to establish himself on an independent footing, consulted his patron on the subject. The conference proved quite unsatisfactory. Swift had now become quite useful, and, indeed, necessary to Sir William, who seems to have been slow to assist him to a situation out of unwillingness to lose his society and assistance. Swift at length grew weary of waiting for preferment from his patron, and announced his determination of going to Ireland to take holy orders. He was ordained by the Bishop of Derry in 1694, and immediately entered upon the small living of Kilroot, in the diocese of Connor.

Very soon Sir William Temple learned by the loss of his young friend's society to appreciate it more highly, and became very urgent in his solicitations for his return to Moor Park. As Swift found himself almost "buried alive" in his obscure living in Ireland, he was not long deaf to his old patron's entreaties, and returned to Moor Park in 1696, where he remained until Sir William's death in 1698.

By his connection with Sir William Temple he gained no material advantage save that which his own industry and energy would have given him in any other place favorable to study. Sir William left him a paltry legacy of one hundred pounds, leaving him unprovided for in that which he most de-

sired, position in the Church. Temple had indeed procured a kind of courtly promise from the king of a prebendary's stall in Canterbury or Westminster; but the office never was conferred. As an indication that Sir William felt no distrust in the abilities of Swift, he formally appointed him to edit a new and complete edition of his voluminous works. Such favors it is literally "more blessed to give than to receive." Sir William may have foreseen some distant advantage to his friend in the privilege of appearing before the world in the capacity of editor of works so important; but he surely anticipated that the chief benefit would be his own.

After Sir William Temple's death there was for him "as much to seek as ever." He proceeded at once to London, and as his first employment occupied himself in publishing a full and correct edition of the works of Sir William Temple. After the completion of this work he remained some time in London, waiting for some clerical preferment, but was doomed to disappointment. At length, weary of delay, he accepted the place of chaplain and private secretary to the Earl of Berkley, one of the lords-justices of Ireland. He officiated in this new capacity until their arrival at Dublin, when, through the intrigues of a man who desired to supplant him, he lost his secretaryship.

On the 22d of March, Swift was inducted to the rectory of Agher, and the vicarages of Laracor and Rathbeggan in the diocese of Meath. He was "collated" to the prebend of Dunlaven, in St. Patrick's Cathedral. These offices were surely sufficient to occupy the time and talent of one poor clergyman. Swift, like most of the clergy of his day, gave little thought to the great object of the Gospel ministry, the conversion of the world. He had little more to do with some of his "flocks" than to take possession of them in lordly style, and procure the services of curates who would perform at cheapest rates the drudgery of what was by courtesy styled "divine service." No matter how much of a "pluralist" a man might be, there was one part of his duty to which he never failed to give attention, the reception of his revenues. It must be presumed that Swift was not neglectful in this department of duty.

Swift now made his residence in his vicarage of Laracor, and spent a short time in that quiet attention to duty which so

much becomes a man. He gave some attention to parochial duties. He appeared occasionally in the pulpit, and grew considerably in favor with the good people of his parish. He gave attention to the restoration of dilapidated churches, and improved the grounds of the rectory, in accordance with the absurd taste of the time, by straightening the rivulet that wound through the glebe into a canal, and planting willows in regular rows along its banks.

But his spirit could not long be satisfied with labors so quiet and obscure. He longed for a wider field of activity. His residence with Sir William Temple had given him some lessons in statesmanship, and he was confident that his powers would enable him to wield an influence in the world of politics. He desired, however, that this influence should be brought to bear through the medium of his profession. So completely is the Establishment interwoven with the State, that his political aspirations were not inconsistent with his calling. He desired to become an English bishop. Ireland was not the place where such a hope could be realized; hence after 1701 he made very frequent journeys to London, where he spent a considerable portion of his time observing the progress of events and prosecuting literary enterprises. He exerted himself with great energy in procuring the redress of certain grievances of which the Irish clergy complained.

His only publications hitherto were "The Battle of the Books," and "Contests and Dissensions in Athens and Rome." In 1704 he published his "Tale of a Tub," which he had retained in manuscript for eight years. These productions gave him an introduction to the literary and political circles of London. He now commenced that career of influence which he wielded in after years so mightily with his pen.

During the earlier years of his public life Swift sided with the Whigs. He had on one or two occasions used his pen in defense of the principles and policy of that party, and yet he had received nothing which he considered an adequate reward. He determined to try his fortunes with the opposite party. He conceived that at the least his interests could not suffer by the change. His political views were constructed on a plan so fortunate as to admit of easy locomotion to one party or the other. As the Whigs were identified with liberty and progress, he had

some preference for their policy in secular affairs, and yet he was a most uncompromising high-churchman. As he more heartily approved the policy of the Tories in ecclesiastical matters, he determined to allow no scruples to interfere with his espousal of their cause.

This resolution was formed at a most fortunate juncture. When he went to London, in September, 1710, the fate of the Whigs was trembling in the balance. They were anxiously looking for some influence, no matter how small, that would continue to them their old preponderance. They applied to Swift, but he was deaf to their entreaties. The Whig ministry speedily fell, and a Tory administration was inaugurated. He was soon honored with an interview with the new Tory minister. After inquiring into the measures the ministry meant to adopt, and finding them moderate in regard to politics, and decided in favor of high-church interests, so much in unison with his own views, he engaged to support them with all his heart and strength.

He was gratified by the flattery and caresses of his new friends. His Journal overruns with joy on account of the attention which he received. He says of the prime minister: "He is so excessively obliging that I know not what to make of it, unless to show the rascals of the other party that they used a man unworthily who had deserved better. He speaks all the kind things to me in the world." Again he remarks: "I stand with the new people ten times better than I ever did with the old, and forty times more caressed."

If his delight in these new attentions is surpassed by anything, it is the joy he feels in prospect of immediate vengeance on the Whigs for the great error of their late administration, their failure to appreciate and reward the merits of Jonathan Swift.

It is difficult to conceive how a man pretending to respectability could descend to such loathsome labors. No character was too high or respectable to be reached by his foul calumnies. Those who had been his friends and benefactors were singled out as the especial recipients of his rancorous abuse. He left upon record a concise publication of his own shame when he said in his Journal: "I libeled them all round."

For a time Swift was the most powerful man in England. He had the attention of the reading masses, and could direct

public sentiment as he willed. The Tory leaders themselves said "that Swift was the only man in England of whom they were afraid." He was the confidential adviser of the ministry as well as the champion of their cause. He was admitted to their most secret councils. Lord Harcourt said: "Dr. Swift is not only our favorite but our governor."

Swift himself did not fail very soon to feel his importance. At first he had been sufficiently obsequious, and did not venture into the presence of the chiefs of the party in power until he had procured his representation before them as an ill-used man, and one deserving better treatment. After being received into favor he began to assume airs of importance. When the premier sent him a bank bill of fifty pounds he rejected it with scorn, and refused "to take him into favor" unless he made satisfactory amends. He said on this occasion: "If we let these great ministers pretend too much, there will be no governing them." By way of wholesome humiliation, he sent the prime minister of Great Britain on one occasion into the House to inform the Secretary that Dr. Swift could not dine with him that day if he dined late. He said: "The ministers are good, honest, hearty fellows: I use them like dogs, because I expect they will use me so."

Swift and his party did not long occupy the summit of power. The Whigs were beginning once more to have access to the royal ear, and their principles were regaining ascendency among the people. Swift again stood forth as the advocate of peace, in opposition to the war principles of the Whigs. He issued his tracts entitled, "The Conduct of the Allies," in which he presented facts and arguments so cogently as to produce an immediate effect upon public opinion. Seven editions were issued in England and three in Ireland. The instantaneous effect was to gain for the ministry a large majority in Parliament, and thus give them present security in power. But a reaction soon ensued in popular opinion. There arose dissensions in the Tory camp. The great leaders of the party disagreed. In vain did Swift employ all his art and eloquence to promote a reconciliation. In vain did he endeavor to counteract the caution and delay of Harley and the love of pleasure, the jealousy and ambition of St. John. To maintain even a show of power it was necessary to resort to new and dangerous

measures. Twelve new peers were created to recruit the ranks of the waning majority. An act of still greater boldness followed. The Duke of Marlborough was dismissed from all his offices which he had been permitted to retain in the vain hope of conciliating his party. By virtue of these stupendous efforts to defer their doom, the Tory leaders managed to prolong for a brief space their insecure authority.

Meanwhile Swift's hopes for preferment were not realized. He seemed to have the power of serving every one but himself. The see of Hereford fell vacant, and Swift's friends did not fail to represent the importance of his services, and the propriety of his being permitted to wear the episcopal lawn; but the queen and some of the ladies of her household had insuperable prejudices, and the dignity was given to another.

As the power of the Tories was waning, and with it would depart their ability to reward their own peculiar style of virtue, Swift saw that what he would do must be done quickly. The fall of his party must not leave him portionless. He must not return to Ireland without some mark of distinction. If he could not have preferment in England he would take it in Ireland. If he could not have a bishopric he would accept a deanery. At length the warrant creating him Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, was signed on the 23d of April, 1713. After having passed through the ceremony of entering upon his new office, Swift spent a short time in Ireland, and then hastened back to London. He was only in time to witness the expiring agonies of his party. Queen Anne died suddenly August 1, 1714, to the great dismay of the Tory leaders, whose power terminated with her life.

From the Whigs, who now came into power, no favors could be expected. They were not the men to forgive the injury done them by the desertion of their ranks and the rendering of such signal service to their adversaries. With the fall of his party from power Swift closed his political career.

There is a thread of private life interwoven among the years preceding and following this event which must be exhibited before the texture of his character can be clearly understood. Swift's history is inseparably blended with that of three unfortunate ladies whom he chose to call "Varina," "Stella," and "Vanessa." The first is less known to the world than her sisters in

misfortune, because her affair with Swift had ended before the years of his celebrity.

Miss Jane Waryng was the sister of a fellow-student. She rewarded young Swift's assiduous attentions with a tender attachment. An epistolary correspondence was carried on through seven years. In his first letters Swift gave utterance to his passion in most glowing terms, and was urgent for immediate marriage, though he was without the means of livelihood, and she possessed but a slender fortune. She very prudently preferred to defer the event until they should be in more auspicious circumstances. After the correspondence had continued several years, and Swift had reached an income of nearly four hundred pounds, she modestly reminded him of his former impatience. He had perhaps met another object whom he regarded as more worthy of his affections; at all events he was bent on breaking his engagement. To effect this he wrote a most remarkable letter. He alleges the inadequacy of his income and her fortune. He throws out dark insinuations in regard to his humor, and makes a multitude of most absurd requirements. If these were met, and all obstacles were removed, he signified his willingness to "give all due returns toward making her happy." The correspondence closed with this absurd and dishonorable letter. What became of this unfortunate victim of Swift's inconstancy we are not informed.

His affections were withdrawn from "Varina" to be placed upon "Stella," whose fate, if not more unfortunate, is better known. Her real name was Esther Johnson. When Swift went to reside at Moor Park he found her in the family of Sir William Temple. She was a beautiful young lady, about twenty years his junior. He proposed to give direction to her studies. Swift soon became tenderly affected toward his fair pupil, and she loved him in return. Had Swift possessed as much of good ingredient in his composition as falls to the lot of ordinary human nature, he would have given his hand to this young lady. By so doing he might have secured a happy private life, and saved his biographers the fruitless labor of endeavoring to remove the most dismal blot which pollutes his character. Swift's selfish heart desired the homage of love, but feared that if he yielded to its demands upon him he must forego some of the aims of his vaulting ambition; hence he was guilty of the

sin of encouraging the love of Stella, while he was giving utterance to words so inappropriate to the circumstances as "that he was resolved not to think of marriage until his fortune was settled in the world, and that even then he might be so hard to please he might probably put it off till doomsday."

In his retired residence at Laracor he was in want of refined society, and prevailed upon Stella to come over to Ireland and make her residence near him. To avoid scandal he resorted to the clumsy expedient of having her accompanied by an old lady, Mrs. Dingley, who should always be at her side. He was careful never to show any attentions to Miss Johnson except in the presence of the matron.

Stella was still young, beautiful, and intellectual, and might have married happily had not Swift, like an evil genius, stood in her path. She received the addresses of a reputable clergyman, who would gladly have married her, had not Swift prevented by his most ungenerous conduct. While he had not the manliness to make her his own, he resolved that no one else should carry off the prize.

During his absence in England Swift wrote daily to his friend, whom he sometimes called Stella, and at other times addresses by the mysterious alphabetical combination "M.D."

The "Journal to Stella," as it appears in Swift's works, is quite voluminous, and scarcely anything he wrote has more interest to the reader. It gives him an insight into the men and manners of that time, which he cannot get in formal history. He gains a view of the author's character for which he seeks in vain in any other direction. Between the beginning and the end of this curious correspondence there is a marked change in tone and spirit. The glow of feeling shown at the outset becomes dimmer and colder toward the close. Another star has appeared above the horizon by which fair Stella suffers eclipse.

Miss Hester Vanhomrigh, a lady of youth, beauty, brilliant intellect, and independent fortune, had attracted his attention. His tendency to assume airs of superiority over everybody with whom he had anything to do, induced him very soon to take direction of the studies of this interesting young lady. As she knew of no tender relations existing between Swift and any other person, she naturally supposed that his attentions were

prompted by the very reasonable and proper love which honorable men are not ashamed to avow for the women whom they think endowed with peculiar charms. The young lady had a susceptible heart, and was formed every way to love and be loved. After Swift had been for some time bestowing attentions more particular than would be prompted by ordinary friendship, she intimated to him the state of her affections. Instead of acting the honorable part, and promptly acknowledging his relations with Stella, Swift, true to the instincts of his nature, preferred a more tortuous course, and at first met the young lady's avowal with railery, and then offered her a "devoted and everlasting friendship, founded on the basis of virtuous esteem."

We do not learn that this cool proposal of a virtuous friendship had any effect in lessening the assiduity of the platonic swain. He wrote out a metrical narrative of the progress of this affair with Miss Vanhomrigh, in some very voluminous and prosaical lines entitled, "*Cadenus and Vanessa.*" The Journal to Stella contains no intimation of this new attachment. He mentions his "Vanessa" two or three times as "Mr. Vanhomrigh's eldest daughter." Stella is left to imagine what she may from the colder atmosphere which gradually envelopes the correspondence.

Disappointed in his expectation of a bishopric, but having obtained promotion to the Deanery of St. Patrick, as we have seen, Swift returned to Ireland. He procured lodgings for Stella and Mrs. Dingley near his own residence in Dublin. The death of Vanessa's parents, and the embarrassed condition of her estate in England, gave her a pretext for going to Ireland, where she had a small property near Cellbridge.

The arrival of Vanessa in Dublin placed Swift in a most difficult dilemma. He could not break off his intimacy with her without doing great violence to her feelings. Consequently he visited her frequently, and allowed the continuance of a correspondence, in which she made the most emphatic expressions of affection.

Swift's attentions to Vanessa, now in the immediate neighborhood of her rival, aroused a very natural jealousy in the heart of Stella. The man for whom she had abandoned her friends and country, and even clouded her fair fame, was giving

attentions to another which might lead to total estrangement from her. This feeling prayed upon her health, and threatened the most melancholy consequences. Dr. Swift requested his early friend, the Bishop of Clogher, to discover the cause of her melancholy, which doubtless his own conscience had long before revealed. The bishop candidly told his friend that there was but one remedy. He must put it beyond the power of any tongue to say aught against the unfortunate lady by taking her hand in marriage. He replied by presenting two frivolous resolutions which he had formed many years before: first, that he would not marry until possessed of a competent fortune; and, second, that event should take place at a time of life which would give him a reasonable prospect of seeing his children settled in the world. Notwithstanding these insuperable difficulties, he would relieve Miss Johnson's mind by going through the ceremony provided it should remain an inviolable secret from the world, and they should live in the same guarded manner as before! The Bishop of Clogher performed this unmeaning ceremony in the garden of the deanery in the year 1716.

Had Swift given his heart and hand in earnest to either of the ladies, though the consequences might have been fatal to the other, perhaps an ingenious biographer could have framed some kind of apology for him; but he blundered along in his misguided and crafty course in such a manner that both fell victims to his folly. In 1717 Vanessa retired from Dublin to Cellbridge, where, in her solitude, she was left with nothing to relieve her from the effects of her unhappy passion. Swift feared the effects of this retirement, and urged her to mingle in society; but the world had no charms for her apart from the idol of her worship.

At length, wearied with long uncertainty as to her true position and prospects, she wrote a letter to Stella asking the nature of the relation which subsisted between her and Dr. Swift. Stella was indignant that her husband had given any woman cause for making such an inquiry. She immediately put the letter in his hands, and retired to a country-seat near the city. Swift became greatly enraged, and mounting his horse, rode immediately to Cellbridge. Vanessa was so much alarmed at his angry appearance when he entered her house,

that she could scarcely find voice to ask him to be seated. He said not a word, but glared at her fiercely, threw the packet containing her letter on the table and rode hastily away. Poor Vanessa's heart was broken. She never lifted her head afterward. She died in three weeks, and the grave's "tranquilizing mould" buried her away from the world where her only lot was disappointment.

Scarcely a happier fate awaited Stella. She endured the bondage of matrimony without the sympathies and joys which pertain to a well-ordered married life.

With no motive that with a common man would have had a feather's weight, Swift persisted in not acknowledging his wife. A short time before her death she addressed him in the most earnest and pathetic terms. "As the ceremony of marriage had passed between them, in order to put it out of the power of slander to be busy with her fame after death, she besought him to let her have the satisfaction of dying at least, though she had not lived, his acknowledged wife." Swift made no reply, but turned on his heel and left the room.

She still had hope that she might gain her wish, and extort this last poor return for a life of disappointment. It is said that they had another interview. Swift stood by the bed where Stella lay almost exhausted. She found words again to utter her request, but in so weak a voice that they could not be distinguished by any save him to whom they were addressed. He was heard to say, "Well, my dear, if you wish it it shall be owned;" to which she answered with a sigh, "It is too late."

Strange as it may appear, this promise, extorted when his victim was almost in her last agonies, was not kept. He never wrote or spoke a single word that reached the public ear concerning the marriage, which, if acknowledged even after her untimely death, would have gone far to vindicate the character of the unfortunate Stella.

The years in Swift's life which followed the death of Stella were unmarked by incident. They were years of great unhappiness. Though he nowhere expresses regret for his treatment of his victims, nor grief for their melancholy fate, yet, if he had a particle of humanity in his composition, the recollection of these things must have made an ingredient of his misery.

Disappointment in his aspirations after power and grandeur was the chief element in his unhappiness. His closing years were shrouded with gloom. In 1736 his mental faculties showed symptoms of decay. The last years of his life were spent in wretched imbecility. He lingered in this most pitiable state until the 19th of October, 1745, when his unsatisfied heart ceased to beat.

In a future number we may delineate his literary life and character.

Art. VI.—THE USE AND ABUSE OF EYESIGHT.

There are few persons to whom the eyes are not about their most valuable possession. Of those who are committed to a literary or professional life this is eminently true. Could these organs be converted into diamonds, how poor would be the exchange? How valueless the monster gems would appear to their unfortunate possessor. What the muscular right arm is to the mechanic, or the nimble foot to the courier, such is the eye to the man of books. The scholar has spent, it may be, the best years of his life in acquiring knowledge. He has perhaps enjoyed high health, and the most unusual advantages; still upon these little, often abused optics depends his power of usefully employing his varied knowledge. The returned Californian who should carelessly expose his bags of gold dust, for the acquisition of which he has spent the best part of his life and endured much toil and privation, would act wisely, compared to the student who subjects his eyes to injury by abuse or neglect. The art of printing has increased the value of eyesight. The promise is, in a sense, fulfilled, that "the child shall be born a hundred years old." A much higher amount of professional attainment is necessary now than in the days of our fathers. We have reached a book-making and a book-reading age. In no former period were the eyes so valuable. That they are so much used, may help to account for the unusual prevalence of diseases of the eye in our time.

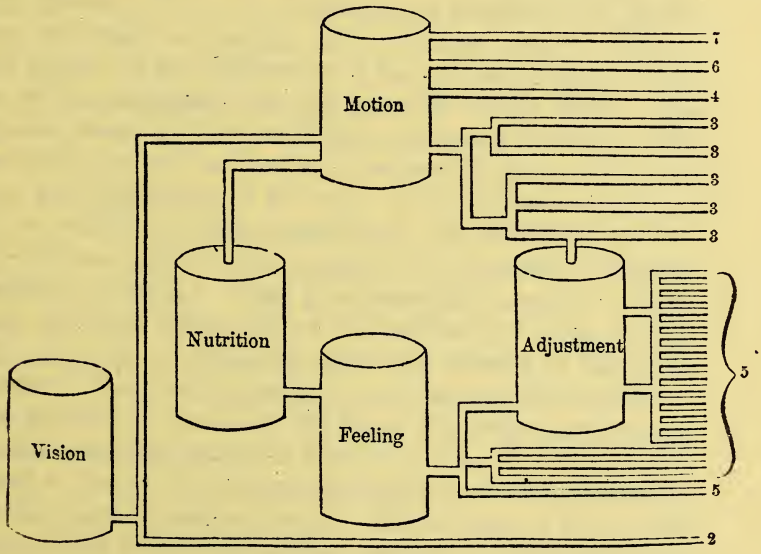
Beer, the great German oculist, thus remarks: "As man is to be considered a little world [microcosm] in relation to the

earth upon which he lives, even so must the eye be considered a microcosm in regard to the individual man."

THE EYE A REPRESENTATIVE ORGAN.

Almost every tissue of the body is here represented, muscle, ligament, gland, serous, mucous, and fatty tissues, bone, hair, follicles, nerves, bloodvessels, and fluid. As a mere piece of mechanism, the world nowhere furnishes such a beautiful and complete piece of machinery in so small a space. It is an epitome of the whole human system.

The intimate relationship of the eyes to the rest of the human structure, and the cause of the remarkable sympathy of these organs with structures dissimilar and remote, may be explained by the aid of the following diagram.*



* The figures indicate the pairs of nerves which supply the eye with power. 2, the second pair which supplies the power of VISION. 3, called "motorius oculi," because it supplies the power of MOTION. As will be perceived it indirectly supplies NUTRITION. 4 takes care of the oblique or pulley muscle, which 3 leaves out: this is the only example in the eye of this force; all the mechanical forces find example in the apparatus of vision. 5 furnishes the power of ADJUSTMENT, and some to FEELING, taking care of the lachrymal reservoirs, and affording something to NUTRITION. 6 takes care of the straight muscle that draws the eye out. 7 is devoted to the eyebrows, and renders most important service. 3, 4, 6, and 7 are all nerves of MOTION.

It will be seen, by reference to the diagram, that of the twelve pairs of nerves which find their origin in the brain, six are devoted to the eyes; while of the remaining five pair four send thither some branches. Thus God has taken care of this, nature's masterpiece. No other organ has such delicate and intricate functions to perform, and none other is so plentifully endowed with nerve power. It will be observed that to the faculty of *adjustment*, that wonderful power by which the eye perceives an object one four hundred and forty-ninth part of an inch, and in the least appreciable time adjusts itself to see another at the distance of thirty miles, there is a very large supply of nervous energy.

It will be perceived that the man who professes to be a mere oculist cannot be relied upon. In order to understand perfectly diseases of the eye, familiarity is required with all diseases, and their far-reaching and proximate causes. We all daily decide by the appearance of the eye, not only the condition of the body, but even the emotions of the mind. The physician learns to judge with almost unerring accuracy of the state of his patient as soon as he enters the sick room by the luster and appearance of the eye. The intricate structure of the eye, and its intimate, complicated, and wonderful relationship with every other organ, accounts for the variety of diseases to which it is subject. Thus is explained the necessity of familiarity with the whole science of medicine not only, but the habit, moreover, of frequently observing diseases of this organ in order to their just appreciation and successful treatment.

To indicate the causes of the decay of eyesight, and suggest remedial measures, reference must be had to all influences calculated to disturb that delicate equipoise, upon the preservation of which perfect health depends. To no class of men is the subject of the preservation of the eyesight more important than to clergymen, or to those who are preparing for the duties and engagements of the Gospel ministry. The faithful minister must be a student to the last day of active service if he would best serve God, maintain his position in the Church, and fully satisfy his own conscience—not to say his own laudable ambition. We believe that an untold amount of service is forever lost to the Church for the want of the suggestions which it is the design of this paper to make. It is impossible in the limits desig-

nated, to do more than intimate the direction in which the truth may be found, and arrest attention to the importance of the subject. Many points are more fully treated in our work, to which reference is made on page 108.

REMOTE CAUSES OF FAILURE OF EYESIGHT.

Of the *remote causes* of the failure of eyesight, no one is so operative as that of *inherent constitutional weakness.* Though some one of the many exciting causes is usually regarded as producing the result, behind them all is the great cause which indicates that a mistake has been made in the choice of employment. If a carriage is constructed of imperfect materials it will first break at the point where the most wear should happen to fall. If you would continue it in use as long as possible, you would so employ it that every part should be subjected to equal service. It would be expected to break on rough roads that peculiarly tested its constitutional power. The intimate nervous relations of the eye peculiarly expose it to suffer from over use when physical debility exists. If the perfectly healthy employ the eyes much while ill, or while recovering from severe illness, serious disease is sometimes induced. If a feeble man devotes himself to a literary life, his eyes will very likely indicate by their failure the want of constitutional vigor, and he will be driven to extreme caution, or the abandonment of his studious pursuits. The same result might follow if devoted to mechanical engagements, and surely would if the employment chanced to be mostly indoors. As there is every degree of feebleness inherited or acquired, this view of the subject should induce scholarly persons not over robust to great caution and much watchfulness in relation to the eyes. They will do for them a great deal of work if dealt gently with and not abused.

The manner in which constitutional feebleness may be acquired we may consider in another article, on the subject of "*Thought and Labor.*" If the brain is *disproportionately worked*, and the laws of health disregarded, the failure of eyesight is to be expected as a natural sequence.

EXCITING CAUSES OF DECAY OF VISION.

It is our design to devote this paper mainly to the EXCITING CAUSES of the failure of eyesight, many of which will in their turn be considered.

I. The *results of inflammation* afford the most frequent exciting cause of defective vision. In relation to no subject is the aphorism of Shakspeare more true: "If a thing were done, it were well 'twere done quickly." Unless inflammation is speedily cured, a chronic condition very often supervenes, which manifests itself in continual derangement of the eyes unless very carefully employed. The lack of treatment, or oftener the employment of improper remedies, conduces to this result. Too many trifle with quack remedies or popular nostrums, not regarding the dangers which they incur, or the time lost. This subject is considered in the eleventh chapter of our popular work.*

II. *Accidents* seldom produce serious disease among the studious classes. Workmen are more exposed, and do permanently suffer from a variety of accidents. The admirable defenses of the eye preserves it from many dangers, and its power of resisting injuries secures it against ultimate harm. It is injury to the nervous apparatus upon which the usefulness of the organ depends that the scholar has most to dread. This leads us next to consider as a source of evil the subject of

OVERWORK.

III. The effects of overwork of the eyes are manifest in all classes of society. Those trades and employments which require close observation of near objects furnish frequent examples. This subject is treated at length in the eighth chapter of "Sight and Hearing," the work before alluded to. We propose in this paper to allude merely to the result of overwork as it affects the literary and studious, those who work the eyes and the brain at the same time; among this class it is the most common cause of decay of eyesight. Frequently some imprudence in youth during the student period, while the body is in a state of immature development, results in permanent disability of the eyes. A few nights of successive study, or days of constant application, during a period of physical debility; a day with the microscope, viewing an eclipse, a few hours reading in the cars, or any continued exercise of the organs of vision without sufficient rest, will frequently give a shock to the nervous ap-

* Sight and Hearing: How Preserved, and How Lost. By J. Henry Clark, A. M., M. D. New York: C. Scribner, No. 124 Grand-street.

paratus of adjustment from which the eyes *never fully recover.* The constitutionally feeble are in much greater danger of such a disaster. The very robust usually have enduring eyes, which they may abuse with comparative impunity. What, therefore, constitutes overwork in any particular case depends upon the predisposing causes which are referred to in the introductory part of this article, and may be considered more fully in a future paper.

It is our design to allude to that scourge of literary people denominated improperly by the old writers "Morbid sensibility of the retina," now described under the title of

ASTHENOPIA,

with the hope of indicating when the line of safety is being passed, when the brakes are to be applied, or when the eyesight is henceforward to be *economized.* We believe that our suggestions, carefully regarded, may preserve that which is more valuable than money, and may save a lifetime of repentance and restriction.

Asthenopia is derived from the Greek word σπενος, *strength,* and ὤψ, *eyes.* It is really a derangement of the adjusting power. It is called by the German writers "incapability of sustaining the accommodation of the eye to near objects." Perhaps the best definition is *intolerance of use.* The retina has probably no capacity for sensation other than that concerned in seeing. The disordered sensations are sufficiently like disease of the retina to excite alarm, still the difficulty is with the accessory apparatus of vision wholly, and the retina seldom becomes involved without the most blameworthy and continued imprudence.

It is believed that this disease is more common in this country than in Europe. Certain it is that in our climate there is a tendency to nervous excitability. The native European transplanted here loses his flesh, and somewhat assimilates the Indian type. The florid Englishman, at least in a generation or two, loses his color and gets Americanized. This has been attributed to our brilliant atmosphere, our high, dry wind, and other causes. That it is true, is evidenced by our hurried manner, our restless disposition, and our passion for new adventures. This affection of the eye is essentially a nervous disorder, and

would be likely to be developed by all that tends to increase the excitability of the nervous system. There is no doubt but the tightness of our houses, the smallness of our sleeping rooms, the use of anthracite coal, the abuse of gas-light, the great variety of our edibles, the indigestion produced by our love of sweets, and the want of simplicity in our diet, all contribute to produce this result. The working part of our population are overworked, and very few learn to economize nerve power, or by timely relaxation to prevent exhaustion.

But what are the indications that the bounds of safety are being passed, that it is wise to relax exertion and economize eyesight? In our work before alluded to,* the following indications are given of an asthenopic condition: "After reading, writing, sewing, or the like, there is a confusion and obscurity spread over objects, or there is a feeling of fatigue in the eyes which interrupts exertion. For a space of time varying from a few minutes to several hours the patient sees with perfect distinctness and with entire comfort, until warned by the symptoms before mentioned to desist. After a short period of rest, the patient is in a condition to recommence his employment. If the use of the eyes for the inspection of near objects is persisted in, weariness of the eyes is apt to be more frequent and of longer duration; although many struggle on through a series of years without any increase or diminution of the disability."

We find this disease frequently among clerks, book-keepers, tailors, jewelers, engravers, printers, and seamstresses, as well as students, who seem to be its principal sufferers. Those who work by artificial light are most frequently sufferers from this form of disability. This arises from the defective chromatic constitution of the rays of artificial light, its greater heating power, the production of carbonic acid gas, as well as the unsteadiness of the light, and its concentratedness and inequality. Labor of the eyes in which the mind is concerned, conjoined with feebleness of the body, temporary or permanent, most frequently produces this form of disease.

INDICATIONS TO STOP.

If the use of the eye is persisted in after the before-mentioned symptoms appear, graver ones manifest themselves. The

* "Sight and Hearing."

object requires to be brought nearer to the eyes; there is a strained sensation, a feeling of distension, increased heat after using them, and perhaps excessive lachrymation. In some cases headache follows the use of the eyes, and a sense of weight is experienced. Frequently the edges of the lids become thick and red, and the eye is "bloodshot." In a few cases objects are indistinct, and vertigo may temporarily appear. If black motes or sparks appear, if sparks of fire or flashes of light are manifest, or objects seem to be surrounded by a halo, it is time to *stop*. No man can *afford* to continue the employment of the eyes upon near objects. He may yet save his eyes. Absolute rest of the *eyes* and *mind* are requisite, or what will often do better, an entire change of employment. Students and others are frequently imposed upon by quacks, and suffer from unnecessary alarm, supposing that they are attacked by amaurosis, while their difficulty is entirely sympathetic. A deranged stomach, overwork, or some other remediable cause, will produce symptoms of the same character. The motes and specks and scintillations thus produced are very much like the appearances that indicate more serious diseases. If so, other symptoms appear, and the obscurity is CONSTANT and generally may be *identified;* otherwise it is *changing* and *occasional*. The second diagram will help to distinguish the counterfeit from the true. An intelligent patient has furnished the exact appearance from the commencement of his attack, when he was nearly blind, till recovery finally took place under protracted medical treatment. This was a well-marked case of amaurosis. Still, no two cases are alike, except in the general features. It is difficult to convey a perfect impression of these objects on paper, and more difficult still to engrave them. The illustration on the next page will serve as some guide to direct the inquirer in the subject. The attack occurred suddenly, on an afternoon in July, as indicated at No. 1. After medical treatment for one week it appeared as at No. 2; August 3, it appeared as at No. 3; August 10, as at No. 4; August 31, as at No. 5; December 28, as at No. 6, almost cured; January 1, its appearance as at No. 7 indicated very indiscreet over use at the desk; January 4, improved again as seen at No. 8; Nos. 9, 10, 11, and 12, were drawn at longer intervals, until at length the disease wholly disappeared.

HOW TO ECONOMISE EYESIGHT.

Says an eminent writer:* "Supposing a patient could work one hour, but no longer, without producing disturbance of vision, he should then be directed to work for half an hour at a time, and to allow intervals of rest of a quarter of an hour each; he can thus work two thirds of his usual time, while his cure proceeds. . . . The period allowed for employment should be short of that in which affliction produces the disturbance of vision, and the time devoted for resting the eyes should never be less than a quarter of an hour. Supposing that the impaired vision occur within half an hour, or less, after the eyes have been employed at work, it is best for the patient to refrain from work altogether for a week or two, until the affection be mitigated.

It is now fully conceded by the best observers that protracted rest of the eye is not useful. It is better to employ it than not, if caution is observed. Frequent rest, bathing in cold water, and careful avoidance of all the causes of derangement of eyesight alluded to under the heads of "Bad habits" and "Adjustment of light," will often prove curative. Dr. Weller in his "Diätetik für gesunde und schwache Augen," says: "The most excellent recreation with which the weakened eye can be indulged, is to move about in the free air, and in regions which

* Tyrell.

command an extensive and pleasant view of the face of nature." "The clear air is itself a medicine to the organ, and the beautiful distant prospect, while it delights, regales, and strengthens the whole man." By giving the eyes timely rest, and guarding carefully the general health, the asthenopic may accomplish much eye labor. Rest is safer than nostrums, and very far better than medicines if it is judiciously employed. He who relies much upon eyesight has little hope for continued power of vision if he neglects the laws of health or the virtue of temperance. Eyesight may be economised as well as money, and ought surely to be if there is a limit to its power. Treat the body well and it will generally do the work that we expect it to do. That the eyes fail, is usually the fault of those who possess and control those organs. Habits of mind must be regarded as well as habit of body. The exercise of the intellect is healthful in a high degree, but the mind works with natural organs that may become worn out in doing its bidding. The amount of waste in brain power depends in a measure upon the demands made upon it. Brain work is not unattended with danger if judgment is not exercised, and the demands for rest are unheeded. "The proverbial eccentricities and failings of genius may find some apology in the feeling of lassitude which often follows its most successful efforts, and which too often drives its possessor to stimulating excitement for relief. The eye, especially if nervously diseased, is the first to sympathize with the overworked brain."*

The worst time to employ the eyes is at night; the worst part of daylight is immediately on rising. Individual experience will best determine what part of the day is the best. The only guide to the student must be the sensations produced by the excessive use of eyesight. If the eye feel pained, tired, or uneasy, it is hazardous to continue. No work is so important as to justify a continuance, if it has produced the symptoms of uneasiness. Most cases of serious "asthenopia" are traceable to some particular excessive use, when the warning to desist from labor was unheeded from ignorance of the danger, or because on some former occasion no serious result followed persistence. Relapses are very common and are easily induced. If ever relieved, those who have suffered from this form of dis-

* Dr. George A. Bethune, Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1855.

ease should ever remember that they are put on their good behavior for the rest of their lives.

So much space has been devoted to one of the results of "overwork," that too little is left fully to allude to the other exciting causes of feeble eyesight. We have not deemed it necessary to warn our readers against the fatal results of extraordinary ambition, such as rendered blind the great Milton. His case was one of amaurosis; still this disease seldom follows persistence in literary labor, because few continue their labors as he did after such obvious warnings to stop.

IV. The improper adjustment of light lays the foundation, in many cases, of serious weakness of the eyes. On this subject educated men have much to learn; for while they think that they are acting wisely, they are often imperceptably doing themselves great mischief.

ADJUSTMENT OF LIGHT.

Very few give any attention to this subject until warned by evidences of the failure of eyesight. This warning is often practically too late. Light may be deficient, or may be excessive in quantity. The introduction of gas into our private houses has undoubtedly produced injury to the vision on account of its extreme brilliancy, but oftener far on account of its misapplication and mismanagement. The argand burner furnishes light of as good a quality, and a flame as steady, as can be procured in any way. If properly shaded and guarded, no better light need be desired. Several of our eminent jurists, who have much experience in night work, prefer sperm or wax candles. There is no doubt that great improvements will yet be introduced, so that the gas flame will be made to furnish a light more like the white light of day, and more steady. It must of necessity be concentrated, and for this reason be less excellent than daylight; besides, it lacks the chromatic constituents of the light which the sun supplies.

The student by all means should avoid reflected light, or light deficient in chromatic constituents, and alternations as of bright light and comparative darkness. A case is related by a German writer which serves as a good illustration: "A lawyer took lodgings in Pall Mall. The front windows of the house faced the street, and were exposed to the full blaze of the merid-

ian sun; while the back room, having no opening but into a small, close yard, surrounded by high walls, was very dark. In this room he performed all his labors and studies, but came into the other to his breakfast and dinner. His sight soon became weak, and at last he was troubled with a continual pain in the eyeballs. He tried glasses of various kinds, and sought council of various oculists, but without obtaining relief. At last it occurred to him that the frequent alternations of light, in going and coming suddenly from the dark study into the bright blaze of the dining-room, might be the cause of his disorder. He immediately hired other lodgings in a different quarter of the city, more favorably situated in regard to the light, and discontinued reading and writing for a while in the evening. This was sufficient, and soon effected a cure."

The strong, healthy eye bears violent alternations of light and darkness. Not so the eye of one enervated by the want of exercise, undue mental effort, or accidental causes. The blinding influence of the sudden accession of light is illustrated in the well remembered history of Caspar Hauser, as well as in the account of the cruelties of Regulus and Dionysius. It will be remembered that these prisoners, after being confined in dark dungeons, were made blind by sudden exposure to light.

THE BED-ROOM.

The window of the bed-room should not look toward the rising sun. Unless designing to rise before the sun is up, the bedroom window looking toward the east should be carefully protected by a shutter or blind. We have a case of serious ophthalmia now under our care, which owed its origin to a short exposure to sunlight before rising in the morning. Such cases are not unfrequent. For the same reason, namely, that the pupil is in a dilated condition, and therefore unprepared for the accession of light, evil results have occurred from gazing at the moon or at an eclipse, viewing panoramas, and other similar exposures.

THE STUDY.

The study should be a well-lighted room. The table should be so situated that the light is received *high* over the left shoulder, in such manner as to bathe the eye and face with

equal light. The light should in no wise be reflected from the paper, or from surrounding objects. Enough light should be received to obtain distinct, easy vision. Too much light dazzles, too little debilitates.

Evening study should not be preceded by "*resting*" the eyes *in darkness.* By this means the eyes are not rested, but are rendered less fitted for subsequent labor. It is poor economy to save candle-light. Eyesight is worth more than candles. One of the reasons why artificial light injures the eyesight is, that it is not universally diffused like daylight; it also differs in chromatic constituents, and is unsteady. Artificial light has an excess of red rays, which are longer than the others and penetrate the eye. The admixture of blue rays tends to produce the white light of the day. For this reason engravers place bottles of blue water near their work. The scholar may, to some extent, accomplish the same purpose, by having a lamp-shade of blue, and a table cover of the same color. Probably the best light that could be afforded would be from numerous gas jets near the ceiling, covered by blue glass chimneys.* Thus daylight would be best imitated. The eye is most rested by green in the day time, and most relieved by blue at night. The study walls should be painted green, the carpet should be of the same color, and the shades. Sometimes window shades of light blue answer very well.

SHADES AND BLINDS.

An intelligent correspondent in Cambridge, Mass., very properly suggests, that curtains as ordinarily arranged shade the window at the wrong end. They obscure the light where it could be received without reflection, and force the eye to bear that which is reflected from the pavement, or from the balcony floor. Unless a grass plot is fortunately situated, the light is seldom favorably modified. Modern inside blinds, made in small sections, afford perhaps the best kind of window shades for every apartment. The student should in every way guard his eyes. Fashion should not induce him to wear a hat with a narrow brim, even at the risk of being regarded outre. It is certain that the present fashion for ladies' bonnets, which are

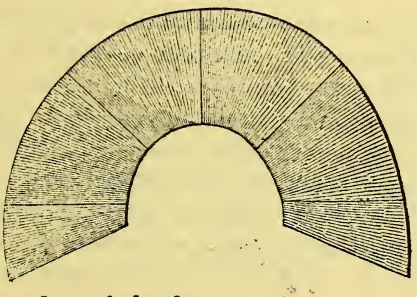
* At our suggestion Cornelius Baker & Co., of Philadelphia, have prepared some blue chimneys for reading lamps of the proper tint.

pinned on the back of their heads, never originated among the thinking of either sex. In relation to this whole subject popular minds little regard its importance. We saw to-day in a shop window a lamp-shade with a bright polished metallic inner surface. It was recommended as economical in so much as it increased the light of the gas jet. The words "a patent applied for," were stamped upon the article. It would be correctly named if called an "eye destroyer."

When gas is used it should *never be unshaded.* The shade should be diaphanous; it should never be made of thick paper, tin, or any opaque substance, nor should it ever be lined with a reflecting material.

We have suggested a lamp-shade of "blue barege," or "tissue," which being cut of the proper shape, it can be readily drawn over the ordinary wire frame, which is sold in the shops, to sustain the common paper shade. This contrivance is employed and gives much satisfaction in several of our seminaries of learning.

We furnish below a drawing which will guide the reader if he desires to cut a piece of barege or tissue to fit a frame of the description referred to.



The frames are usually two feet eight inches in circumference at the bottom, and fourteen and a half inches at the top. If the shape below is adhered to, a depth of seven inches will leave sufficient room to fold over the gauze or barege upon either edge of the frame.

BAD HABITS.

Looking at panoramas, fireworks, lightning, reading by the light of the moon or at twilight, the use of the telescope or the microscope, are all dangerous modes of employing the eyes. On this subject we might say much if space afforded. There are two methods of injuring the eye by the false direction of light, which we must pause to mention: that is, reading by a side light, or while lying in bed. The universality of the first

habit has led to the frequent observation among oculists that the left eye is most apt to be diseased. The evil effects of the latter are illustrated in the case of a patient who has applied to us while writing this page. He has asthenopia in the left eye, caused by reading in bed while lying upon his right side. It is true the light should come over the left shoulder, but it should fall from *above*, and the head should be erect.

BEST TIME TO WORK.

It is better to work by daylight, and to use the evening for the lightest literary employments, such as require the least mental effort. The eye so strongly sympathizes with the working of the brain, the student is earnestly advised to a frequent change of literary occupation. With regard to the best time to work, the earliest evening is probably better than the early morning. On this subject individual experience is the best guide. It should never be forgotten, however, that the eyes *do not always cry out when they are overworked.*

EFFECT OF A DAZZLING LIGHT.

We do not know of a better place than this to enter our protest against the method of lighting churches. We are often told by our patients that it takes half the week to recover from the effects of the gas lights on Sabbath evening. The subject of deranged vision must enter the church, after having passed through darkness from his own lighted home, to meet a glaring, dazzling light wherever he turns his eyes. If he would look at the preacher he must endure the ordeal of facing Argand burners, or gas jets, shining directly in his eyes. Surely on this subject there is too little consideration.

It is said by Mr. White Cooper, of England, that, after the great exhibition of 1851, several instances came under his notice in which the sensibility of the retina was temporarily blunted by the excitement to which it was exposed in that brilliant scene. There can be little doubt, we think, that the more general introduction of gas into our houses has increased the number of cases of morbid sensibility of the retina, for the same reason that such effects were manifest after the great exhibition in England.

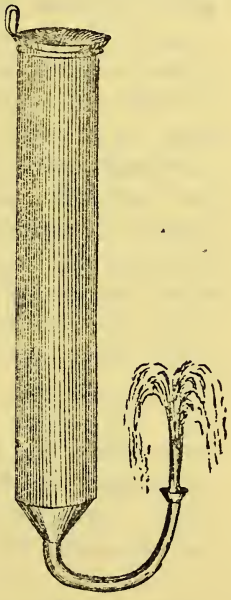
V. There are many habits and practices, even among intelligent people, which increase the perils of eyesight. There are dangers enough which must of necessity be encountered by the scholar, without unnecessarily increasing them by avoidable causes.

Many persons acquire certain notions without authority with regard to the treatment of the eye when diseased, and many more accept incompetent advice, which, alas! too many thoughtless persons are ever ready to give.* There are few remedies that may be safely used without advice; and few only are necessary. Sir Gilbert Blane says: "The benefit derived from remedies is so limited, that if a spontaneous principle of restoration had not existed, the human species would long ago have been extinct."

In relation to the "orthodox" habit so much praised, of '

OPENING THE EYES IN COLD WATER

as a method of preservation, it is thus remarked by the late Dr. William C. Wallace, who, as is well known, was an able and accurate observer: "There is a popular notion, held even by medical men, that opening the eyes in cold water preserves the organ. This is undoubtedly erroneous. Some of the worst cases of pterygium and film on the surface of the cornea that I have ever seen, have been in the cases of persons who boasted of this practice. When a drop of water gets into the windpipe, a revolution is produced such as when the eyes are opened in water. The eye is lubricated by a secretion admirably adapted to facilitate the motions of the lid over its surface, and as this secretion is partially soluble in water, it is as inconsistent with common sense to wash it away, as to remove the oil from machinery."



EYE FOUNTAIN.

There is no remedy so often safe and useful when the eyes have been overworked, or are inflamed, as cold water. There is no better mode of applying it

* Sight and Hearing. "Popular opinion." Page 217.

than in the form of jet or shower. The annexed diagram will suggest a form of bath that can be cheaply prepared by an ordinary tinman. It consists of a long cup, the back being flat, at the top of which is a loop by which to hang it up, and a hole through which the water is to be poured, and at the bottom a small tube, the end of which is turned up and is provided with a sieve, through which the water issues. This simple apparatus may be conveniently hung over the bathing-tub, or in any other desirable place.

SQUEEZING THE EYES.

Among the letters most recently filed in our letter-book is one from an intelligent gentleman who verily believes that he is able to do without glasses, and that he preserves his eyesight in consequence of his daily habit of squeezing them into propriety. In conclusion, our correspondent remarks that "all that is necessary to be said in relation to the eye, of a practical nature, might be printed in a small pamphlet." It would appear that the word "*squeeze*" would about cover the whole ground. On this subject we will again permit Dr. Wallace to speak. In relation to the eye, we know of no better authority than that of this learned gentleman, to whose office chair we have the honor to succeed: "I was once called to an aged female who had suffered acutely for months after submitting to the operation of a rejuvenating itinerant. The lens was dislocated, and pressed upon the sensitive nerves on the margin of the pupil. The pain produced by pressure of this kind may be compared to that produced by pressing the exposed nerve of a tooth with a toothpick; but in the former case the pain is continuous, and is not so easily relieved as in the latter. Other cases attributed to manipulation, such as squinting, double vision, etc., have come under my notice. During the last month I operated for cataract in the case of a lady whose vision with the aid of spectacles was perfect until she was induced by plausible advertisements to pay for 'a course of lessons. After the third lesson vision become indistinct, and blindness ultimately ensued.'

"It cannot be expected that operations founded upon a false theory can be safe in practice. These delicate membranes are liable to be displaced and injured by blows, falls, and other

causes, and the lens, which is naturally clear as crystal, becomes opaque. It is untrue that the outer surface of the eye becomes flatter with advancing age, therefore manipulations, to restore what is *not wanting* in organs so delicate in structure that a rude push may be followed by perpetual darkness, should be avoided. The principal lens of the eye is situated behind the pupil, and is kept in its proper position by membranes finer than goldbeater's skin. These delicate membranes are liable to be ruptured by blows, falls, or other causes, as before said, and the beautiful lens may be totally destroyed."

Destructive opacity of the lens, or cataract, may be produced, without lacerating the membrane, by a mere interference with the circulation of vessels which supply them with blood; that these results take place is verified by our experience, as well as that of many eminent writers.

A case is related by a German oculist of one who was made totally blind in consequence of the fingers being playfully pressed upon the eyes by a companion from behind. In the endeavor to escape, his sight was instantly destroyed.

"It has been attempted to increase the rotundity of the eye by placing over it a wooden cup attached to an india-rubber bottle like a breast-pump. In the hands of a good juggler almost miraculous experiments are performed with cups and balls. It is not surprizing, therefore, that new arrangements should produce new wonders. The machine, described by Captain Marryat, for altering the disposition of the individual by exhausting cups placed over protuberances of the skull, has not yet been turned to practical account. Some self-styled professors will, it is presumed, shortly take this matter in hand, and advertise instruction by which any change of temper may be affected. There is a tradition, at least as old as the Talmud, that the eyes are strengthened by drawing the finger gently across the eyelid in a horizontal direction."

"Ex-President John Quincy Adams, who was affected with an obstruction of the tear passage, employed this method to get rid of the accumulated fluid. This ancient practice was revived, being brought into notice by the practice of this illustrious statesman. The obsolete theory that the eye flattens as age approaches was also again revived, and it became a busi-

ness to advertise instructions and lessons for kneading the eye into shape with the fingers. For the very moderate sum of ten dollars the telltale spectacles might be laid aside, and ancient ladies and gentlemen see and read with all the ease of a girl in her teens. The ten dollar professor, if we may believe the newspapers, met with marvelous success till improvements were advertised in the manner of the performance."

"Such harmony prevails in animate beings that all the functions of the body are performed without consciousness of the existence of the organ by which these functions are effected. When the lungs are in a healthy condition the play is not perceived by the possessor. The organs of sight and hearing perform their duty without observation or notice, and gain nothing by having our attention directed to them. We cannot assist in the performance of their functions."

Dr. Wallace further remarks: "The circulation of the delicate organization of the eye may be interfered with even by medicines. Dr. Currie relates, that owing to the effect of strychnine and veratrine, the capsule of the lens was dislocated. Others have noticed the occurrence of cataract after the operation of medicines. It is no uncommon consequence of the so-called 'aconitum trick,' a hazardous experiment with aconite. If even medicine taken in the stomach will derange the eye, how careful should we be with regard to manipulations of every sort." (Chicory produces most unpleasant results.)

The above remarks are taken from unpublished manuscripts now in our possession. The bad effect of rubbing the eye open, or of frequent wiping when in a condition of derangement, will be readily appreciated after reading the foregoing sentences.

WHEN THE EYE SHOULD REST.

When the eyes complain, the remedy is *repose.* They are best rested, *not by darkness*, but by a change of employment. Employ them upon distant and agreeable objects. The old method of shutting up ophthalmic patients in a dark room was full of evil, producing the very mischief that it was designed to remedy. A single indiscretion is often fatal to useful vision. A patient sometimes says, "*I must* finish this work or complete this manuscript." Milton said, "I will go on if I am

blind in consequence." He did go on and became blind. Few of us are so near immortality as he was, and can so well afford to *go on.* An eminent and judicious oculist in New York the other day pointed out to us a single figure in a very large engraving. He said that the sight of it always made him sad. The engraver had, after years of labor, still a single figure to complete. Serious symptoms caused him to apply to this gentleman, who told him that he *must stop.* He said, "I must finish that last figure." He did finish it, and is now led by a boy around the streets. One hour of railway reading under certain circumstances, *may be* the cause of fatal impairment of vision. (See Author's experience, Sight and Hearing, p. 69.) It is a dangerous practice, and *never safe.* Eye work is peculiarly injurious after severe illness, or when the body is in a debilitated condition. When overheated, or very much fatigued, or immediately after a full meal, it is *more economical* to rest. Students should avoid procrastination at other hours, so as not to be forced to work at improper moments. If the indications of nature are regarded she will plainly say *stop* in most instances, but *not always.*

Near-sighted, ambitious young people are peculiarly exposed to fatal overuse of the eyes, or to the dangerous experiment of increasing the power of the concave glass in order to continue with comfort their excessive labors. We have several patients under treatment at the present moment whose history would furnish illustrative examples.

The following is a remarkable illustration of the manner in which a single act of indiscretion may be followed by permanently serious results. In the London and Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine for May, 1859, there is an account of sudden loss of the power of distinguishing colors, produced by overtaxing the eyes. A sea-captain, who was in the habit, when time hung heavy on his hands, of occupying it by working at embroidery, was one afternoon engaged upon a red flower, and being anxious to finish it prolonged his labor until twilight came on, and he found it difficult to select the suitable colors. To obtain more light he went into the companion way, and there continued his work. While thus taxing his eyes his power of distinguishing colors suddenly vanished. He went on deck, hoping that an increase of light would restore his

vision, but in vain. From that time to the present, more than ten years, he has remained color blind.

TOBACCO.

The use of tobacco is frequently productive of the impairment of eyesight among students. The sedentary habits of the student render him unfit to resist the injurious effect of this drug upon the nervous and glandular systems. That tobacco frequently produces amaurosis can be proved by the most credible authority. We have, this very month, been called to prescribe for a case of amaurosis evidently produced by the use of tobacco. This patient has improved by simple abstinence. He was such an inveterate smoker that he rose in the night to indulge in his pipe. Such cases are not unfrequent. This subject is considered at length in the volume before referred to.

SLEEP.

The want of sufficient sleep is often the cause of the failure of eyesight. No one can spend so profitably one third of his time as in sleep. It preserves the mind from insanity, and secures nervous equilibrium. Few scholars should do with less than eight hours. It is improper to continue severe studies quite up to the hour of rest. The hour preceding sleep should not be spent in study.

INDIGESTION AND STIMULANTS.

Indigestion is a frequent cause of disturbed vision. The reflecting reader needs no proof of this. The stomach has been called the second nervous center. All dyspeptics experience difficulties in the use of their eyes during times of peculiar derangement of the stomach. The scholar must keep on good terms with this organ if he would employ his eyes to the best advantage. There are many in the ministry who are not less dyspeptic than Timothy, and might find a prescription among the teachings of Paul. On this subject says an eminent writer:* "In the present state of public opinion on this subject there is comparatively little danger of the abuse of alcoholic drinks on the part of educated men, and especially of those

* Dr. Bethune, Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1855.

called by their position to set an example of temperance. We are not so sure that, so far as the health of the individual is concerned, the error in many instances is not on the other side. The majority of those exposed to diseases of the eye are persons whose ordinary state of health would be called, in State-street, somewhat under par." However, ever since Solomon sung of him 'who has redness of eyes,' inflamed optics have furnished the most indubitable evidence of excess.

The great Boerhaave remarks that "to say that any one article of food is wholesome or unwholesome, without knowing the constitution of the one for whom it is intended, is like a sailor saying that the wind is fair or unfair without knowing the port whither he is bound." Indigestible articles variously affect different persons; shell-fish seems oftenest to produce a direct influence upon the eyesight. Beer, the German oculist, after alluding to the effects of indigestion, says: "The daily practice of every oculist is filled with coincident experience."

Mental disquietude, though probably impossible to prevent in this world of care and anxiety, is often a cause of deranged vision. It is a great art, which very few, alas! ever learn, to be always tranquil in this perturbed and disquieting world. Study and thought make men sensitive, and peculiarly exposes them to unrest.

SOME EYES BETTER THAN OTHERS.

It should never be forgotten that some eyes, without regard to constitutional peculiarities, will endure more wear and tear than others. Beer, the great German author so frequently referred to, observes:* "The power of the eye increases in proportion to the lightness of the eye, and, on the contrary, diminishes in proportion to its degree of blackness. For example, dark blue eyes support much less expenditure of vision than the gray, and brown eyes can endure much less straining than the dark blue." He further remarks, that of a hundred men who have black eyes, scarcely one can be found who is altogether contented with his sight. This rule has exceptions; but it furnishes a valuable guide with

* Pflege gesunder and geschwächter Augen.

regard to the power of the endurance of the eyes in individual cases.

ANOTHER CAUSE OF FAILURE OF EYESIGHT.

Our paper would be imperfect unless allusion is made to some subjects difficult to write about. The excessive indulgence in venereal pleasures, as well as illegitimate abuse among youth, unfits the eyes for labor, and tends permanently to destroy their usefulness. This is especially true if conjoined to a habit of using tobacco in feeble subjects. We must learn to "use this world as not abusing it."

USE AND ABUSE OF GLASSES.

VI. Mistakes in relation to the use of *glasses* frequently produces derangement and loss of vision. This article has been too much extended already to permit us to enter upon the discussion of this subject. It is full of importance; but to do it justice would require much space. We must refer again to the volume before-mentioned, after making a few suggestions:

1. *Glasses* should not be adopted without consideration and advice, and should be purchased *only of reliable parties.*

2. The *lowest power* that will answer the purpose should be selected, and no change should be made without advice.

3. It is *dangerous* to delay their use when required.

4. Colored glasses are seldom proper, and *never except* for a *temporary purpose.*

CONCLUDING SUGGESTIONS.

In order to enjoy healthy eyes, it is necessary to guard with care the *general health.* The student must sit in a pure atmosphere. He should frequently breathe the out-door air. He should use cold water bathing, if it does not disagree with him, in order to invigorate the nervous system. He should frequently change his position and vary his labor. His dress should be easy. His hat-brim should be wide. He should have regard to the condition of his stomach and bowels. He should employ his eyes sufficiently, but not immoderately. The eyes may be injured by *too little* as well as too much labor. As before said, overwork is one of the peculiar dangers to which the student is exposed. Above all things, do not tamper

with the eyes when diseased, but seek at once competent advice and implicitly follow it. No reliance is to be placed upon empirical remedies or accidental advising. No local remedy is safe, except water, warm or cold, and this not always, if used in excess. The best guide to the usefulness of this remedy is the effect produced. If grateful, it may be regarded as proper and useful. Dr. Weller says:* "The reader will sadly err if he supposes that he has done all which is needful for his eyes when he has observed the prescriptions which concerns them immediately. He must pay attention to his general health. The eyes are so intimately connected with the human body, that nearly all the errors which affect it injuriously influence them also. Hippocrates meant to express this idea when he said: *Ita valet corpus sicut valent oculi.* Therefore, he who would enjoy continued health and soundness of vision, must regard as sacred all the rational laws of health."

Art. VII.—GODWIN'S HISTORY OF FRANCE.

The History of France. By Parke Godwin. Vol. I. (Ancient Gaul.) 8vo., pp. 495. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

The origin and progress of the French people is of paramount interest and import to the student, whether attracted by mere curiosity, or by the hope of obtaining just conclusions in regard to the social and political changes of Europe. Their ardent and versatile genius, their impressible heart and ready hand, have always taken a leading part in these mutations. In arms, arts, and councils, their influence is felt throughout the civilized world. Ever ready for the initiative, even when most novel or perilous, they have tested all systems, and staked their wellbeing on the most diverse theories. So much are their examples and sympathy regarded, that when their streets are closed with barricades, and resound with republican songs, revolution flies over Europe; and the people's cause languishes and falls when it can draw no nourishment from French soil.

* Diätetik für gesunde und schwache Augen.

and no encouragement from French arms and diplomacy. Monarchs and people alike watch with anxiety the tortuous and uncertain course of French policy; and to circumscribe its power and repress its activity, the map of Europe has been repeatedly recast. To trace the origin and career of this remarkable nation, and the effects of its differential qualities upon the progress of European civilization, would *a priori* appear a most inviting study. But these researches acquire multiplied interest from even a cursory glance at the immense field over which the journey extends. History never taught by more gigantic examples, held up more glaring beacons, or manifested the energy of human nature by more brilliant and more terrible results, than in the crowded diverse and tumultuous past of the French people. The historian and the philosopher, burdened by its great significance, almost despair of accomplishing even a suggestive portraiture or analysis. As the prehistoric mists drift away from the Gallic forest, two savage races, the one dark and little, the other tall and fair, are struggling for the mastery, the former sullenly *backing* to the marshes and promontories of the Atlantic coast. Some rays of Greek civilization gleam into the obscurity from the port of Marseilles. The Roman empire next extends its laws and progress over these western wilds, and Gaul can boast its cities adorned with marble baths and theaters, its transalpine institutions, habits, vices, and decay. Some huge blind impulse stirs in distant Asia, and soon the great Cimmerian ocean "heaving to the tempest's wing," rolls its barbaric billows upon the devoted shore. From the Alps, the Belgian plain, and the gloomy Hercynian forest, age after age they sweep down, some to fall back from Aix and Chalons, oftener to remain settling from the vast crash and whirl of bloody confusion into sedimentary strata of the great social formation which is to rise above that tossing chaos. Feudalism reduces society to some degree of order, but degrades the productive classes, who combine for self-protection into guilds and burghs, able to resist feudal violence. The systematic oppression and chronic warfare of feudalism are, in some measure, mitigated by the Church, which in this age of action deals actively with its children, and protects, intervenes, and censures with sword as often as with prayer. Religious and mil-

itary enthusiasm, swollen to heroic proportions, drain Europe of its nobles and its wealth, to scatter them over the sands of Palestine. These disasters, combined with the religious wars of Languedoc, and with the exercise of perennial craft and violence, raise the small sovereignty of the Isle of France into a control, more or less complete, of the powerful princes who surround it. The rising monarchy enters upon a desperate struggle for existence with the sturdy English; and when impolicy and defeat have reduced it to such an extremity that a miracle seems the only resource, the miracle appears. But the heroism displayed by the suffering commons, though it expelled the stranger, brings no relief to themselves; the policy of a foreign master would at almost any period of their history have proved more beneficial to them than the virtue or gratitude of their own. The hearts of artisans and tradesmen cherish the true ideas of social and political organization which the commons have saved and perpetuated from the general ruin; and now the Reformation appears among them, encouraging individual thought, fixing individual responsibility, and supporting the determinations of reason with the stout heart of faith. A doubly bitter civil war ensues, complicated by the animosities of both politics and religion; the kingdom flames with bloody intolerance, pious zeal, and valiant despair. Scarcely has it taken breath and settled into troubled repose, scarcely has the commanding genius of Richelieu succeeded in repairing its exhausted resources, and curbing the haughty vassals of the crown, when a new struggle is commenced. The power of the great lords, which gave a sort of imputed independence to their followers, is now, after a series of expiring throes, almost annihilated, and feudal checks being no longer operative, the overshadowing power of the crown alarms reflecting minds. The Fronde inaugurates the age of conflicts based upon purely political notions, upon the desire of personal and constitutional freedom, in place of the feudal and religious wars which have passed away forever. But the Fronde being neither a war of classes nor sects, lacks the impulse of fanaticism, and is unable to sustain itself, and royal authority culminates in the self-centered system of Louis XIV.! During half a century the nation's energy is expended in gigantic graspings after universal dominion. Exhausted of its patience and re-

sources, it sees the royal line simultaneously exhausted of its kingly nature. How ominous, how fatal the conjuncture: God hath numbered the kingdom and finished it. Yet before that day of wrath, when king and nobles, and lovely ladies and gentle children, are haled by the blind instruments of long-suffering ignorance to expiate with their puny lives centuries of ancestral crime, the tottering monarchy, in the providence of God, lays its hands to one glorious work, and Americans at least will recall its turbulent career and awful tragedy with pardonable sadness, as they reflect that to its timely aid they owe relief from the protracted agony of civil war, and perhaps their present freedom and prosperity.

Down to a recent period the eventful progress of the French people has found no truthful and philosophical narrator. Prejudices of class, deference to royalty, and bad methods of historical composition, have united with the defect of study and mental training to make the earlier French histories quite unreliable. In the pages of Velly and Anquetil the student finds the airs and graces of their own times transferred to the rough Franks of the Merovingan age. They construct a so-called French monarchy of that and the Carlingian period, with its court, its intrigues, its offices, its relations with nobles and people, its refined vices, as if they were describing the social and political aspect of the sixteenth century. The rise of popular liberty they gloss over, and ascribe privileges wrested like Magna Charta, and defended against all comers for ages, to the free grace of the monarch. The distinctions of race, so marked even now, and the feudal divisions, only obliterated within three centuries past, are blended into a single French nation by the bold historian, who thus effects with a stroke of his pen what exhausted the craft and strength of a race of kings like Louis XI., and a college of cardinals like Richelieu. Devoid of individuality or correct local coloring, these narratives reproduce the stirring life of past ages about as accurately as the daub of a trowel might copy the almost animated reliefs on the frieze of the Parthenon.

During the present century, however, French literature has amply redeemed itself from such reproaches. The loving toil and truthful delineations of the Thierrys, the vivid style and

grand, even if hasty, generalization of Martin and Michelet, the profound philosophic insight of Guizot, and the comprehensive and accurate judgment of Sismondi, combine to present the French student with the clarified results of exhaustive research, and bring out the obscurest times into a blaze of light. In our own language nothing which can be called a history of France has heretofore appeared. The puerile compilations of Crowe, Sedley, Mrs. Marcet, etc., were too weak even to excite inquiry enough to correct the erroneous ideas they imparted. However worthy the late French histories, translations are not enough. Every cultivated nation needs a literature of its own, moulded upon its own peculiarities, clothed in its own idiom, and permeated with its own convictions. The place is open for the most deserving, and we welcome the volume, the title of which stands at the head of this article, as the commencement of a work which bids fair to supply a long-felt want of English literature.

Mr. Godwin has earned an honorable repute in his connection with various literary enterprises. That amid editorial cares, and the engrossing pursuits of business, he should have been persevering enough to master the various knowledge necessary even in the preparation for so important a work, and bold enough to enter upon so formidable a design, will be surprising to those who are unacquainted with his robust mental organization and untiring industry. His intention as stated in the preface, is to relate the events of French history from the earliest times down to the Revolution of 1789, and in the present volume he carries the story to the final division of the empire of Charlemagne, including, therefore, a period of much interest to the inquirer who is fond of tracing in modern nations the characteristics they inherit from the unmixed races of antiquity.

The external appearance of the book is creditable in type and paper, and the proofs seem to have been read with care. We are glad to find it a contrast to the imprint by the same publishers of Mr. Motley's noble and scholarly history of the Rise of the Dutch Republic; than which a more grotesque, inexplicable, and slovenly specimen of typographical errors was never let loose to haunt an author and to horrify sensitive bibliophiles.

We shall now give our readers a general notion of the style and contents of Mr. Godwin's volume, with a few extracts, which may assist them in determining its merits. The first hundred pages are devoted to a description of the primitive Gauls, and to the conquest over them by Julius Cesar. The latter part of the subject has been unconquerably distasteful to us ever since our escape from Professor Anthon's impressive methods of stimulating the youthful mind in its investigations of Cesar's Gallic campaigns. Our remarks will therefore be confined to the Gauls themselves. Though far from forming a single united people, and though their tribes possessed many different customs, they were yet marked by certain general characteristics which are common to Celts, and which seems so imbedded in their nature that time and revolutions have never changed them. Without any elaborate order we will state some of these. The old Gauls were superstitious but not reverential, and were kept to their religious opinions and rites rather by the terrible power which the priests had acquired than by conviction or will. Their reasoning was acute, but marked by hasty generalization and careless analogies. Their morality was by no means strict, and divorce was easy; their social adhesions were strong but mutable; the ties of blood, however, were so much valued (as in most early ages) that the system of *clans* was in full vigor among them. They were loquacious and noisy in dispute, fond of company, and quick at quarreling, given to excessive indulgence of the passions, impetuous, brave, and warlike. "Always in extremes, there was no limit either to their audacity or their discouragement." How enduring is this Celtic stock, which, after so many destructive processes and foreign graftings, is still so manifest in the modern Frenchman, that the above sentences fit him precisely. Mr. Godwin gives the amusing testimony of an old Roman soldier:

> All the Gauls are tall, fair-skinned, golden-haired, and terrible for the fierceness of their eyes. They are greedy of quarrels, great braggarts, and insolent. A whole troop of strangers could scarcely resist a single one of them in a brawl, and particularly if he were assisted by his stalwart, blue-eyed wife, who, gnashing her teeth, distending her neck, brandishing her large snowy arms, and kicking up her heels betimes, will deliver fisticuffs like bolts from the twisted strings of a catapult.—P. 34.

The effect of their warlike habits and division into clans was, as in Scotland, to keep them involved in petty wars, "which produce Gaul before us, wasted, wan, and disheveled, even in the youth and outset of her historical career." The most striking element of Gallic society was the priesthood, with its subordinate classes of bards and soothsayers, and its inner circle of mysterious high-priests dwelling in the dark forests of oak and gloomy yew. Exempt from public burdens, possessing judicial powers and all the science which existed in the land, the Druids centered in themselves all the sanctity and authority which superstition could acknowledge. They formed a kind of secret organization which extended over the British Isles, and, as Romans and Franks encroached upon them, gradually receded to take a last refuge in the island of Mona. There were associated with them a class of female Druids who were supposed to possess the arts of magic. Their worship consisted of frantic nocturnal dances, or more abandoned rites, recalling the Samothracian orgies:

> The Gallic mariner, as he skirted by night the wild reefs of the Armorican seas, often fancied that he heard strange cries and chants, weird melodies, mingling with the wail of the winds and the deep moanings of the waves. On the summit of the misty crags he saw red phantoms gliding, with streaming hair and burning torches, whose flames made the lightnings. These were the Druidesses weaving their magic spells, healing maladies, raising the elements, consulting the dread spirits of fate, or perhaps waiting to receive the souls of the shipwrecked, which the Breton peasant still discerns in the white and fugitive spray, hastening to rejoin their loved and lost companions of the earth.—Pp. 47, 48.

The religion taught by the Druids acknowledged but one Supreme Being, and taught the doctrines of metempsychosis, a future state, the worship of fire, and hatred of images. So firm was the faith of these heathens in an immortality beyond the grave, where they should renew their loved pursuits, that they contracted debts to be paid after their own death, and, like other savages, sacrificed kindred upon the bier of the deceased to bear him company.

Mr. Godwin next treats of Gaul under the Romans. The province experienced the usual effects of Roman sway. Great roads, bridges, temples, and amphitheaters were built, some of which still remain. The Latin language and its rhetoric spread

quickly, and developed much native talent. The accommodating religion of Rome received the Supreme Being of the Druids, and the inferior deities which had been shaped by the ignorance of the people into its Pantheon, and the contact of that loose foreign mythology corrupted the old creed. In the reign of Claudius, probably on some political pretext, the Druids were expelled from Gaul. A few teachers from the Church of Smyrna brought Christianity to Lyons about the year 160, and the records still preserve the names of fifty of the early proselytes. They were soon compelled to testify their faith in the midst of a fierce persecution. Let the historian relate the touching fate of Blandina, one of the earliest victims:

Another victim, whose appearance on the scene was more characteristic of the great social revolution Christianity was affecting, was Blandina—a woman and a slave. Through all the excruciating agonies of the torture, her mistress, who was herself a confessor, watched her in trembling anxiety lest she should be betrayed into some weak concession. But Christianity possessed a living power then which could lift even the lowly slave into a sublimity of heroism. From the cross where, like her heavenly Master, she hung, in the gaze of a frantic rabble, she sang hymns to his praise; when taken down from it, the beasts of the arena refused to do their office, as if their brute natures, softer than those of men, could be awed by such sweet piety; and the intervals between her punishments, twice postponed, she passed in comforting those of her companions who were reserved for a similar fate. The apostates, whom weakness had allowed to retract, were animated by her to a renewed strength, and they counted it their highest joy to be admitted to the prospect of sharing in her sufferings. At last, when she was dragged forth to final execution, on the recurrence of the great festival games which Caligula had instituted on the banks of the Rhone, she met her death, by the horns and feet of a furious wild animal, "like one invited to a wedding banquet." She was the last to die, but her name became the first in the roll of those saints whom the pious gratitude of the Gallic Church has since raised to the skies.—P. 133.

In spite of persecution Christianity spread rapidly, or, we might be justified in saying, by the help of persecution. For it cannot be doubted that in the trying times of the Church, its loftiest virtues have shone most brightly, and have compelled not only the respect, but the conversion of its enemies. If many weak believers abjured their faith or obtained tolerance by bribes, still the greater portion stood firmly by the religion

which had led them from darkness to light, and which was now, through temporal torture and shame, to conduct them to the mansions prepared for them from the foundation of the world. Their constant fervor, meekness, and fortitude, their gentleness and charity even to their persecutors, could not but cause solemn inquiry in the souls of those around them as to what mysterious influence could produce such qualities and sustain them in such awful calamities. History records that such inquiry was occasioned, and that the true faith multiplied faster than the ashes of the martyrs could be born upon the wind.

But the Church had its own internal difficulties and corruptions to undergo. Innumerable heresies, the misshapen fruit of Oriental and Grecian speculations, were grafted like ugly excrescences upon the simple and practical teachings of Christ. The great tendency of the age became a forgetfulness that the object of the Gospel was to implant in the soul that love to God and man which should work inwardly to purify the heart, and outwardly to virtuous life and active beneficence, and that the bliss of a future existence is but the carrying out and completion of the principles which were operative here. But at this period many minds began to see in the Gospel plan nothing but a tool, which by studious working might open the door of heaven, but was in no way useful below. "Its spiritual graces and manly virtues were more and more confounded with inward ecstasies or external observances." Immolation of the body, denial of the holiest social affections, abnegation of all family and social ties, would assist, it was earnestly believed, in attaining that divorce from earthly things which was, by a mistaken understanding of the divine teachings, deemed necessary to fit the devotee for heavenly things. Mingled with these ideas were notions derived from "the Gnostic and Manichean heresies themselves," says Mr. Godwin, "derived from earlier Indian rigors," which "gradually fermented into a dark humor for renouncing the commerce of mankind."

The contemplative life came to be regarded as the only one consistent with entire purity. Splendid examples, as they were deemed, of pious hardihood, like those of the hermits Paul and Anthony, reproached the consciences and dazzled the fancies of the susceptible multitude. Emulous crowds broke in upon the scenes of their lonely and heroic triumphs. The caves and the deserts, the savage

wood and the desolate mountain, swarmed with anchorets who abandoned the life of the world to enjoy in solitude and silence the higher life of the soul, a nearer vision of God. Sincere religious aspirations, or the consciousness of a guilt which could only be atoned by the severest self-punishments, were the motives of some; repugnance to the prevalent depravity, or weariness of the vicissitudes, of the persecutions, and of the agitations of a troubled existence, were the motives of others; but the many were carried away by that contagious sympathy which sometimes seizes whole generations, we know not how. Individuals of every class, rich and poor, male and female, the polished and the ignorant, fled their families, their estates, their friends, the offices, the amenities and the amusements of social intercourse, to engage in the laborious spiritual exercises and the gloomy physical austerities of the wilderness. Their food, herbs, their drink, water, their bed a mat of palms or the naked rock, they passed the days and the nights in alternations of angelic ecstasy or diabolic despair, struggling to extinguish the lusts of the flesh, even the desires of the mind, and to exorcise the myriads of enticing or pestering demons with which their sultry fancies peopled the desolation.

The fertile and imaginative East, which had long been the cradle of every contemplative extravagance, saw the first fervors of this acrid and barren devotion. But from the spawning caves of the Thebaid, the wild rocks of Nitria, and the burning Syrian sands, it soon spread to the secluded islands of the Mediterranean, to the volcanic clefts of Italy, and to the frowning forests and shadowy mountain ranges of Gaul. A jealous demur on the part of a few of the clergy, and the undisguised hostility of the Roman rabble, could not arrest an enthusiasm inflamed by the ardent plaudits of Athanasius, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, and propagated by the still more ardent zeal of St. Martin. The monastery which he founded at Ligugè led the way to many other foundations, to that of St. Faustin at Nimes, of St. Castor at Apt, of St. Victor at Marseilles, and of St. Honoratus at Lerins, one of the isles of Hyères, the most celebrated of the age. But the monasticism of the West was of a different character from that of the East. The colder climate and colder temperament of men, an organizing and practical rather than a fervid or contemplative genius, tempered the spirit of asceticism by more active and social impulses. The cœnobitic form of monkery prevailed over the eremitic, although the deeds of Simeon Stylite did not want for an imitator even in Gaul. Communities for labor, and prayer, and study, took the place of the darksome cave and the moaning woods. A corporate zeal begat the ambition for proselytizing, and, instead of lacerations and tears, or, rather, in spite of lacerations and tears, the monks emerged from their cells, they scoured the fields, they penetrated the cities, they dragged down the statues and temples of idolatry, they scattered the consternated worshipers of the ancient faith, and they participated in the mobs which often determined the quarrels of the prelates or the excellences of doctrine.—Pp. 207–209.

Passing from this singular phase of man's religious growth, we must glance at one other change which our author treats with his accustomed directness and force, the social and moral decay which was hastening the fall of the empire. We cannot do better than to give his masterly *résumé* of the elements of the decline:

As a mere economy, the ancient order was bankrupt and exhausted; the corrosions of slavery, which, under the republic, had eaten away the vigor of Italy, abandoning three hundred thousand acres in the heart of the most fertile region of the globe to barrenness and disease, had been carried by the empire into all the provinces. Smitting with a fatal paralysis nearly every industrial force; gluing the once free laborer to the soil under the name of *colon*, till he became as abject and wretched as the slave; dispersing the small proprietors among the barbarians, or driving them to an enforced dependence upon patrons whose enormous estates were expanded into more monstrous proportions by these incessant gains, slavery had undermined, drained, dislocated, and demoralized the material resources and functions of society. And it was this utter ruin of its material means which rendered the demands of the fisc so cruel and persecuting. The dark picture which we have seen Lactantius paint, of the extortions of the treasury in the time of Diocletian, might have been deepened in the time of Constantine and his successors. Nothing, indeed, in human records suggests a more painful image to the mind than those pages of the codes of Theodosius and Justinian which show us the later emperors in their vain and desperates plunges to suppress, to mollify, or to escape the evils of an utter decay of vital and productive force. Society writhes and groans visibly before us like a man in the agonies of the rack. The labors of authority turn with frantic violence upon every possible process of extorting the means of a pompous subsistence from withered husks and thrice-rinsed rags. Laws are heaped upon laws, till the blasting decrees of despotism have operated like a fatal spell. Men of all ranks and conditions are fastened to their vocations, to their miscalled privileges, even, as bears to a stake, to be baited. The senatorials and clarissimi are bound to their properties, lest they should run away from the charges with which they are encumbered; the curial, who is responsible for the collection of the municipal taxes, cannot abandon his office except at the risk of outlawry and ruin; the young conscript is branded, that he may be reclaimed if he deserts his post; a universal system of forced labor supplies the public transportations; trade is smothered in vast corporations, that are swathed and strangled by restraints, and the whole industrial economy inclines rapidly to an Indian fixity of caste and a Chinese stagnation of routine.—Pp. 165, 166.

The third period includes the German inroads and the reign of the Merovingan kings. We will not pause upon the interesting account of the religion and laws of the Germans, which have been so fully elucidated by late writers, nor upon the fruitless struggles of the dying empire against the wild Goths, Huns, and Franks, which remind one of an old buffalo surrounded by prairie wolves. The battle of Châlons is so vividly described that we cannot pass over it, especially as it occupies so important a place in the history of civilization :

In the winter of the year 450 he began to move forward, with a force of five hundred thousand men, from his wild Danubian fastnesses to the banks of the Rhine. By the beginning of March, in the following year, he had reached the fords of that separating stream. His motley throng, embracing representatives of nearly every race in Europe—the black Kazar, the tattooed Gelon, the stalwart Rugian, the Herul, crazy with valor, and the Bellonote and the Neuri, who have left their names alone to history—had gathered other varieties of savagery upon its passage. The Quad and the Marcoman of the Carpathian Hills mingled with the Suab of the Black forest and the outcast Frank of the northern dunes. All the wild valor that for five hundred years had threatened civilization seemed to be confounded in one impulsive mass. Amid the rolling boulders of the ice, and upon the trunks of trees torn from the Hercynian woods, they crossed the river near the confluence of the Moselle. Attila, installing himself for a moment in the ancient capital of Trèves, summoned Gaul to surrender in the magniloquent tones of an Oriental sovereign. The debilitated Roman garrisons fled even before he had advanced; the federate barbarians, half sympathizing in his career, offered but an ineffectual resistance; while the poor provincials, disarmed by Roman policy, disgusted by Roman oppression, debased by Roman vices, stood in doubt whether he might the more properly be regarded as an enemy or a deliverer. But the smoke of a hundred burning villages, the ruins of the fairest cities—Augst, Strasburg, Mentz, Metz, Worms, Tongres, Arras—speedily convinced them that the stranger was, indeed, a foe. The consternated multitudes fled to the fortresses of the towns, to the caves of the mountains, to the waves of the sea. Alone the heroic and pious bishops of the Church rose superior to the paralyzing terrors of the panic. Arrayed in their magnificent robes, and chanting their solemn and imposing psalms, they would often place themselves at the head of their timorous flocks, and, with prayers and threatenings, arrest, if not roll back, the irresistible human tide.—Pp. 255, 256.

The last division is entitled German Gaul, and recounts the deeds of the Mayors of the Palace and the career of Charlemagne. A race of giants they were indeed, to whom the

Christianity of the time owed its preservation. Karl Martel and Pepin dashed back the fierce onslaught of the Saracens and the Northern Pagans. But their greater successor directed all his policy to the uniting of Europe into a Christian empire, whose strength should subdue, and whose enlightenment should instruct, the wild tribes of the forest. His tireless activity in the field and the council, his self-reliance, strong sense, and courageous acceptance of his post as the barrier against aggressive paganism, must command the deepest respect. Though his faith was tinged with the superstition of his age, it was vital and sincere; and he loved virtue for its own sake, not merely because it was politic or seemly. What a manly and earnest protest he uttered against the image worship of the Church!

His steady, munificent patronage of the literature and the arts, his establishment of academies and parochial schools, his persistent efforts to promote good morals and to improve the common life of his subjects, testify to his high intelligence and designs. "*It is better to act well than to know*," he said, "*but knowledge precedes action.*" The vigor of his balanced and powerful genius was felt in every corner of his domains; even the centrifugal force of rising nationalities was controlled while he lived, to break loose at his death and shatter the great system he had constructed into irreconcilable fragments. The close of his life seemed like the setting of a sun, leaving civilization and learning to grope in an uncertain twilight fast resolving itself into the night of the middle age:

Profoundly saddened by the inroads of death in his family, and feeling more and more the advances of age, and not unapprehensive of the fate of his empire, Karl resolved to associate his son in the administration of the government. To a great assembly of his lords and bishops, held in the church of Aix-la-Chapelle, he communicated his intention and desire. They approved his scheme with loud shouts. Invested with the imperial robes, and wearing the imperial crown, Karl took the hand of Ludwig, and advanced with him toward the altar, on which another crown was laid. They knelt and prayed devoutly together, and then rising, Karl addressed his son in words full of solemnity and tender solicitude: "The rank, my son," he said, "to which Almighty God hath this day raised you, compels you more than ever to revere the Sovereign Majesty, to love his excellencies, and to observe faithfully all his ordinances and commandments. In becoming an emperor, you

become the father and protector of his Church. On you chiefly will depend the good order and purity of his ministers and people. Though you be their master, consider them as your brethren; treat them as your friends, even as the members of your family; make yourself happy in advancing and securing their happiness. Fear not to employ justice and the authority with which you are clothed to humble and restrain the wicked. Be the refuge and the consolation of the poor. Make choice of governors and judges who fear God, and whose spirit is above partiality and corruption; and beware of ever suspecting easily the integrity and good behavior of those whom you have once honored with offices of dignity and trust. Study to live and reign unblamably before God and man, remembering the account you must finally give to the Sovereign Ruler and Judge of all." Out of his own heart and life Karl spake thus, amid the plaudits of all who heard him, when he directed Ludwig to lift the crown from the altar and put it on his head, in token that he received and held it from God alone. After partaking of the sacrament together, Karl tottered on the arms of his son in the procession which moved toward the palace.

The last years of his life, though he did not withdraw entirely from the cares of government, Karl spent in hunting, an amusement of which he was passionately fond, in religious devotions, and in correcting the Greek texts of the Gospels. In the month of January (814,) as he came from the bath, he was seized with a violent fever, and took to his bed. Steadily refusing nourishment, as was his wont when ill in order to triumph over the disease, he declined from day to day. The anxiety of his people caused them to discern in the common accidents of the time the fatal presages of his death. The sun and moon were eclipsed, the palace shaken by an earthquake, the great bridge of Mentz burned, and the portico of the church crumbled, in monition of his departure. On the 28th of the month, seven days after he was seized, having partaken of the holy communion, crossed his arms on his breast, and exclaimed, "Now, Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit," he died. His body, solemnly washed and embalmed, was entombed on the same day in the basilica he had himself founded at Aachen. He was placed on a chair, in a sitting posture, with a golden sword on one side, a golden Gospel in his hand, and a diadem of gold, in which the wood of the cross was inserted, on his head. Over the imperial robes hung the pilgrim's scrip, which he used to wear on his visits to Rome, and before him lay the shield which Pope Leo had blessed. They wrote on his tomb: "Here reposes the body of Karl, the great and orthodox emperor, who gloriously enlarged the kingdom of the Franks, and governed it happily for forty-seven years." "No one can tell," says a monk, "the mourning and sorrow that his death occasioned everywhere, so that even the pagans wept him as the father of the world." Well might the world have wept, for the bravest and noblest soul that it then knew was gone from it forever.—Pp. 474, 475.

Mr. Godwin's book seems to us worthy of hearty praise. He is the first English writer who has undertaken the weighty task of describing from the original sources, so copious in French literature, and with the light of modern researches, the origin and career of this wonderful nation. We do not affect that narrow criticism which passes unnoticed an author's conscientious labor, careful estimates of historical evidence, and perspicuous arrangement and narration, to nose about after a slip in some trifling reference, or an inadvertence in syntax. A purist might observe in the work before us an occasional roughness or careless expression; the use of "got" as an auxiliary; an occasional betrayal in the text of the style and idiom of the authorities, as if portions of the matter had not had time to distill through the alembic of the author's own mind. But these are trivial things which revision would remove, and which critics usually mention in proof of their own acuteness. Mr. Godwin's general style is clear and dignified, and is constructed with the composite richness of modern times. His descriptive powers are vitalized by a strong regulated imagination. His analysis of character seems careful and independent; there is a fearless morality and sense of justice in his judgments which inspires us with confidence that wrong, however bedizened with robes or furred gowns, will find in him no winking apologist. Whether he will be able to make the personages of history live for us will be more severely tested in succeeding volumes. As he approaches the later periods, the qualities which distinguish the great historian from the chronicler, the biographer, the essayist, or even the brilliant story-teller, will be more and more required. We have reason to believe that, with the priceless discipline of experience, and the copious resources which lie along his way, Mr. Godwin will not disappoint the high expectations which his opening volume justifies.

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Protestant Churches. — *The British Branch of the Evangelical Alliance* held its fourteenth annual conference at Nottingham toward the close of October, and was warmly welcomed by evangelical Christians of all denominations. The report which the president, Sir Eardley Culling, gave of the operations of the past year, clearly showed that the Alliance in Great Britain does not fail to fulfill its great mission. It increases in large classes of the population the interest in the progress of religion in all parts of the world, it strengthens the bonds of union between evangelical Christians of all denominations and persuasions, and it is specially useful in enlisting the attention and the co-operation of the British Christians in behalf of those countries and Churches which stand in need of aid from abroad. It was the general impression that this year's meeting was on the whole one of the most interesting that the British branch has yet held. Another meeting to which the evangelical Churches had looked forward with a great deal of interest, was the *Tercentenary of the Scottish Reformation*, which took place at Edinburgh from the 14th to the 17th of August. A number of interesting papers were read, but on the whole the festivity did not come up to the general expectation. The presence of Mr. Chiniquy, who has since been making the tour of the principal towns in Scotland, soliciting subscriptions for the establishment of a library and theological seminary, was the event of deep interest, and the establishment of a Protestant institute for more effectually carrying on the missions among Roman Catholics, will prove one of its most important resolutions. *The Revival of Religion* continues to be very marked, especially in Scotland and in some parts of Ireland. Deeply interesting papers on the history and present aspects of the revival movements in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales were read at the late meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Nottingham. A considerable degree of interest among large numbers of the working class population was excited by the preaching of a Staffordshire miner, Richard Weaver. The gentlemen who associated themselves with Mr. Weaver in his labors were so thoroughly satisfied that spiritual good is being done by his means, that they have prevailed upon him to promise to devote himself to similar endeavors for several months to come, if his health and strength do not fail him.

The establishment of a closer *Union between the Church of England and other Episcopalian Denominations*, which hold the doctrine of apostolical succession, in particular the Eastern Churches, has always been a favorite scheme of the English High Churchmen. It seems that, of late, a greater advance than ever before has been made toward reaching this end. The Rev. G. Williams, Senior Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, has proceeded to Armenia for the purpose of assisting the Oriental Churches in establishing hostels at Cambridge, for the education of youths from the East, the Patriarch of Armenia having expressed a great desire for a nearer communion with the English Church. The Russian government has determined upon laying the foundation of a Russian hostel in Cambridge, and a hope is expressed that the Catholics of Etchmiazin will follow the example by sending a bishop of the Armenian Church, with a number of the Armenian youth, to England, to be educated in the University. Dr. Wolff, the eccentric High-Church clergyman who some years ago attracted great attention by his journey to Bokhara, has presented the nucleus of a library for the use of the students in the Russian hostel, and, to promote this plan of union still more effectually, will undertake a mission of an entirely novel character. "I shall," he says, "assume the garment of a monk of the Eastern Church, with a Bible in my hand, and the cross figured on my gown, which gown shall consist of black cloth. Wherever I find a bishop of the Christian Church, (let him be either of the Russian, or Greek, or Syrian Church,) I shall act under his advice and direction." Singular enough, the promoters of this scheme meet, even in the Roman Catholic Church, with more sympathy and co-operation than they probably expected. The *Union Chréti-*

ence, a French religious paper, edited by Abbé Guettée, a distinguished scholar, who has been suspended by the Archbishop of Paris for his advanced Gallican opinions, takes openly the same ground. It regards the English High Churchmen as the true representatives of the Church of England, acknowledges the English Church, together with those of the East, as branches of the Catholic Church, and endeavors to call forth in the Church of Rome an anti-papal, episcopalian movement. In connection with this scheme of a great union between the Episcopalian Churches, the efforts of the Church of England to build up a strong hierarchy in all British colonies, and even to extend it beyond the dominions of Great Britain, have a particular significance. Arrangements have been recently made for the erection of a new bishopric in Australia, the seat of which will be in all probability at Goulburn, and a missionary bishop has been appointed for the islands of the Pacific, who will exercise episcopal supervision over seventy or eighty islands of the Pacific not under the British crown.

The *Baptists* report that their membership throughout Great Britain has considerably increased during the past year. They suffer, however, from internal dissensions. Mr. Spurgeon represents the leading Baptist paper of England, "The Freeman," as recreant to Calvinistic orthodoxy, and he himself is charged by many of his co-religionists with transgressing in many points the denominational landmarks. A revival preacher of some celebrity, Mr. Guinness, has joined the *Plymouth Brethren*, or, as they call themselves, the Christian brethren, a small denomination, hitherto but little known, but who are reported to have received of late large accessions, and to have widely extended their influence.

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, PRUSSIA.

The Protestant Churches. — *The Two Great Religious Assemblies* of Protestant Germany, the meeting of the Gustavus Adolphus Association and the Church Diet, were never more important and interesting than this year. Both have again confirmed their claim to be ranked among the most influential religious gatherings of Protestant Christendom. The Gustavus Adolphus Society, which held its seventeenth General Assembly at Ulm, in Wurtemberg, on August 28 and the two following days, reported again, as it has been able to do for several years, a considerable increase in its receipts, which amounted this year to one hundred and sixty-one thousand thalers. Since its origin the society has now expended more than one million two hundred and fifty thousand thalers for the support of about one thousand poor Protestant congregations in Roman Catholic countries. Besides the regular contributions of its members, the society begins to receive many liberal donations; thus the proceedings of this year's meetings were opened with the announcement that an inhabitant of Saxony had made to the society a donation of ten thousand thalers. As the fame of the extensive operations of the society becomes better known from year to year, the number of applications steadily increases. From all parts of Europe, from Asia, from Algeria, from North and South America, feeble Protestant congregations address the society for aid. A pleasing incident in the history of the society, during the past year, was the reception of larger contributions from Austria, as the Protestant Churches of that country had received for the first time from their government the permission to take up collections for the purposes of the association. The Evangelical Church Diet, which met at Barmen, a flourishing commercial city in the charming Wupperthal, a region of Germany celebrated for the piety of its inhabitants, entered this year upon a new era in its history; as the High-Church party, which hitherto had sustained the Diets in union with the Evangelical party for a common combat against Rationalism and unbelief, had this year declared, through their leaders, Dr. Stahl and Dr. Hengstenberg, their withdrawal. Dr. Stahl, as vice-president of the Diet, had insisted on bringing up for discussion the question of civil marriage and of the political rights of Dissenters, and when the central committee opposed this as productive of disagreement, he, and with him his party, declined taking further part for the present. Nevertheless the attendance was large, and the meeting, which as usual discussed profound questions on scientific theology, and schemes for practical usefulness, was characterized, in consequence of the absence of

the High-Church element, by a pure spirit of brotherly love.

The two Protestant Churches of Hungary, after having forced the government to forego its pretensions, are rejoicing at the recovery of their constitutional rights. In the Reformed Church all the congregations are again governed by the former Church constitution; in the Lutheran Church only sixteen Sclavonian congregations adhere to the new constitution proclaimed by the Imperial Patent of September 1, 1859, and have constituted themselves an independent superintendentship, with which the rest of the Church refuses to hold ecclesiastical communion. Both Churches held in September and October General Assemblies, which occupied themselves with securing the newly recovered rights of the Churches, with obtaining from the government an unequivocal acknowledgment of the fundamental law of Hungarian Protestantism of 1791, with extending the control of the Church over the Protestant schools, with carrying through a presbyterian constitution where it does not yet exist, and with preparations for the convocation of the General Synods of the Churches. In no Austrian province is the PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM at present more marked than in Bohemia. Numerous conversions of Roman Catholics are reported from a number of places. One Protestant pastor writes to the Protestant Church Gazette of Pesth, that in the village of Spalow sixty adult persons have legally declared their intention to join the Evangelical Church, and that all the adult inhabitants over eighteen years of age will soon follow this example. The *Baptist Churches* of Germany, Switzerland, and Denmark held their triennial convention at Hamburg on October 4. Their cause is highly prosperous and steadily progressing. Their membership, during the past three years, has increased from five thousand nine hundred and one to seven thousand nine hundred and eight, and the number of preaching stations from five hundred and seventy-four to seven hundred and fifty-six.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.—It is generally believed that the *Austrian Concordat* may now be regarded as virtually abolished. Some of the grievances of the Protestant and Greek Churches were set forth in the meetings of the *Reichsrath* with such force, that that body almost unanimously passed a resolution that the rights of the dissenting denominations had in some cases been violated, and that the ecclesiastical legislation of Austria ought to be regulated in accordance with the principles of right and justice. The Protestants of Austria felt never more confident than at present, that the day when full equality of rights with their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens will be granted to them, cannot be much longer postponed. In other German States *the influence of Rome* has met with even greater reverses. The government of Baden has officially declared the late concordat as abandoned, and the Legislature of the Grand Duchy of Darmstadt has resolved, with all votes against two, to call on the government to break off its negotiations with the bishop of the country, to whom a great many concessions had been made, and to regulate the legal relations of the Catholic Church to the State by a special law.

ITALY.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.—The intelligence on the *Progress of Protestantism* in Italy has never been more cheering and more full of promise for the future than during the past three months. The successes of Garibaldi and Victor Emanuel have, for the first time since the suppression of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, thrown open the whole peninsula to the free and open proclamation of the doctrines of evangelical Christianity. In the kingdom of *Sardinia* the work consolidates and extends itself. In Val d'Aosta there seems to be a great spirit of inquiry awakened. The Waldensian minister at Courmayeur and Aosta, Rev. Mr. Curie, has issued a work entitled, "The Minister and the Priests; or, an Answer to the Attacks of the Clerical Party in Sardinia against Protestantism," (*Le Ministre et les Prêtres, etc.*,) which has produced quite a ferment among the priests of that valley, who call it "*Le comble du poison.*" A number of them publicly tore a copy of the book in pieces in the market-place of Aosta, but, much against their expectation, greatly contributed thereby to an increase of the sale of the book. Mr. Curie has since made inquiries to ascertain whether an edition of his book might not be brought out in Italian, and

whether any society would take it up. Mr. Curie's place of meeting in Aosta is always crowded to the door, and a larger place is much required. He has been invited to visit numerous villages around and to hold meetings. Mr. Jay, a Waldensian minister, who studied for a year in Edinburgh, has gone to aid him by occupying Courmayeur, and is now supplied with an active, pious colporteur. In the former *Papal States* the city of Bologna will be the prominent center of the work of evangelization. A Vaudois evangelist has settled there, and what is still more important, the most zealous and learned among the Italian converts from the Roman Catholic Church, Mr. Mazarella, hitherto leader of the Evangelical Protestant congregation of Genoa, has been appointed by the government to the chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of Bologna, and has accepted the appointment on the express condition that his exertions for spreading the principles of evangelical Christianity would be in no way interfered with. The Edinburgh Bible Society has dispatched a colporteur to Umbria and the Marches, to take advantage of the openings there. In *Tuscany*, the Waldensian Theological Hall at Florence has been opened with nine students; and a letter has been received from a priest at Brescia, announcing his resolution to go to Florence during the winter to attend the lectures. An additional female school for the children of the upper classes has just been opened in Florence, under the auspices of two deaconesses from the establishment of Protestant Deaconesses at Kaiserswerth in Germany. The colporteurs throughout Tuscany, notwithstanding their number, find a good sale both for Bibles and tracts. One of them attended a fair at the small town of Pontedera, and sold in a short time fifty copies of the Bible. The progress in the flourishing city of Leghorn, where for a few weeks after the reopening of the place of meeting many former attendants absented themselves through fear of annoyances, is now again highly satisfactory. The hall, which holds about two hundred persons, is always crowded to the door, and many cluster around who cannot find admission. The Waldensian minister at Leghorn, Rev. Mr. Ribetti, has had an invitation from a number of people in the village of Calvi, near Pisa, and from another place about forty miles distant, to open meetings there also; but the charge of the congregations at Leghorn and Pisa affords him ample work, and beyond an occasional visit to the new localities mentioned he cannot go. In *Naples* and *Sicily* active operations have likewise been commenced. A late agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society, has been for some time at Palermo, and has written to some of his friends that his success in selling Bibles has been very great, there being a great demand for them. Father Gavazzi and a popular Sicilian preacher, Frate Pantaleone, Gavazzi's chaplain, have been very active in haranguing large crowds on the errors of the papacy. Toward the close of October Gavazzi commenced in the former church of the Jesuits at Naples lectures on the New Testament. Efforts were made to prohibit his preaching, but Garibaldi protected him. The English residents of Naples, who applied to Garibaldi for the permission of building a church, received not only this permission, but also the donation of a suitable piece of land. The British and Foreign Bible Society and the Edinburgh Bible Society have both dispatched their agents to the city of Naples with a large supply of Bibles, and a large number of copies has been, unimpeded, sold in the streets. Rev. Mr. Cresi, who for some months has been stationed as a missionary at Bologna, has expressed his desire to return to Naples, his native country, in order to preach the Gospel there, and from thence to do what he can for Sicily until some minister be provided. An English gentleman of well-known liberality, Mr. Henderson, of Park, has taken the support of this young minister upon himself. The Waldenses, according to the last accounts, were sending two colporteurs into Sicily, whose headquarters for the present will be Palermo, and other colporteurs will be sent by other parties to Messina, and along the eastern coast of the island. Thus a number of Protestant agencies are at work throughout Italy. The British and Foreign Bible Society has twenty-four colporteurs employed, the Edinburgh Bible Society eight, the Italian Society at Geneva twelve, and a considerable number are employed by the Vaudois Bible and Tract Society. Still many regret that the unprecedented opportunities for the evangelization of Italy which exist at present do not induce more of the religious societies of Prot-

estant countries to take an active part in it.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.—*The Temporal Power of the Pope* may now be regarded as being at an end. Only the city of Rome and a small adjacent tract of country are still kept by French troops against their will, under the dominion of the Pope. How eager the whole population of the Papal States are to get rid of the Papal rule, and how little they care for the excommunication which has been pronounced against all who are instrumental in the diminution of the "Patrimony of St. Peter," has recently again been shown by the vote of the people of Umbria and the Marches on their annexation to Sardinia. In Umbria 97,040 voted for and 380 against annexation; and in the Marches 133,783 for and only 1,212 against. In consequence of the annexation of the Papal provinces and of Naples, THE LIBERAL ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION of Sardinia has now been extended over all Italy. Bishops, priests, and monks have been subjected to the civil law like all other citizens, the Jesuits, as the chief promoters of despotism, have been expelled, and the extraordinary number of convents will soon be considerably reduced.

FRANCE.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.—*The Synod of the Union of Evangelical Churches* assembled on Sept. 6, at St. Etienne, near Lyons. The usual authorization hitherto granted was this year refused, and the meeting of Synod interdicted by the Minister of Public Instruction. On remonstrance it was by stealth connived at, but since it has been announced that no future meetings of the Synod will be allowed. An important change in the "Confession" of the Union, by which the nature of the death of Christ, as an atoning sacrifice, was declared more fully and explicitly than before, was unanimously adopted. A full and interesting account was given by the "Commission for Evangelization," which throughout showed the present remarkable openings in France for the preaching of the Gospel. *The Struggle between the Evangelical and Rationalistic Elements* in the National Reformed Church has recently led again to a painful collision. The congregation of Luneray, which for many years past has been served by orthodox ministers, having formed a second pastor's place, and proposed for it three orthodox candidates, the Consistory of Dieppe has passed over all the three proposed candidates from whom, according to law, it was to choose one, and appointed the pastor of a small Rationalistic congregation at the same place, which eighteen years ago separated from the National Church, for the office and this appointment has been ratified by the government. The Rationalistic pastor has been installed over the protesting congregation, to which he has joined his Rationalists. The *Espérance*, the organ of the evangelical party, takes occasion from this "most deplorable affair which has taken place in the Reformed Church since the commencement of this century" to urge the imperious necessity of a prompt return to the practice of synodical organization. In the present disposition of the French government there is, however, but little hope, we fear, for any advancement of the self-government of the Churches. *The French Academy*, at its annual meeting held in September, awarded the first prize for peculiarly virtuous deeds, for the first time, to a Protestant pastor, the Rev. John Bost, of Laforce, for his three institutions for orphan, blind, idiotic, and incurable children. The merits of the humble pastor were eloquently set forth by one of the greatest living French scholars, M. de Remusat. The impression made in France by this decision of the Academy, has been the more profound, as these very institutions at Laforce had been the butt, for years, of the most virulent calumnies from the Ultramontanists.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.—*The Ultramontane Party* in France have done more than their coreligionists in any other country for supporting the Pope in his last struggle for maintaining the political power of the Papacy. Men and money have been liberally furnished, and the bishops have made the utmost efforts to prevail on the government to come to the rescue of the Pope. This attempt, however, has entirely failed. The government, while leaving individual Catholics at liberty to show their sympathy with the cause of the Pope in any way they pleased, has prohibited the formation of committees for regularly collecting the Peter's Pence. It has again suppressed a leading organ of the

ultramontane school, the *Gazette de Lyon*, and has officially requested the bishops not to lend their help to the new arch confraternity of "St. Peter in the bonds," which required its members to use all means for the defense of the Papal power. Thus the disagreement between the government and the Church has become greater than it has ever been before.

SPAIN.

PROTESTANTISM.—*The Persecution of Protestantism* remains unabated. A child fifteen months old, belonging to Protestant parents of Bayonne, in France, having died at Villabona, near Vittoria, in Spain, the clergy of that place, on account of the parents' religion, refused him Christian burial; and when the father, on arriving near the French frontier, had to wait for an authorization to introduce the dead body, the chief of the post on duty threatened that he would have the body cast into the river if in an hour he did not get the permission. At Bilboa about three hundred Protestants, connected with the railway now building, having collected on Sunday to worship, a number of Spanish officials entered the church during the Litany and put a stop to the service. The buying and possessing of a Protestant book remains strictly and absolutely forbidden.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

1. Exegetical Theology.

A new Commentary on the Prophets after the exile (*Die nachexilischen Propheten*, Leipz.) has been commenced by A. Köhler, Privatdocent of Theology at the University of Erlangen. The author belongs, like the whole theological faculty with which he is connected, to the orthodox Lutheran school, and has previously published several exegetical articles in the Theological Quarterly, published by Dr. Rudelbach and Dr. Guericke. The first volume of his commentary contains Haggai. Another of the minor prophets, Habakkuk, has been anew translated and interpreted by J. Von Gumpach, (*Der Prophet Habakkuk*, Munich,) whose name we have occasionally met with as a contributor to the "*Studien und Kritiken.*" The translation has been made anew from the Hebrew text, which, as the title-page announces, has been "thoroughly revised and, for the first time, restored to its original connection."

A new commentary on Ecclesiastes (*Commentar über das Predigerbuch Salomo.* Leipz.) has been issued by H. A. Kahn, who likewise belongs to the Lutheran school.

The Prophets and their Prophecies (*Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen.* Gotha) is the title of a new work by Professor Tholuck, which, like the former works of this gifted divine, meets with a large circulation.

Dr. Stier, well known as the author of the Words of the Lord Jesus and the Words of the Apostles, has published, after the model of these works, a volume of "The Words of the Angels," (*Reden der Engel*, Barmen,) the first work ever published on this subject.

Dr. Tischendorf has issued an extensive prospectus of the important Sinaitic manuscript of the Bible, which was discovered by him on his Oriental journey in 1859, and the publication of which is announced for the year 1862. (*Notitia Editionis Codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici*, Leipz.) The work contains full information on the history of the discovery, on its contents and high age, a list of six hundred passages of the New Testament which are of special critical interest, and, as specimens, twenty-six columns of the Old Testament and thirty-four of the New, as also the works of Barnabas and Hermas. A second and a third part contain reports, with specimens, on other important discoveries made on the same literary journey.

2. Historical Theology.

Dr. Hase, the learned Church historian, has recently published a second revised edition of his work on the "*Empire of the Anabaptists*" at Münster in the sixteenth century, (*Das Reich der Wiedertäufer*, Leipz.) The first edition of this treatise formed part of a volume, entitled *New Prophets*, and containing, besides, treatises on Savonarola and on

Jeanne d'Arc. Of a more comprehensive work on the Anabaptists of Munster, by Dr. Cornelius, a Roman Catholic writer, which is recommended by the German journals as an able publication, the second volume has appeared. (*Geschichte des Münsterischen Aufruhrs.* Zweites Buch., Leipzic.)

The celebration of the so-called "Passion Plays," which take place every tenth year at Oberammergan, in Bavaria, and theatrically represent the Passion of Christ, has called forth a work from Dr. Hase on the history of "*the Ecclesiastical Plays*," (*Das Geistliche Schauspel*, Leipz.,) of which the Passion Play of Oberammergan is the last remnant.

Professor Hagenbach, of Basel, has continued his popular "Lectures on Church History" by the publication of "*Lectures on the Church History of the Middle Ages.*" The first part contains the history from the death of Gregory the Great to Innocent III., or from the seventh to the twelfth century. (*Vorlesungen über die Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, Leipzic.)

Among works on modern Church history are the fourth volume of Kampe's *History of the Religious Movements of Modern Times*, (*Geschichte der Religiösen Bewegungen*, Leipz.,) the completest work on the attempts made by Ronge, Uhlich, and many others, to organize in Germany Rationalistic churches; a second edition of Dr. Stahl's important work on the *Lutheran Church and the Union*, (*Die Lutherische Kirche und die Union*, Berlin,) with an appendix which contains a review of the attacks to which the first edition has been exposed; a memoir on the last days of "*G. H. Von Schubert*," one of the noblest men and best Christians among the great scholars of Germany, by Ranke; and a biography of Rev. Imm. T. Sander, a venerable pillar of the Lutheran Church, and of orthodox Christianity in its struggles with the neological and materialistic tendencies of the times, by Dr. Krummacher. (*J. F. Sander, Eine Prophetengestalt*, Elberfeld.)

To former periods of the Christian Church refer a picture of "*The Christian Church on the Threshold of the Irenæan Age*," (*Die Christlische Kirche an der Schwelle des iren. Zeitalters*, Leipz.,) by Dr. Graul, the president of the Lutheran Missionary Seminary at Leipzic; a *History of the Cosmology of the Greek Church*, with special investigations on the Gnostic systems (*Geschichte der Kosmologie in der Griechischen Kirche*, Halle,) by Dr. Möller, Privatdocent of Theology at the University of Halle; the third volume of a *History of French Calvinism*, (*Geschichte des Französ. Calvinismus*, Gotha,) by Polenz, one of the most thorough works on the history of French Calvinism; the second and last volume of a *History of Calixtus*, (the celebrated German theologian of the seventeenth century,) and of his times, by Henke, (*Calixtus und Seine Zeit*, Halle;) and the third volume of the History of "*Ulrich von Hutten*," containing a translation of his most memorable discourses with commentary, by David Frederick Strauss, the author of the "Life of Jesus."

An important work on the History of the Koran, (*Geschichte des Qoran*, Gottingen,) has been published by Nöldeke; and the valuable recent literature of Germany on the history of Buddhism has been enriched by the translation of an excellent Russian work, by Professor W. Wassiljew, on "*Buddhism: Its Doctrines, History, and Literature*," (*Der Buddhismus, seine Dogmen*, etc., St. Petersburgh.) The first volume contains the "general survey." The author has made use of many sources of information to which no other European writer has previously had access.

3. Dogmatic Theology.

A highly important contribution to the history of modern German theology has been furnished by J. Bodemeyer's "*Doctrine of the Kenosis*," (*Lehre von der Kenosis*, Goetting.) *Kenosis* is the technical term for a doctrine which has gained quite a number of adherents among the Lutheran theologians of Germany. According to it the Logos, at his incarnation, voluntarily divested himself of his divine self-consciousness in order to develop himself in purely human form. The doctrine has been in particular developed, though in different form, by Thomasius, Liebner, and Gess, and on account of the importance which is attributed to it by a large number of theologians, well deserved to be made the subject of a special, thorough work.

A comprehensive work on *Man, the Image of God, his relation to Christ and to the World*, (*Der Mensch das Ebenbild Gottes*, Basel,) has been commenced by

F. F. Keerl. The first volume, which has appeared, treats of the history of the Creation and the doctrine of the Paradise: the second will discuss the relation of Christ and of the angels to man, and will derive therefrom the details of the doctrine of the image of God in man. It was a chief design of the author, in undertaking this work, to show that all the reliable results of astronomy, geology, and paleontology are in a most remarkable and surprising harmony with the record of primitive history as narrated by the Bible.

4. Other branches of Theology.

A most valuable addition to the Protestant periodical press of Germany will be made in January, 1861, by the establishment of a *Journal of Ecclesiastical Law*. It will be edited by Dr. Dove, Privatdocent of the University of Berlin, and will count among its contributors many of the most learned and distinguished jurists and professors of law in Germany, as Professor Richter in Berlin, Professor Jacobson in Konigsberg, Professors Herman and Zachariä in Gottingen, Professor Wasserschleben in Giessen, and many others. The new journal will be the only German organ for the discussion of questions of ecclesiastical law; and the celebrity and high position of many of its contributors secures to it from the start a weighty influence on the ecclesiastical condition of the country. It is therefore very gratifying to know that it will represent and serve the interests of the evangelical party.

One of the ablest works compiled during the present century by Roman Catholic theologians, the "*Ecclesiastical Dictionary;* or, *Cyclopedia of Catholic Theology,*" (*Kirchenlexicon*, Freiburg, 1848, sq.,) edited by Dr. Wetzer and Dr. Welte, has been recently brought to a close by the completion of a very copious and valuable general index. The information on Protestant matters is, as usual in works of this class, frequently unreliable and untrue; its articles on Catholic doctrines and history betray throughout the blind partiality of their authors, and, on the whole, it is by far inferior to the excellent Protestant cyclopedia of Dr. Herzog. But, nevertheless, it contains a large number of most valuable articles of permanent value, on account of which it well deserves a place in all larger theological libraries. It consists of eleven volumes and one supplement, besides the general index, which gives an alphabetical list of all the proper names occurring in the work. A French translation has been for several years in the course of publication, and likewise approaches its completion.

Art. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

Presbyterian Quarterly Review, October, 1860.—1. The Arabs. 2. Russia—Second Article. 3. Schleiermacher. 4. Duties of our Laymen. 5. The New Rule of the American Home Missionary Society. 6. The Fathers of the Harrisburgh Presbytery: I. Rev. Robert Kennedy. II. Rev. Robert Cathcart, D. D.

American Theological Review, November, 1860.—1. The Laws of Civilization. 2. Objective Preaching. 3. Unity and Common Origin of the Human Race. 4. State of the Jewish Mind relative to the Scriptures. 5. The Rosetta Stone. 6. The British Government and the Slave-trade. 7. Origin of American Foreign Missions.

Freewill Baptist Quarterly, October, 1860.—1. Moral Character—Its Origin and Difference. 2. The Position of the Methodist Episcopal Church on the Subject of American Slavery. 3. An Effective Ministry. 4. Christian Missions and Civilization. 5. Æsthetical Culture. 6. Regeneration. 7. The Book of Job.

Universalist Quarterly and General Review, October, 1860.—23. Legends of King Arthur. 24. The True Method of Evangelism—Itinerancy. 25. The Religion of Zoroaster. 26. The Test of Legitimate Amusements. 27. The Doctrine of the Personality of the Devil historically considered.

Christian Review, October, 1860.—1. Are our Necessary Conceptions of God reliable? 2. Notes on the Mystics. 3. On Preaching the Doctrine of Eternal Punishment. 4. Godwin's History of France. 5. Art Education. 6. Missionary Attempts of the Jesuits in Japan. 7. Rational Cosmology.

Theological and Literary Journal, October, 1860.—1. Rawlinson's Bampton Lectures on the Truth of the Scripture Records. 2. Dr. J. A. Alexander on Matthew xxiv. 3. Memorial of Rev. John Richards, D. D. 4. The Fiji Mission. 5. The Revelation, Daniel ii, respecting the Four Great Empires. 6. Designation and Exposition of the Figures in Isaiah, Chapters lviii, lix, and lx.

New Englander, November, 1860.—1. The Divine Humanity of Christ. 2. Frederic Perthes. 3. Agriculture as a Profession; or, Hints about Farming. 4. Modern Warfare: Its Science and Art. 5. Dr. Alexander's Letters. 6. Primitive Evangelization and its Lessons. 7. The General Assembly and Co-operation. 8. The Home Heathen, and How to reach them. 9. Palfrey's History of New England.

American Quarterly Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register, October, 1860.—1. The Present State and Prospects of Christianity—No. III, Concluded. 2. Green's Biographical Studies. 3. Church Missionary Position of 1835 and Voluntaryism. 4. Two Letters to the Bishop of Arras. 5. Dr. Huntington's Sermons and the Trinity. 6. Dr. Craik's Discourse on the Union. 7. The Free Church System. American Ecclesiastical History: Early Journals of General Conventions.

Evangelical Review, October, 1860.—1. Christian Liberty. 2. Testimony of Jesus as to his Possession and Exercise of Miraculous Power. 3. A Call to the Christian Ministry. 4. The Pleasures of Taste. 5. Baccalaureate Address. 6. Baptismal Hymns. 7. The New Heavens and the New Earth. 8. Opening Address before a Christian Association. 9. The Evangelical Mass and Romish Mass.

North American Review, October, 1860.—1. Homer and his Heroines. 2. Climatology. 3. Life and Labors of Thomas Prince. 4. Edmund Waller. 5. Lord Shaftesbury. 6. Second Volume of Palfrey's History of New England. 7. Quarantine and Hygiene. 8. Rush's Occasional Productions. 9. The English Language in America. 10. The Origin of Species. 11. An "Inglorious Milton."

Southern Presbyterian Review, October, 1860.—1. The Protestant Church of France and the Pastors of the Desert. 2. The Resurrection-Body. 3. The Letters of Alexander von Humboldt. 4. Unity and Infallibility of the Church of Rome. 5. The Geological Writings of David N. Lord. 6. The Princeton Review on Theories of the Eldership.

Mercersburg Review, October, 1860.—1. The Fall and the Natural World. 2. Strength and Beauty of the Sanctuary. 3. Memoir of Dr. J. W. Alexander. 4. Unlettered Learning; or, a Plea for the Study of Things. 5. The Literature of the Heidelberg Catechism. 6. The Prospects of Christianity in Africa.

Protestant Episcopal Quarterly Review and Church Register, October, 1860.—1. Savonarola, the Prophet of the Reformation in Italy. 2. Popular Geology—Hugh Miller's Geological Works. 3. Science a Witness for the Bible. 4. The Origin and Characteristics of the English Language. 5. Baptismal Regeneration.

Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, October, 1860.—1. Milton and his Recent Critics. 2. Introduction of Children into the Church. 3. Wordsworth. 4. Dr. Alexander's Theory of Moral Agency. 5. The Greek Tragic Drama. 6. Southern Standard of Education. 7. Job's War-Horse.

Bibliotheca Sacra and Biblical Repository, October, 1860.—1. The Religion of Geology. 2. The Aborigines of India. 3. The Resurrection and its Concomitants. 4. Did the Ancient Hebrews believe in the Doctrine of Immortality? 5. Comparative Phonology; or, The Phonetic System of the Indo-European Languages. 6. A Journey to Neapolis and Philippi.

The article on "The Religion of Geology" unfolds, from Professor Hitchcock's last work, some excellent views. But the professor's latest reconciliation of Moses and geology, so far as it is made clear in this article, will obtain few adherents. The professor tells us that he has long felt the impression that Moses *truly meant* a natural *day* by that term in his record. Hence, he accepts this as

the meaning. But he modifies the record by two suppositions: 1. To this natural day is affixed in each instance a stupendous symbolic period of which the natural day is the commencement. 2. The days are not truly chronological in their order, but are simply diurnal pictures of creative facts given by Moses in an ideal succession. Such is the theory. But does the professor, or any one else, feel that such was the real meaning of Moses?

We can easily imagine, however, that Moses did not truly know the entire meaning of his own record. We can easily believe, with Professor Whewell, that a narrative written for man in both his unscientific and his scientific age, might be so constructed as to possess apparent and real truth for both ages.

Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, October, 1860.—1. The Logical Relations of Religion and Natural Science. 2. The Law of Spiritual Growth. 3. Horace Binney's Pamphlets. 4. Reason and Faith. 5. Napoleon III. and the Papacy. 6. Theory of the Eldership.

For the past year or so the pages of the Repertory have presented a very able series of metaphysical articles, dealing with the present aspects of philosophic thought. They are marked by a terseness of style, a clearness of thought, a vigor of analysis, and, according to our standard, a soundness of doctrine very welcome at the present time; and we could wish that they might be furnished in another form for a wider audience than the constituency of the Princeton Quarterly. Among these articles are Sir William Hamilton's "Theory of Perception," Sir William Hamilton's "Philosophy of the Conditioned," and, in the present number, "Reason and Faith."

In this article we have a very accurate estimate of Dr. M'Cosh, and of his late work on the "Intuitions," with a very sharp sifting of the application by Mansel of the Hamiltonian philosophy to the purposes of doctrinal and practical theology. Dr. M'Cosh is not described as a great or a brilliant, but as a healthful, discriminating, and truthful mind. He develops, not always in the most concise style, but with great clearness, a philosophy accordant with the "universal common-sense of mankind." In the latter part of the article the reviewer detects the lurking errors and the fearful results of the philosophy that would reveal God to us by the light of a blaze of contradictions, and give us a religion made of mere "*regulative*"—perhaps—*falsehoods.*

English Reviews.

National Review, October, 1860.—1. The Franks and the Gauls. 2. The English Translators of Homer. 3. Builders' Combinations in London and Paris. 4. Russian Literature: Michael Lermontoff. 5. The Middle Ages in England. 6. The Natural History of Ceylon. 7. French Fiction: The Lowest Deep. 8. Baron Ricasoli and his Political Career. 9. Nathaniel Hawthorne. 10. Nature and God.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, October, 1860.—1. Baird's First and Second Adam. 2. Dr. Edward Beecher's Conflict and Concord. 3. Sir W. Hamilton's Theory of Perception. 4. Are the Phenomena of Spiritualism Supernatural? 5. New England Theology. 6. Zwingle and the Doctrine of the Sacraments. 7. Tholuck on the Gospel of St. John.

Westminster Review, October, 1860.—1. Neo-Christianity. 2. The North American Indians. 3. Robert Owen. 4. The Organization of Italy. 5. The Antiquity of the Human Race. 6. Russia—Present and Future. 7. Our National Defenses. 8. W. M. Thackeray as Novelist and Photographer.

Quarterly Review, October, 1860.—1. The Brazilian Empire. 2. Deaconesses. 3. Public School Education. 4. Wills and Will-making, Ancient and Modern. 5. Eliot's Novels. 6. Arrest of the Five Members by Charles the First. 7. Iron-Sides and Wooden Walls. 8. Competitive Examinations.

North British Review, November, 1860.—1. Modern Thought—Its Progress and Consummation. 2. The Disturbances in Syria. 3. Leigh Hunt. 4. The Spanish Republics of South America. 5. The Province of Logic and Recent British Logicians. 6. Lord Macaulay's Place in English Literature. 7. American Humor. 8. Revivals. 9. The Martyrdom of Galileo. 10. The Sicilian Game.

Edinburgh Review, October, 1860.—1. Recent Geographical Researches. 2. Memoirs of the Master of Sinclair. 3. Max Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature. 4. Grotius and the Sources of International Law. 5. The Churches of the Holy Land. 6. The Grand Remonstrance. 7. Scottish County Histories. 8. Brain Difficulties. 9. The United States under Mr. Buchanan.

Christian Remembrancer, October, 1860.—1. Oxford British Association Discussions, as related to Spiritual Questions. 2. Bishop Hurd. 3. Oxford—Its Constitutional and Educational Changes. 4. Essays and Reviews. 5. The Kalendars of the Church. 6. Theory of the Mosaic System. 7. Revivalism and Thaumaturgic Psychology.

London Review, October, 1860.—1. English, Literary and Vernacular. 2. Recent Discoveries in Eastern Africa. 3. Ruskin on Modern Painters. 4. The Methodist Episcopal Church and Slavery. 5. Lebanon—The Druses and Maronites. 6. Sicily. 7. England at the Accession of George III. 8. Etheridge's Life of Dr. Coke. 9. Henry Drummond. 10. Italy in Transition.

British Quarterly Review, October, 1860.—1. Ireland—Her Past and Present. 2. Atkinson's Travels—Amoor, India, and China. 3. Glaciers. 4. Heinrich von Kleist. 5. Burton's Lake Regions of Central Africa. 6. Modern Painters. 7. Egyptology and the Two Exodes. 8. Christian Races under Turkish Rulers. 9. Hours with the Mystics.

The article on Egyptology is learned and original. The first part presents, and treats with refutation and ridicule, the stupendous programme of hypothetical history invented by Bunsen for the twenty thousand years anterior to the dates of authentic history. This programme is founded not upon the monumental records of Egypt, but partly upon the supposed demands of linguistic development, and arises very much from applying to that department the principles of Darwin as applied to species; and partly upon the historical records of Manetho, who extends Egyptian history into a stupendous round of mythical ages, terminating with a period ruled over by "Ghosts and Heroes." The writer discredits Manetho by showing that he is unreliable even for the historic period, as tested by the monumental inscriptions.

The latter part of the article furnishes a very ingenious argument, founded on the latest developments of Brugsh, identifying the Pharoah of the Exodus with Thothmes II. of the monuments, predecessor of Thothmes III., the great conqueror. Of Thothmes III. there remain some magnificent inscriptions upon his temple-palace at Karnak, cotemporaneous and almost autobiographical, fixing their own dates with indisputable accuracy, furnishing history "more precious than the lost decades of Livy." These records supply the date of the accession of Thothmes III., which the reviewer astronomically ascertains to have been May 5, 1515; and "with the sunset of the preceding day would commence the *twelfth day of the second lunar month*, counting from the equinox." Now, assuming this to have been the day of the demise of the preceding monarch, it is identical with the day of the submersion of the Exodic Pharoah in the Red Sea. For Moses says, that from the overthrow to the arrival of Elim was "*three days*," that is, *νυχθημερα*, measured from sunset to sunset. This would make them arrive at Elim on the *fourteenth*, and leave there on the *fifteenth*.

Just so it is said by Moses: "They took their journey from Elim . . . on the *fifteenth day of the second* month." We suppose Chevalier Bunsen would consider so striking an adjustment of Manetho demonstrative of his accuracy; but, in the case of Moses, it is too nice a coincidence to be valid.

BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE, October, 1860.—1. Seeing is Believing. 2. The Papal Government. 3. Tickler II. among the Thieves! 4. The Reputed Traces of Primeval Man. 5. The Romance of Agostini, Part II. 6. The Fresco-Paintings of Italy—The Arundel Society. 7. Proverbs. 8. The Meeting. 9. Progress. 10. Strength. 11. Norman Sinclair: An Autobiography, Part IX.

In a former number of our Quarterly we referred fully to the discovery of certain hatchet-shaped flint stones, excavated from such geological depths, in Amiens and Albeville, France, as to indicate in the minds of the *savans*, the existence of the human race at an immensely distant period anterior to all history. The Blackwood contains an article, signed with the letters H. D. R. (the initials we presume of Henry D. Rogers, now Professor in Glasgow University,) narrating a visit to and full examination of the localities and objects in question, and furnishing the results. We can give only his conclusions:

1. To the question, Are the so-called flint-implements of human workmanship or the results of physical agencies? my reply is, They bear unmistakably the indications of having been shaped by the skill of man.

2. To the inquiry, Does the mere association in the same deposit of the flint-implements and the bones of extinct quadrupeds prove that the artificers of the flint-tools and the animals coexisted in time? I answer, That mere juxtaposition of itself is no evidence of cotemporaneity, and that upon the testimony of the fossil bones the age of the human relics is *not proven.*

3. To the query, What is the antiquity of the mammalian bones with which the flint-implements are associated? my answer is, That, apart from their mixture with the recently discovered vestiges of an early race of men, these fossils exhibit no independent marks by which we can relate them to human time at all. The age of the diluvium which imbeds the remains of the extinct mammalian animals must now be viewed as doubly uncertain, doubtful from the uncertainty of its coincidence with the age of the flint-implements, and again doubtful, if even this coincidence were established, from the absence of any link of connection between those earliest traces of man and his historic ages.

Upon the special question involved in this general query, What time must it have required for the physical geography adapted to the pachyderms of the ante-diluvian period to have altered into that now prevailing, suited to wholly different races? the geological world is divided between two schools of interpretation, the tranquilists, who recognize chiefly nature's gentler forces and slower mutations, and the paroxysmists, who appeal to her violent subterranean energies and her more active surface-changes.

4. To the last interrogation, How far are we entitled to impute a high antiquity to these earliest physical records of mankind from the nature of the containing and overlying sedimentary deposits? my response again is, That as the two schools of geologists now named differ widely in their translation into geologic time of all

phenomena of the kind here described, this question, like the preceding, does not admit, in the present state of the science, of a specific or quantitative answer.

In conclusion, then, of the whole inquiry, condensing into one expression my answer to the general question, Whether a remote prehistoric antiquity for the human race has been established from the recent discovery of specimens of man's handiwork in the so-called diluvium, I maintain it is not proven; by no means asserting that it can be *disproved*, but insisting simply that it remains — *Not Proven.*

ECLECTIC REVIEW, October, 1860.—1. The Pauline Doctrine, No. II. 2. A Contrast; or, Theological Differences. 3. The Province of Reason. 4. Church Principles and Life. 5. Egypt's Place in Universal History. 6. The Social Affections. 7. Home Evangelization. 8. The Story of the Caliph Hakem, the Divinity of the Druses.

The fifth article is a brief critique upon Bunsen's demand for an immense ante-Mosaic chronology. Bunsen's positions are thus given:

First. That the immigration of the Asiatic stock from Western Asia (Chaldea) into Egypt is antediluvian.

Secondly. That the historical deluge, which took place in a considerable part of Central Asia, cannot have occurred at a more recent period than the Tenth Millennium, B. C.

Thirdly. That there are strong grounds for supposing that that catastrophe did not take place at a much earlier period.

Fourthly. That man existed on this earth about 20,000 years B. C., and that there is no valid reason for assuming a more remote beginning of our race.—P. 386.

A large amount of this hypothetical chronology is based upon Bunsen's theory that language is developed from a monosyllabic germ, namely, the Chinese, by agglutination, grammatical formations, and syntactical organization:

Thus we have a chain, of which the links are: A, Chinese; B, the oldest Turanian formations, or Tibetan; C, Hhamism, the language-development of ancient Egypt; D, Semism; E, the harmonious and perfected organism of language, or Arism. As all things in the physical world tend upward to find their acme and perfection in man, so in language, from first to last, there is an organic life-struggle after the form which completes human utterance by the formation of articulated sentences—Arabic, Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin, being the highest results of the process. In these, in different degrees, is discerned the symmetrical organism which is the perfect instrument of the consciously creative mind.—P. 390.

This theory has, perhaps, about the same validity as M. Comte's assumption of the development of the human race through three philosophic stages of infancy, manhood, and age. The refutation is also similar:

A quite sufficient answer to this conjectural scheme of lingual development is found in the fact of the co-æternaeous existence, even at the present day, of all those varieties of language. Living representations are found still, among the spoken languages of the world, of Sinism, Turanism, Semism, and Arism; so that what we find cotemporaneous now, we are under no obligation to esteem consecutive at an earlier period of man's existence upon earth. Half-a-dozen modes of linguistic

progress may have run their course cotemporaneously in the world, their characteristic differences and modes of procedure being due to the genius of the respective human races of families, rather than to any essential law of precedence among themselves. The indisputable fact, that the rule of development appears checked in the case of whole nations and quarters of the globe, which have settled down into imperfect modes of lingual expression as the final result of their experiment in language-making, and that there, at this low point of progress, they are sure to remain as long as the sun and moon endure, while others have pushed on to the acme of minute and accurate expression in a copious vocabulary and complicated syntax, and all this, although holding intercourse with nations in higher stages of linguistic development than their own, tells against the pretty pattern which the Baron has drawn, and asserts independent lines of collateral development, and not derivative subordination.

Furthermore, against the supposition of Chinese being the parent, in its primitive simple grammar, of the more developed but still *simple* grammar of the Egyptians, is the statement to be urged that the *Egyptian grammar is not a simple one* but one well-developed, bearing therefore, in this respect, no resemblance to the early Chinese. Hhamism is, in its grammatical structure, sheer Semism, or Arism in an early stage of development; just as, on the other side, Japhetism is likewise Semism, or Arism in a more finished stage, the affinities on both sides testifying to their common parentage, and thus to the unity of the human race.

The vocal element of the Chinese language claims no share in the parentage of the Hhamitic tongues, because that vocal element is independent of the characters. The written character of the whole Chinese nation is the same; so that an epistle written in any one dialect conveys precisely the same sense in any other dialect. But the sounds attached to the syllabic character are arbitrary, so that the inhabitants of the north and south of the Celestial Empire are as unintelligible to each other, when they speak, as if a hopelessly dumb person attempted to communicate by word of mouth with one as hopelessly deaf; but both Chinamen and infirm men become mutually intelligible directly they take a pen in their hand, and commit their thoughts to paper.

But the existence of a syllabic language like the Chinese to the present day, crystallized in forms so different from the linguistic cultivation of the rest of the great races of the world, is a very forcible argument against the derivation of the Egyptian from it, and against the rashness that would assign any specific period as essential for the process of its evolution into more perfect forms. If the Chinese, according to Bunsen, was virtually the same kind of tongue 15,000 years ago, before the great cataclysm, as it is now, having withstood the progressive tendency of humanity, and all the influences of time and change, there is nothing in this characteristic of the language to contribute any help toward forming correct ideas of the period of man's existence upon earth. The language which survives 15,000 years may have existed 30,000 years, for any evidence which its imperishable and unchanged forms of vocalization present to the contrary. If this argument tells negatively upward, it tells in the same way downward, and has at least the effect of neutralising that portion of the Baron's argument which claims specific periods for the production of peculiar characteristic or radical changes in tongues.—Pp. 391, 392.

French Reviews.

Revue des Deux Mondes, Septembre 1, 1860.—1. Le Marquis de Villemer, Quatrèime Partie. 2. Politique Coloniale de la France—Les Antilles Françaises, la Martinique et la Guadeloupe Depuis L'Emancipation. 3. Thomas Jefferson, sa Vie et sa Correspondance—IV. Jefferson dans la Retrait, sa Mort. 4. La Poésie Hongroise au XIX^e^ Siècle—Les Rapsodes de l'Histoire

Nationale. 5. Légendes et Paysages de l'Inde—L'Ile de Ceylan, son Histoire et ses Mœurs. 6. Un Essai d'Histoire Idéale, *Merlin l'Enchanteur*. 7. Etudes de Cavalerie—Les Chasseurs d'Afrique. 8. Chronique de la Quinzaine, Histoire Politique et Littéraire. 9. Les Romans d'Hier et d'Aujourd'hui.

Septembre 15, 1860.—1. L'Angleterre et la Vie Anglaise—L'Armée, les Volontaires et les Ecoles Militaires—I. L'Arsenal de Woolwich. 2. Le Marquis de Villemer, Dernière Partie. 3. La Sculpture Contemporaine en France—Charles Simart. 4. Littérature Anglais—Une Thèse sur la Mariage en Deux Romans. 5. La Syrie et la Question d'Orient—I. Les Affaires de Syrie. 6. La Guerre du Maroc, Episode de l'Histoire Contemporaine de l'Espagne. 7. Du Mouvement Moral des Sociétés d'Après les Derniers Résultats de la Statistique.

Octobre 1, 1860.—1. Une Mission en Suisse Pendant les Cent-jours, Papiers Inédits. 2. De l'Equilibre et de l'Etat des Forcés Navales en France et en Angleterre, a Propos des Nouveaux Essais Tentés Dans la Marine. 3. Industriels et Inventeurs—Christophe Oberkampf. 4. La Syrie et la Question d'Orient—II. La Turquie et la Conférence Européenne. 5. Mademoiselle du Plessé, Première Partie. 6. Des Agens de la Production Agricole—I. Les Engrais Minéraux. 7. Chronique de la Quinzaine, Histoire Politique et Littéraire. 8. Essais et Notices—De l'Organisation du Nouveau Royaume d'Italie.

Revue Chretienne, August 15, 1860.—1. Les Grands Moralistes Français, d'après le livre de Vinet. 2. Jeanne d'Albret. 3. Bacon et le Materialisme (fin.) 4. Bulletin Bibliographique. 5. Revue du Mois.

Septembre 15, 1860.—1. Port Royal. 2. Madame de Maintenon. 3. Jérusalem et le Temple. 4. Nécrologie. 5. Bulletin Bibliographique. 6. Revue du Mois.

The advancement of the principles of freedom in our country, in Church and in State, is matter of congratulation with the intellectual and Christian minds of Europe. Witness the following extracts, which we translate from this periodical:

If we direct our attention to the other hemisphere, we see the different political parties preparing themselves vigorously for the presidential election. Several candidates are in the field, but it is upon Mr. Lincoln of Illinois that the vote is bestowed of the party which has for its object the progressive abolition of slavery. Not that Mr. Lincoln is a decided abolitionist; but he is, at any rate, among the number of those who believe that slavery ought not to pass its actual limits. Such a platform has a signification of immense importance in the politics of a president of the American confederation; for it is to be noted that, according to the American constitution, to the federal power it is that the supreme authority belongs in the new territories not yet organized into states. To prevent the introduction of slavery, therefore, into the territories, is to assure for the future in the

confederation a majority of free states. This reason alone suffices to concentrate our wishes in favor of the election of Mr. Lincoln.

The cause of freedom has, in other respects, recently made important progress in the United States. We are happy, for instance, that the General Conference of one of the most important of the Churches in that vast country, the Methodist Church, has resolutely entered the antislavery current; and to brand, by the way, the shameful protest which the Methodist ministers of Charleston (Baltimore?) have thought necessary to raise against that noble initiative. The last session of Congress has been marked by one of the most eloquent pleas against slavery that we have ever read. Our readers doubtless recollect that, three years ago, Mr. Sumner, a senator from Massachusetts, having attacked slavery in the senate, was brutally assailed by one of his colleagues, who, striking him unprepared with his cane, left him half dead upon the floor of the chamber. This ignoble conduct was applauded by the journals of the South. Mr. Sumner was obliged for the time to renounce his official labors; but scarcely was he restored and returned to the senate when he pronounced an admirable discourse, in which he has not feared to present in a striking picture the moral and material results of slavery. Such was the authority of that noble speech that not an interruption dared offer itself, and Mr. Sumner was able to make them understand quite to the end without any special effort his burning philippic, which, reproduced forthwith by the press, has moved the entire country. Thus, in spite of the brutal attempts of American demagogism to introduce into parliamentary manners the despotism of the street, it is consoling to think that, in the last resort, the moral advantage remains on the side of elevation of character, and courage is not wanting to the apostles of truth. —Pp. 514, 515.

The following extract gives the writer's impression in regard to the most eminent English preachers:

One trait of the present English religious movement is the direction altogether popular impressed upon the evangelical preaching. The public mind is weary, it would seem, of the academic sermon, which demonstrates by abstract considerations those verities which, in truth, belong to the heart, and which justify themselves, above all, in the life. The man who always answers the best to this need is Spurgeon, whose popularity suffers no decline. His preaching is not indeed wholly divested of the subtleties of a scholastic argumentation. It presents some singular divisions and arguments more specious than solid; but all this is carried along by the current of his living and burning eloquence. With Spurgeon, as with Guinness and with most of the young popular preachers, it is the imagination which is the dominant faculty. We find a more happy combination of qualities with a power also, altogether more real, in a Methodist preacher, Mr. Punshon, who is perhaps the most eminent religious orator of England at the present time. What strikes us in Mr. Punshon is that his faculties, which are of the first order, his imagination brilliant and poetic, his wonderful clearness, his extensive learning, are directed by an intellect also solid as it is vast, which penetrates to the very bottom of the subjects with which it treats. Wholly popular though he is, he sacrifices nothing to popularity. In him there is no appeal to an exterior sensibility, no specious measures for moving the imagination of the masses, nothing which indicates the man who prepares his effects. One feels that he gives always the reasons which have convinced himself, and that it is the interior labor of his own soul which he brings. This admirable talent is sustained by an elocution neat, animated, suiting itself to the slightest inflections of thought, and always weighty and worthy the subject it develops. One occasionally regrets that the labors of his ministry have somewhat fatigued his organs, in which there is sometimes a failure of the harmonious tones. But who can combine every excellence?—P. 516.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Recent Inquiries in Theology. By eminent English Churchmen. Being "Essays and Reviews." Reprinted from the Second London Edition. Edited, with an Introduction, by Rev. Frederic H. Hedge, D. D. 12mo., pp. 480. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860.

Under their original title of "Essays and Reviews," the pieces of this volume have, in England, created a "sensation." As reference to our Synopsis will show, they attracted decided notice from the current Quarterlies, and the jubilant Westminster pronounces their appearance "an epoch" in the progress of thought. This epochal importance cannot, as we think, arise from their very great ability; for, scholarly as they are in thought and style, we could, at a few hours' notice, select an equally able series of articles on kindred topics from the National Review. But the startling point in their appearance is, that they are the product of hands whose signatures stand unwithdrawn to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and a point of moral rectitude is fairly raised. Moreover, it presents itself as a *movement* from within the Establishment. Freethinkers hail it as an irretraceable advance down the terrace steps of skepticism. Bold inquiry, free speech is starting up in the ranks of orthodoxy, and a "movement" of "progress" is made in "flinging off the influence of old opinions."

The apologists for these writers would say that they were making an effort to show how the untenable elements of our past Christian belief can be surrendered without yielding the central or, at least, the vital parts. Geology, ethnology, monumental archæology, are showing that the cosmogony of Moses, the unity of the race, the chronology of the Pentateuch, are traditional errors. Science is demonstrating the immutability of nature, and falsifying thereby the myths of miracle. What then? All that is spiritual in Scripture, all that coincides with the high and holy intuitions of humanity remains, and remains forever. The Bible is still the best of books; the religion which is contained in the Bible, as the gold is in the ore, is imperishably true. The heroic men who now rise up to show that these invaluable realities are not to be surrendered amid the wreck of the tradition and the myth, are friends of religion and benefactors of the world.

All this is very fine; but our religion is no way thankful for such defenders. For the last entire century there has been a flying cohort of thinkers hanging upon the outskirts of Christianity who have been ever proclaiming that her existence is coming to an end. Science, in its transition state, appears in its various phases, to threaten different truths of Christianity. When the science by completion becomes a science, the method by which the religion and the science may combine spontaneously emerges.

The most important of these essays are as follow: Rev. Rowland Williams, D. D., indorses the Biblical theory of Chevalier Bunsen; according to which, mankind has existed some twenty thousand years before the beginning of the apparent Hebrew chronology; all biblical history before Abraham is a fragmentary mass of fable and history, and all supernatural narratives throughout the Bible are false. Rev. Baden Powell shows us, on the grounds of metaphysics and natural philosophy, that a miraculous violation of the laws of nature is a strict impossibility. Rev. H. B. Wilson, D. D., shows the folly and the unspiritual and irreligious tendency of all historical evidences of Christianity. Paley is worthless, and he and his age were a dry, soulless set, with very little, if any, religion in them. C. W. Goodwin, A. M., shows the wickedness of attempting the great falsehood of maintaining that the Mosaic narrative of the creation, so plain in itself, is accordant with the facts of geology. Professor Jowett shows that the prevalent mode of interpreting Scripture, by which immoral passages are hammered into rectitude and contradictions are pressed into agreement, is achieved at the expense of the common sense and the moral sense. He completes the set. Of course, after these successive assaults are completed there are left but a tattered fragment of our old Bible, and but a shadowy phantasm of our old religion.

That our Bible has some accounts to settle with the incomplete sciences is true. But the Bible being a proved and true book, upon it we take our affirmative stand, and deal with those difficulties in methods accordant with their particular nature. When the difficulty allows two or three constructions of any point or passage, we are entitled to the most favorable. When a difficulty cannot be solved, we assume that there is a solution of which we are ignorant, or we postpone its solution until further research solves the method. Not until a negative demonstration, admitting neither of these methods, stands at undeniable issue with the truth of the Bible, do we surrender; and that negative demonstration has never yet come.

With the incomplete science of geology the Bible has an open problem; we wait its solution without misgiving, and we shall wait for something better than Professor Hitchcock's latest essay. As to Egyptology, its ambiguous interpretations are yet to be reduced to certainty; and when that comes the reconciliation will come with it. Chevalier Bunsen, with his grand chronological romance, will never unsettle a single verse of Genesis. That the Author of the course of nature has not full power to vary that course, neither Hume nor Baden Powell can prove. On the contrary, that God can come forth just as easily and just as wisely in the extraordinary as in the ordinary, in the supernatural as in the natural, we hold to be one of the plainest dictates of common-sense.

In his elegant preface to this volume, Dr. Hedge says of the Paleyan age that its "practical evil" "found a corrective in the rise of Methodism. That new dispensation of the Gospel reacted with healing power on the Church." But we reply, Methodism, strangely as it may sound, is founded upon, and is a necessary consequence of, Paleyism. Whitfield and Wesley assumed the evidences of Paley to be valid, and made the historical miraculous Christ, with his actual vicarious atonement, the basis of their "dispensation." Take away these, and these men were powerless. And take away these, and every dispensation will be powerless. No religion can live and work without its body of historical facts. Dean Milman pregnantly remarks, that, 'no Pelagian ever has or ever will work a religious revolution." With the implements that these writers and their editor would furnish, the indifferentism and skepticism whose reign closed the last century could never have been dethroned. It would only have found "in the lowest deep a lower deep."

While Methodism was working out her humble and hard-working dispensation, Unitarianism was the deadest part of the Christian Church. President Kirkland and his cotemporaries were the driest of Lockians, the tamest of Paleyans, reducing Christianity to the most naked history, and preaching a Gospel of natural ethics. To them, Methodism and fanaticism were different ways of spelling the same word. What has wrought the change by which our graceful Unitarian can call Methodism "a new dispensation of the Gospel?" A fashionable philosophy. Intuitionalism is *now* in the ascendancy; and the high glow of moral and philosophic feeling which it cherishes not only sincerely feels an affinity for, but even confounds itself with, a spiritual, earnest religion. Dr. Hedge speaks then with no purpose of shallow compliment,

but with a profoundly serious meaning. Yet, with all its profoundness, it is a mere ephemeral phase of sentiment. It is simply the humor of the reigning metaphysics. Twenty years hence it may be blown off, like the foam from a German's mug of lager, and leave nothing but a residuum of dead sensationalism worse than ruled the age of Paley and Kirkland. Should we now allow ourselves to be cheated into the humor of renouncing the historical evidential basis of Christianity, what will become of us when the high fever glow of the present transcendentalism chills down into empiricism? Both the historical and the spiritual would be lost, and nothing but a blank, desolate Tom Paine infidelity would be left us. We must tell our Unitarian and rationalistic friends, then, that we can no more accept their guidance in this their hour of excitement than we could in the day of their deadness. Methodism maintained her revivalism in the day of their prosaic Paleyism; she now maintains her Paleyism in the midst of their revivalism. For if Paleyism be true, our revivalism is right. If the facts of Christianity are reality, the spirit of earnest religion is solely rational. Paley was right and logical when he framed his evidences; he was illogical when he declined to infer the obligation and necessity of the most earnest religious feeling and action. Paley and Wesley are antecedent and consequent.

We are not, then, to be fascinated out of that firm maintenance of Christian FACTS, for the masterly statement of which William Paley's name is illustriously trite wherever the English language is read. His manual has solidly based the faith of untold thousands. It will survive whole æons of literary bubbles like these essays. With all our Methodism, we would not give one ounce of Paley's solid evidential sense for the entire volume of transcendental gas that exhilarates the brains of these glowing intuitionalists, who would kick the massy platform of fact from beneath their feet to show how buoyantly they can dance on nothing.

The Rock of Ages; or, Scripture Testimony to the One Eternal Godhead of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. By EDWARD H. BICKERSTETH, M. A. With an Introduction by Rev. F. D. HUNTINGTON, D. D. 12mo., pp. 214. Boston: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1860.

This little book attempts no scientific statements, metaphysical adjustments, nor even polemical defenses of challenged proof-texts. Its author, an English clergyman of the evangelical school, with the most transparent simplicity and earnestness, merely sets him-

self to the task of tabulating, in arrangements of striking and cumulative force, the various declarations of holy writ which bear upon the mystery of the Holy Trinity. Many scholars as zealously Trinitarian as himself will, undoubtedly, demur to the use made of some passages, and even deprecate the employment of a style of argument and of biblical interpretation so minute and mechanical as is his in some of its parts. Indeed, there is reason to fear that an ingenious man, constructing his arguments upon the same plan, and with the same disregard of textual and analogical connection, might "prove" that a great many irrational, immoral, and heterodox things are taught in the Holy Scriptures. Still, the great outlines of the argument are sound and irrefutable, while the skillful arrangements of related passages, printed in full, render the book a convenient manual of reference upon the subject.

The Introduction by Dr. Huntington is a feature of considerable interest in this American edition, inasmuch as in it the late convert from Unitarianism replies to the numerous criticisms which his sermon, entitled "Life, Salvation, and Comfort for Man in the Divine Trinity," called forth from his former ecclesiastical associates. He thinks a considerable part of these criticisms is sufficiently disposed of by reminding their authors, firstly, that his sermon was not a systematic and exhaustive treatise on the doctrine, but merely an exposition of some of its practical uses; and, secondly, that it did not pretend to state the doctrine in the identical terms of any particular symbol. He then discusses the sources of light upon the question: 1. Holy Scripture. This of course is first and foremost. 2. Man's higher intuitions and cognitions. These he grants need "educating," need to be "developed under the best conditions," in order to lend any confirmatory evidence. Unitarians will be likely to differ from Dr. H. as to what the "best conditions" are. 3. Its providential history. Here he very successfully maintains the great points contended for by the best Trinitarian historians. Altogether the book is likely to find many readers. W.

The Cloud Dispelled; or, the Doctrine of Predestination Examined. By JOHN KIRK, Edinburgh. With an Introduction by Rev. DANIEL CURRY, D. D. 12mo., pp. 293. New York: N. Tibbals & Co. 1860.

Scotland, so long the peculiar and loyal domain of Calvinism, is beginning at last to revolt. One large and growing Arminian denomination has recently sprung up on its soil. And the latest and, in

some respects, the best history of the life of Arminius is from the pen of a Scotchman. The present work is a new token of good. It consists of a series of popular lectures, seventeen in number, originally delivered in Edinburgh, and published in 1847. It devotes one lecture to the consideration of Calvinian Predestination as related to each of the following topics: The Foreknowledge of God, Wisdom of God, Justice of God, Truth of God, Love of God, Crucifixion of Jesus, God's Purpose in Jesus, Wickedness of Men, Stumbling of Men, Infatuation of the Reprobate, Hardening of Hearts, Death of the Reprobate, Foreordained Judgment, Book of Life, The Bible View, Security of Believers, Foundation of Hope. It will be seen that this extensive plan enables the author to traverse the whole wide field of the pretended practical, metaphysical, and biblical advantages of Calvinian views, and bring to bear the whole power of Arminian ordnance. In style he is plain and clear. Scotch piety and common-sense mark every page. It would be difficult to find any other work so admirably adapted for popular service as an antidote to old-fashioned Calvinistic predestination as is this. Several members of the general synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, in 1859, having examined an English copy of the work in possession of a Scotch family with whom they boarded, it was recommended for publication under the auspices of the Lutheran publishing house at Philadelphia. M.

Kritisch-Praktischer Commentar über das Neue Testament. Von Wilhelm Nast, Doktor der Theologie. 8vo. Cincinnati: L. Swormstedt & A. Poe. 1860.

We have received four numbers of Dr. Nast's Commentary, handsomely printed in octavo form, containing in each number sixty-four pages, at thirty cents per number. The work is to embrace from thirty to thirty-six numbers, comprising at minimum more than seventeen thousand pages at nine dollars for the entire work. Yet, by the happy expedient of publishing in numbers, the formidable amount is diffused and rendered practically easy.

Dr. Nast has full possession of the best critical literature of the German as well as the English languages. Besides Olshausen, Stier, Neander, and Tholuck, he has made much use of Lange, Meyer, Lisco, Ebrard, and others. The work was commenced at the instance of the General Conference of 1852 for the use of our German brethren. It is gratifying that such is the state of our German "work," that such a publication should be imperatively

and increasingly demanded; it is a cause of double gratulation that the demand can be met, and met so well.

Two hundred and fifty pages at the commencement are devoted to a General Introduction to the New Testament. Herein are ably discussed, in seven leading chapters, the canon, the authenticity, and the historic credibility of the New Testament, and the evidences arising from the personality of Jesus. The inspiration, the relation to the Old Testament, and the principles of interpretation, are discussed in the three closing chapters of the seven.

A prominent characteristic of the commentary is the separation into different departments. A copious introduction prefaces a paragraph of the text; then the exegetical, the practical, and the topographic and historical departments are placed under separate headings. This is original with Dr. Nast, and yet it bears a curious resemblance to the classification of the old English commentary of Dr. Scott. The method has its advantages, and Dr. Nast does wisely doubtless in its adoption; and yet, on the whole, we prefer the happy blending of all the related elements into one natural impression. A separate place in a commentary for homiletics is to us slightly irksome. The spirit and practical power of the text lies in and should vivify its entire presentation in the comment. They should, we think, be not an extract from, but consubstantial with it.

Dr. Nast's commentary will be gratefully accepted by our Church and the public. As he well remarks in his preface, the completion of a Biblical commentary cannot be the work of a single mind. It must be the result of many intentional and unintentional contributions, and *grow* as well as be *wrought*. Every new product will rightfully lay its predecessors under free and skillful contribution, and yet bear the traits of a new individualism. In both these respects the present work will bear the test of close review.

John Albert Bengel's Gnomon of the New Testament. Pointing out from the Natural Force of the Words, the Simplicity, Depth, Harmony, and Saving Power of Divine Thoughts. A New Translation. By Charlton T. Lewis, A. M., and Marvin R. Vincent, A. M., Professors in Troy University. Volume I. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860.

This edition of Bengel we welcome with pleasure from the hands of the two young scholars whose names it bears, and of whose future labors in the cause of sacred literature it is a promising first-

fruit. As editors, they have struck out from the original Bengel such passages as the advanced criticism of the present century has rendered, in their judgment, palpably obsolete, and have substituted in their place suggestions of the most eminent critics of modern times, carefully distinguishing the additions and giving the proper credits. It is, therefore, a revised Bengel. Those who think that worthless matter ought to be preserved because it is Bengel's, who prefer the entireness of the author as such to the actual utility of the work, will, of course, disapprove of such revision. The general judgment, however, approves of abridgments precisely according to the judiciousness of the execution and the practical value of the result. An abridged "Student's Gibbon," an expurgated classic, a volume of "Elegant Extracts" or "Beauties," will be made and used just so often as taste or advantage demands. The reverence for the author is rather enhanced than impaired by the process. The unchanged editions of every standard author will remain in our public libraries for reference, while the utilized modifications of their works go out better fitted for popular use. Especially in a work so desultory, so utilitarian, and so liable to be outstripped by time as a commentary, the reverence which would forbid it to be so modified that the name and work of the author should be rendered acceptable to successive periods is not only injuriously prudish and superstitious in itself, but oppressive to the author's reputation which it assumes so sedulously to guard.

It is unnecessary for us to commend a work so well established in reputation as the Gnomon. Quite as needless it is for us to indorse the additions which the present learned translators have made from such writers as Alford, Lücke, Meyer, Neander, Olshausen, Stier, Tischendorf, Winer, and others. The work is without the text. The commentary is in its character desultory, wanting in continuity, grouping, coloring, and completeness of finish. But it is concise, intuitive, suggestive, and abounding in single master strokes.

Commentary on Ecclesiastes, with other Treatises. By E. W. Hengstenberg, D. D., Professor of Theology, Berlin. Translated from the German by D. W. Simon. 8vo., pp. 488. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. New York: Sheldon & Co.

The great reputation of Hengstenberg will attract attention to every publication that bears his name. Of this handsome octavo two hundred and sixty-three pages are devoted to a commentary

on Ecclesiastes. It is critical and full. He does not attribute the work to Solomon, but to an unknown and much later author. Next we have Prolegomena upon the Song of Solomon. He discusses the form of the book, its authorship, attributing it to Solomon, the historical origin, and the interpretation, which he strongly asserts to be allegorical. We have then a lecture on the book of Job. He denies the historical existence of Job, but holds that the narrative is a sacred parable for a didactic purpose. By an analysis of the book Hengstenberg endeavors to demonstrate and develop the sacred lesson. Next comes a lecture upon the Prophet Isaiah, forming a very rich chapter of the work. A more extended piece discusses the origin and nature of sacrifices, their relation to prayer and other points. Finally comes the relation of the Jews to the Christian Church, with a discussion of the future destiny of the Judaic race. The lover of biblical studies will find much that is very fresh and suggestive in this volume.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Vocabulary of Philosophy, Mental, Moral, and Metaphysical, with Quotations and References, for the use of Students. By William Fleming, D. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. With Additions by Charles P. Krauth, D. D. 12mo., pp. 662. Philadelphia: Smith & English. New York: Sheldon & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

Professor Fleming first constructed this work for the benefit of his collegiate classes in the prosecution of their philosophic studies. In its completion he had the valuable aid of Mr. Morell and Dr. M'Cosh. Well aware of the exceeding delicacy of the attempt to define things so subtle as metaphysical terms, he has given at some length the definitions and uses of the words in the original authors, with such additional illustrations as he could devise. This difficult task he has executed with remarkable skill. The result is one of the most practically useful manuals in that department of thought which the press has furnished.

The great difficulty of clearly and fixedly conceiving and maintaining the meaning of its terms is one of the opprobriums and obstacles of metaphysical study. Chemistry has been able to take on a nomenclature so clear and exact that its universal and immutable adoption followed of course. But in metaphysics each new attempt of this kind seems only to elaborate a new confusion. The same term is thus made to pass through a variety of meanings,

bearing different senses in different authors, and requiring an accurate knowledge of its chronology in order to know in which sense in a given book it is used. When a new nomenclature is coming into use with some new modification of philosophy, nothing is more provoking to the vast mass of readers than the apparently self-complacent ostentation with which the initiated flaunt their vocabulary in your face, as though it were pregnant with some rare discoveries of which you were not only ignorant, but incapable of comprehending even its abecedarian explanations, luminous as they in reality are. And what help is there for it? The new terms refuse to be defined by the old, for the avoidance of all association with the old is the very reason of their coming into existence. You can, therefore, take the new system only by inspiration or absorption, or in default of these, perhaps you may get at it by aid of Mr. Fleming's vocabulary.

The vocabulary is brought down to the latest moment, and the uses of terms in the Hamiltonian philosophy are explicitly given. Dr. Krauth has made some valuable additions, particularly serving in the understanding of the terms of German philosophy. The work is therefore valuable both as a vocabulary of terms and as an expositor of doctrines; valuable to the pupil who would learn, and to the advanced scholar who would revise. By its subsidiary aid many a disagreeable hitch in one's metaphysical reading may be relieved.

Prolegomena Logica: an Inquiry into the Psychological Character of Logical Processes. By Henry Longueville Mansel, B. D., LL.D., Waynflete Professor of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, Oxford. 12mo., pp. 291. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860.

Of logic, Professor Mansel takes the high scholastic view. With him it is a science and no art. It is simply an exhibit of the laws of pure (ratiocinative) thought, and any practical use it may afford in training our faculties to accurate deductions is a mere accident. Logic, then, is the science of the necessary forms of thought; and the interesting question arises, how this power of thought is grounded in the mind. This is a question in psychology, and of this question the work before us is a discussion. The psychology of logic is its topic.

Before discussing specifically the mental grounds of logical necessity, the professor takes up the two kindred yet distinct points of mathematical necessity and metaphysical necessity.

Of mathematics, all the conceptive combinations and deductions are necessary. Presented and understood they compel assent, nor is the possibility of their contradiction conceivable. Then comes the question, ably discussed by the professor, How does the mind arrive at its necessary conceptions? Are they experimental or intuitive? This is the old question between the empirical or Lockian school and the transcendental or intuitional. Boldly taking the former alternative, Mill maintains that it is by experience that we arrive even at the perception of the necessary truth that two straight lines cannot inclose a space. The clearness of the mental picture, whenever conceived, enables us to see in any case that a space is not inclosed. The method by which Whewell managed the opposite side Professor Mansel justly criticises. Our space does not permit us to state the subtle refutation contained in the present volume.

Under the head of metaphysical necessity, Mr. Mansel selects for special disquisition the two necessary notions or principles of substance and causality. Under substance he is led to discuss the Berkleyan theory, and maintains that the only absolutely certain substance is the Ego, the real existence of which is verified not by inference but by actual consciousness. Under the head of causality he enters into some deep analysis of cause, and discusses the nature of necessity and volitional freedom. He opposes Hamilton's resolution of our notion of causation into a mental impotence, and our view of freedom as a contradictory counterbalance between demonstrable freedom and demonstrable necessity. He maintains that our idea of cause originates from our self-consciousness of power, and defends the freedom of volition as a real, though perhaps not definable fact.

A chapter on positive and negative thought explains a central point in the Hamiltonian philosophy. From it we learn that of the infinite Jehovah we have a purely negative idea. That is, we abundantly know, negatively, what he is not; but positively what he is, is a matter of which we know nothing whatever. We are compensated, however, by certain regulative principles which bring us to worship the Unknown; and, on the whole, it is best to obey these regulatives and expect, by faith, that our prayers shot into the dark will hit the unknown Mark.

Professor Mansel is a perfect specimen in our day of the finished academician. His training is complete, his mastery of his subject is ultimate. His style has a perfect polish, and he displays so scholastic a subtlety in handling his vocabulary that it requires

either an almost equal master or a most concentrated attention to understand and follow him. Hence, let those who take up his book expect to *study*, not merely *read*.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman, Major-General U. S. A., and Governor of the State of Mississippi. By J. F. H. Claiborne. In two volumes. Pp. 400, 392. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

John A. Quitman was born near the commencement of the present century in Rhinebeck, New York State. When a young man he went to Mississippi, studied law, became a politician, and attained high official position. Of course, being a northerner by birth, he attested his allegiance to the South by outdoing the South in southern ultraism. He became in due time a Nullifier of the Calhoun school, a slaveholder upon principle of the most unscrupulous type, a fierce terrorist, and an unflinching disunionist. He was solicited by Lopez, the noted lawless invader of Cuba, to turn fillibuster, and he seriously entertained a proposition which would have probably closed his career by the garotte. He served with honor in the Mexican war. He became one of that class of southern statesmen who have, with a fanatical fierceness, struggled to assert for the southern oligarchy a supremacy over the nation, and in attaining that aim are as ready to sacrifice the Union and the Constitution as they are the laws of faith and honor and the respect of mankind. The book is very properly dedicated to the "Men of the South," and we might wonder why it is not published there. But statesmen like Calhoun and Quitman illustrate the excellence of their policy by reducing the South to such a condition of helpless imbecility, that the works of the former and the biography of the latter have to come North to find a fitting publisher.

A slight glance at the history presented will serve to show that the want of firmness on the part of the free North prevented the settlement of the slavery question twenty years ago. The cause of the protracted contest and of the final danger is *compromise*. In every compromise freedom and righteousness have been sold, and the slaveholding interest has acquired the power to make new demands and press new aggressions. It was once weak and timid, it is now strong and fierce; and concession has fed and fattened its fierceness. Let the free North now say to the slave

power, draw your line of secession where you are able and depart by peaceable revolution. But, remember, you go out as secessionists from the government. You leave the national debt and the national domain; you abandon the advantage of a fugitive slave law, and you must never reopen the slave-trade, which national law has pronounced piracy. We may then unite with Canada, and the great free Republic of the world shall here be inaugurated with the two oceans upon its margin and the great chain of silver lakes upon its bosom.

History of Latin Christianity, including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicholas V. By Henry Hart Milman, D. D., Dean of St. Paul's. In eight volumes. Volume I. 12mo., pp. 554. New York: Sheldon & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

We laid before our readers in our last number the announcement of the projected publication of this great work by the enterprising houses whose names are attached. The first instalment appears very promptly, in a style of external execution worthy the value of the work. The work itself is written with the most consummate mastery of all the scholarship upon the subject, in a dignified, transparent, often eloquent style, in the true historical temper, with the spirit of the true Christian philosopher.

The present volume, being the first of eight, extends to the age of Justinian inclusive. It traces its indistinct line through the obscure period of commencing and growing Christianity in the imperial city. A momentary flash is flung across its twilight by the persecution of Nero. Dim images of possible bishops and mythical popes, all duly martyred in later legend, are doubtfully descried. The metropolitan importance of the imperial city, the ascension of Christianity to the imperial throne, the Trinitarian controversy, the development of ecclesiastical monarchy, the Pelagian discussion, Nestorianism, Monophysitism, the conversion of the Teutonic races, Justinian and his code, are the topics which in succession attract the attention. We withhold further remark under the expectation that the work will be made the subject of a distinct article.

The Life and Letters of Mrs. Emily C. Judson. By A. C. Kendrick, Professor of Greek Literature in the University of Rochester. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860.

This work is a biography of one who was born in the humblest walks of life, struggled bravely against her apparent destiny, and ultimately achieved an honorable place in literature. It narrates

her literary triumphs with fair discrimination, not too eulogistic, nor yet too censorious. She had a lively and vigorous pen, and when moved by very powerful impulses its achievements were almost those of genius. Her missionary career seems to consist largely in devotion to her famous husband. In fact, the book dwells so much on her betrothal, marriage, and the subsequent love-scenes in their history, that it has more the air of a novel than of the veritable history of a Christian heroine. She was not fitted for that great work, and soon after his death had released her from her duties to him she returned home, where, after a few years of holy living, she died a triumphant death.

The book is written in a rather ambitious vein, as if the author were as anxious to show off himself as his subject. When will our biographers learn their true sphere of complete self-abnegation? Not for a foil to set forth their own superior excellences is the character they delineate, nor should they seek to appear as the equal of their hero, as Egyptian monarchs put their statues beside those of their gods. But simply as a friend, who hides himself behind the honored personage he is permitted to portray. Dr. Wayland's life of Dr. Judson is an admirable example of a true biography in the spirit and manner of its execution as well as in its substance. H.

Italy in Transition. Public Scenes and Private Opinions in the Spring of 1860. Illustrated by official Documents from the Papal Archives of the revolted Legations. By William Arthur, A. M., author of "A Mission to Mysore," "The Successful Merchant," "The Tongue of Fire," etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 426. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

The starting of Italy into a national unity, working out in a few weeks a problem of ages, seems passing before us with a rapidity so miraculous that we stare in vague incapability of realizing the great fact, and rub our eyes to be sure of their wakeful condition. It seems too gratifying to be true, and we watch in painful anxiety lest, just at a critical moment, the pageant disappear in a flare-up, and the dirty old reality again disclose itself. Some scenes in the rapid drama, and some appalling facts of the old reality, appear before us vividly in the present volume.

Among the writers of our Church in England, Mr. Arthur stands unsurpassed in living power. His periods are rapid, vivid, elastic, harmonious. His pages are pictorial and dramatic, presenting scenes, facts, and thoughts before you in striking and

truthful effect. Equally at home is he in developing the profounder principle, stirring the deeper emotion, and elaborating the severer logic. All he writes is animated with a true Christian temper, and bears the signature of a most expanded liberality and a high philanthropic purpose. It is to be desired that he should employ his intellect on topics of permanent interest, and we should bespeak for anything he would produce a general attention, with a confident expectation of its ample recompense.

The Life of George Washington. By EDWARD EVERETT. 16mo., pp. 348. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860.

The late Lord Macaulay was at first invited by the editors of the Encyclopedia Britannica to write the article Washington for that work. Upon his declining, on account of numerous engagements, Mr. Everett was induced to undertake the task. It is in general a condensation of the larger works which have come from the able hands of Marshall, Sparks, and Irving. As a manual for the young, if disburdened of its present appendix, it ought to be popular and receive an extensive circulation. The example and lessons of Washington's life are a precious legacy to our countrymen.

The Boy Inventor: a Memoir of MATTHEW EDWARDS, Mathematical Instrument Maker. 24mo., pp. 109. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860.

This is an unusually interesting narrative of youthful amiableness and genius. The humble birth, the early struggles, the rightful tendencies, the ingenuous aspirations of the remarkable subject are narrated by the writer with fascinating interest. The inventions produced by him at the early age of nineteen were patented, and are advertised as valuable improvements. There seems to have been, on the whole, a soundness in his early development which induces a profound regret at the incalculable loss of the scientific world by his early death.

The Four Georges. Sketches of Manners, Morals, Court and Town Life. By W. M. THACKERAY. With Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 241. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

These powerful portraitures of characters, scenes, and times, transferred from Harper's Magazine, are as fascinating as they are, no doubt, truthful.

Belles Letters and Classical.

The Odes of Horace. Translated into English Verse. With a Life and Notes by THEODORE MARTIN. 24mo., pp. 358. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1861.

When a man undertakes the translation of a classic poet he knows, if a man of sense, that it cannot be done. If verbally literal he does not transfer the poetry, for the verse has become prosaic in the operation. If he attempts to give the spirit it is not a translation, but a substitute. Mr. Martin has taken the latter horn of the dilemma, and proposes to furnish us, as near as possible, the ideal of a Horace writing for a modern public. He essays to produce in the reader a feeling identical with the feeling of a sympathetic reader of the original Horace, or, still bolder, the feeling of a Roman reader of the Roman bard. Now, Mr. Martin knows very well that he can do no such thing. Nevertheless, if his readers or ours imagine that he is therefore "a fool for his pains," he has an answer "cut and dry." "The very difficulty of the task makes it attractive." As Tertullian would believe because the thing is incredible, so will Mr. Martin do this thing because it is impossible. The thing will not be done, but *a* thing will be done, and mayhap a thing worth the doing, and worth the looking at when it is done. Such exploit, upon the whole, Mr. Martin has well achieved.

Perhaps it is in a translation like this that even the classical scholar, emancipated from the power of the stately language, best appreciates the versatile character of the Roman bard. His periodic intervals of sober meditation on the most solemn topics; his fits of demoralization compensated by moments of recollection and repentance; his riot among riotous associates, succeeded by his appreciation of purity in woman and integrity in man, are subjects for ethical observation and inference. Some day a phase of *faith* overtakes him, in which he realizes his running into Epicurism, and decides that it is time to reflect and retract. Such is not man under every dispensation?

Home Ballads and Poems. By JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER. 12mo., pp. 206. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860.

To the genius of Whittier our Quarterly has, on former occasions, done hearty justice. The present volume abounds with those traits that render him most deservedly popular. His true native

raciness, his joyously dwelling amid the scenes, legends, histories, and stirring topics of his own America, render him a true American poet. His vivid power of darting the rays of poetic illustration through the homeliest scenes of life, lighting up the simplest and most prosaic objects and characters with a poetry hitherto unseen, belongs of all the world most properly to a "Quaker Poet." Ticknor & Fields have most appropriately donned him with a russet coat, nearly like unto a drab. Welcome to all the hearts and homes of the land be the bard of freedom, truth, piety, and heroism.

Legends of the Madonna; as Represented in the Fine Arts. By Mrs. Jameson. Corrected and Enlarged Edition. 18mo., pp. 483. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1861.

With what wonderful extravagance the imagination of the middle ages took the simple Mary of Nazareth, mother of Jesus, endowed her with superhuman qualities, transformed her to a goddess and bowed in worship before her picture, Mrs. Jameson portrays in a style of singularly pure and graceful eloquence. She asserts that for a thousand years Christian Europe worshiped the "Mother of God." The good and the evil that resulted from this enshrinement of the divine womanly ideal in the imagination, the art, and the devotion of those dark days, the ingenious writer essays with careful skill to discriminate. It is a beautiful, a powerful, a suggestive book, alike for the general reader and the the theologian.

Harrington: a Story of True Love. By the Author of "What Cheer," "The Ghost," "A Christmas Story," "A Tale of Lynn." 12mo., pp. 558. Boston: Thayer & Eldridge. 1860.

This book is one of those terrible grievances committed by the encroaching North upon our innocent and lamb-like "southern brethren," to wit, the slaveholders. It is graphic and pictorial, drawing with an unsparing truthfulness the portraitures respectively of southern despotism and northern, especially Bostonian, flunkeyism. It belongs to the extreme school.

Periodicals.

The Christian Advocates are now so large a body that they constitute not only an important agency of the Church, but a cognizable feature of the intellectual and religious character of our

country. Their power is exerted over a wide extent, and with a salutary effect. Their prosperity is evinced by the cheering tokens they give of enlargement and improvement, and furnishes good proof that the General Conferences, so far as they are concerned, mostly wisely "manned the posts."

Our QUARTERLY, in order to exhibit an advance with every advancing year, presents itself in a new type of larger size and well marked beauty. We need five thousand subscribers in order that we may open a future year with another increase of pages. Let our ministry, while doing duty for the Advocates of their section, carefully remember their Quarterly, which is the common interest of all. Let each ministerial recipient procure us one new subscriber.

Beauty of Holiness. Edited by Rev. M. and Mrs. A. M. FRENCH. New York: M. French. Philadelphia: P. Peterson. Boston: J. P. Magee.

This periodical has been renovated in beautiful style since its removal to New York. Its contributors are among the best writers of the Church. We may name Drs. Bangs, True, Hibbard, Thomson. It is perhaps the ablest and truest periodical advocate of its high theme in the country.

Juvenile.

The Sunday-school Celebration Book. A Collection of Dialogues, Speeches, Hymns, etc., for Anniversaries and other occasions. By GRACE and IDA MURRAY. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins. 1861.

Grace and Ida, our young folks may be assured, are acceptable poets and dramatists; and, for ladies, excellent orators. A new species of addresses is here introduced, namely, welcomes and farewells to the coming or departing pastor. These may suggest the propriety of dealing cordially with the faithful minister who is appointed by the Church to our particular pastorate.

The following works our space does not allow us to notice in full:

A Course of Six Lectures on the various Forces of Matter, and their Relation to each other. By MICHAEL FARADAY, D. C. L., F. R. S. Delivered before a Juvenile Auditory at the Royal Institution of Great Britain during

the Christmas Holidays, 1859–60. Edited by William Crookes, F. C. S. With numerous Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 198. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860. [A great man on a great subject writing a little book for little folks.]

Bible Stories in Verse; for the Little Ones at Home. By Anna M. Hyde. With Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 87. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son.

The following are late issues from the Methodist Book Rooms, Carlton & Porter, New York:

Pretty Stories for Little Boys; or, Mother's Gift to her Dear Boy. Three Illustrations. Square 12mo., pp. 101.

Little Johnny and his White Mice; with Eight other Stories. Two Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 116.

Little Fish-peddler; or, Mackerel Will and his Friend Emma. Three Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 134.

Happy Mike; or, How Sam Jones became a Good Boy; and, The Little Gardener. By Catharine D. Bell. Two Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 114.

Clara, the Motherless young Housekeeper; or, The Life of Faith. By Rena Locke. Three Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 122.

Little Mabel, and her Sunlit Home. By a Lady. Four Illustrations.

Daisy Downs; or, What the Sabbath-school can Do. By the Author of the Willie Books. 18mo., pp. 306.

Benjie and his Friends; or, Coming Up and Going Down. By Mrs. C. M. Edwards. Three Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 196.

Gerald Kopt, the Foundling, The Fisherman of Heligoland, and Joseph Massena; or, The Jewish Convert. Two Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 161.

Rosy's Fourth of July, Antonio and his Angel, and Kitty's Dream. By the Author of "Daisy Downs." Four Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 85.

What Catharine Did, and What Came of it. Three Illustrations. 18mo.,

The Lost Money Found; or, the Voice of Conscience. Translated from the French by Miss Julia Colman. Two Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 123.

Miscellaneous.

A Commonplace-Book. Designed to Assist Students, Professional Men, and General Readers in Treasuring up Knowledge for Future Use. Arranged by Rev. James Porter, D. D. With an Introduction by Rev. William Rice, A. M. 8vo., pp. 400.

Clergyman's Pocket Diary and Visiting Book, 186–. Arranged by James Porter, D. D. 16mo., pp. 200. Carlton & Porter.

These valuable manual aids, prepared by Dr. Porter for the use of students, ministers, and others, are not only a convenience for doing things well, but, when properly used, are disciplinary aids for the mind, and reminders securing their being done at all. Let the practice of using them be once well tried and see the result.

The following works our space does not allow us to notice in full:

Historical Pictures Retouched; a Volume of Miscellanies. In Two Parts. Part I. Studies. Part II. Fancies. By Mrs. Dall, Author of "Woman's Right to Labor." 12mo., pp. 402. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860.

The Cottages of the Alps; or, Life and Manners in Switzerland. By the Author of "Peasant Life in Germany." 12mo., pp. 422. New York: Charles Scribner. 1860.

Sermons on some of the Fundamental Principles of the Gospel. By Rev. George B. Miller, D. D., Professor of Theology in the Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church at Hartwick, Otsego. With an Introduction by Rev. William D. Stoebel, D. D. 12mo., pp. 374. New York: N. Tibbals & Co. 1860.

Cicero on Oratory and Orators. Translated or Edited by J. S. Watson. 12mo., pp. 379. 1860.

Lessons at the Cross; or, Spiritual Truths familiarly exhibited in their Relations to Christ. By Samuel Hopkins. With an Introduction by Rev. George W. Blagden, D. D. 12mo., pp. 274. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

The Beautiful and the King of Glory. By Woodbury Davis. 12mo., pp. 254. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1860.

Louie's Last Term at St. Mary's. 12mo., pp. 239. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1860.

The Signet Ring, and other Gems. From the Dutch of the Rev. J. De Liefde. 12mo., pp. 362. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860.

The Five Senses; or, Gateways to Knowledge. By George Wilson, M. D., Regius Professor in the University of Edinburgh, etc. 12mo., pp. 139. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1860.

Stories of Scotland and its Adjacent Islands. By Mrs. Thomas Geldart, Author of "Truth is Everything." 16mo., pp. 180. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1861.

The History of Ghengis Khan. By Jacob Abbott. With Engravings. 16mo., pp. 335. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

The Oakland Stories. Claiborne. By George B. Taylor, of Virginia. 12mo., pp. 180. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860.

The Melodeon; a Collection of Hymns and Tunes, with Original and Selected Music. Adapted to all occasions of Social Worship. By Rev. J. W. Dadmun, Author of "Revival Melodies," etc. 12mo., pp. 128. Boston: J. P. Magee. 1860.

Music Hall Discourses, Miscellaneous Sketches, Ministerial Notes, and Prison Incidents; also, Song of Creation. A Poem. By Rev. Henry Morgan, Pastor of the Boston Union Mission Society. To which is added a Sketch of his Life. Second enlarged Edition. 12mo., pp. 356. Boston: H. P. Degen & Son. 1860.

Natural History. For the Use of Schools and Families. By Worthington Hooker, M. D., Professor of the Theory and Practice in Yale College, Author of "Human Physiology," "Child's Book of Nature," etc., etc. Illustrated with nearly 300 Engravings. 12mo., pp. 312. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

Reasons for My Faith. By Rev. F. H. Marling. 12mo., pp. 41. New York: Phinney, Blakeman, & Mason. 1860.

The Glaciers of the Alps. Being a Narrative of Excursions and Ascents, and Accounts of the Origin and Phenomena of Glaciers, and an Exposition of the Physical Principles to which they are related. By John Tyndall, F. R. S. With Illustrations. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860.

The Lake Regions of Central Africa. A Picture of Exploration. By Richard F. Burton, Captain H. M. I. Army, Fellow and Gold Medallist of the Royal Geographical Society. 8vo., pp. 572. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860. [This work will be made the subject of a future article.]

The following are works of fiction:

Wheat and Tares. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

The Household of Bouverie; or, The Elixir of Gold. A Romance. By a Southern Lady. In Two Volumes. 12mo., pp. 373, 413. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1860.

"*My Novel.*" By Pisistratus Caxton. Library Edition. In Two Volumes. 12mo., pp. 589, 581. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

Miss Gilbert's Career; an American Story. By J. G. Holland, Author of "The Bay Path," "Bitter Sweet," etc. 12mo., pp. 476. New York: Charles Scribner. 1860.

Pamphlets.

The Haven and the Home. By the Author of "Captain Hedley Vicars" and "English Hearts and Hands." 16mo., pp. 64. New York: R. Carter & Brother. 1860.

The Death Threatened to Adam; with its Bearing on the Annihilation of the Wicked. By J. Newton Brown, D. D. 16mo., pp. 29. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. 1860.

Tom Brown at Oxford. Part Eighth. A sequel to "School Days at Rugby." By Thomas Hughes, Author of "School Days at Rugby," etc. 16mo., pp. 388. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.

The Relation of the Sunday-school to the Church. A Review of Dr. Huntington's Address before the State of Massachusett's Sunday-school Teachers at Worcester, June 13, 1860.

Notices of the following books, already in type, are postponed for want of sufficient space:

Law and Penalty. By J. P. Thompson, D. D.
Reason and the Bible. By Miles P. Squier, D. D.
Hints on the formation of Religious Opinions. By Ray Palmer, D. D.
The Benefit of Christ's Death. By Aonio Palerio.
Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical. By Herbert Spencer.
Odd People. By Captain Mayne Reid.
Critical and Miscellaneous Essays. By T. Babington Macaulay.
Memoirials of Thomas Hood.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1861.

ART. I.—THE ORDER OF NATURE AND MIRACLES.

The Order of Nature considered in Reference to the Claims of Revelation. A Third Series of Essays, by the Rev. BADEN POWELL, M.A., Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford. London: Longman & Co.

AN impression extensively prevails that some new adjustment of the facts of physical science to those of Christianity is imperatively called for. The intellect of Christendom has for some time been turned with intense eagerness to the study of nature, and we need not be surprised that honest misunderstandings and dishonest misrepresentations of both sciences should have sprung up. From the difficulty of construing the ancient languages and history of the Bible, and from the immaturity of many scientific investigations, apparent contradictions have been discovered, where, if the Bible be true, there can be none. Men of sceptical predilections have made the most of these, and so pressed the friends of Christianity that the latter have sometimes been confused, and made injudicious concessions. To the credit of those who have been most distinguished for their knowledge of natural science, they have seldom countenanced such efforts. They are too well aware of the uncertainty of many of their theories, and they are too familiar with numerous instances in which the interpretations of the two books of nature and of revelation have so corrected each other as to stand in mutual support. The same cautious spirit which

has made them eminent as inductive philosophers, prevents their premature application of principles to subjects beyond their special province. Many of them have written in defense of the Christian records; and while some have contended earnestly for a modification of inferences commonly derived from the Scriptures, with singular uniformity the attempts to discredit revelation, at the present time, may be traced to the friends of metaphysical rather than of physical study.

A careful observer of the spirit in which thoughtful minds are "guessing at truth" has assured us, that "the great problem of the present age is to reconcile faith with knowledge, philosophy with religion;" and another, skilled equally in the "Testimony of the Rocks," and in the Scriptures, has left us his assurance that "the battle of the Christian evidences for the present day must be fought on the field of natural science." This may be so; at least it must be shown that the Bible is not in conflict with nature; and yet we suspect that Christianity must gain its victory here by removing the conflict from the field of natural science, and showing that the doubts which philosophy has raised belong really to the region of metaphysical investigations, and depend upon ideas logically prior to all inductive reasoning. In the mean time much mutual benefit would be gained if these students of nature and of the Bible were better acquainted with each other, and were better aware of the real issues between them. The speculative and conservative tendencies of the one, the purely inductive and progressive spirit of the other, and the vast extent of their respective departments of study, in which a mutual correspondence becomes infrequent, render an estrangement from one another, if not a jealousy of each other, almost a matter of course. They are apt to forget that they are studying only different volumes of the same Author, and in the interest of the same humanity. No well-ascertained principle of either book should be impeached or denied, and a contradiction between them should be confessed by no one who has confidence in both. No friend of Christianity, at least, can safely admit that a distinct announcement of the Bible is inconsistent with an unquestionable fact of nature; for no historical assertion can be substantiated against a matter of plain observation and experience.

The author of the work before us has, however, done this

without reserve, and sometimes, as we think, with gratuitous forwardness. He belongs to a class which make concessions from the side of an evangelical faith much more cheerfully than from that of naturalism. Facts which tend to remove God from direct intercourse are much more easily admitted than those which seem to bring him into affectionate communion with men. A reference to the author's previous works is sufficient to show that in this we do him no injustice. We often find in them, that of two equally probable hypotheses he invariably chooses that which removes God to a distance, and that he usually favors any suggestion, however paradoxical, when it looks to the independence of natural laws. Scarcely any plausible theory of this kind which has gained notoriety during the last twenty years has failed to receive his countenance. This is due not so much to his liberality and candor, great as these unquestionably are, (for such qualities, when genuine, are not confined to opponents of a single class,) but to a predilection for a peculiar kind of speculation. He alleges, indeed, that he favored these merely as "professedly hypothetical yet legitimate conjectures," and not as "scientific conclusions;" but why has he not only given them all the validity in his power, but shown a peculiar partiality for those which looked in a particular direction? Is it a matter of accident that he should have seen successively nothing incredible in "the broad scientific principle" of what he now calls "the philosophical romance of the Vestiges of Creation," in "the spontaneous generation of organic life under the galvanic current," in "the transformation of species from one original type to another," in "the independent origin of various races of men," in "the complete rejection of the doctrine of final causes, and of all knowledge of a Creator from inductive science," and yet "the probable resolution of all force into one primary unity," and in "the settled and no longer to be disputed fact that human remains are to be found in primitive rocks?" Why has he never discovered anything plausible in the statements of men who, on his own principles, may have had spiritual intercourse with God, and remarkable answers to prayer? We are the more interested in drawing attention to this uniform bias, because in this he is a representative of the general class who favor the conclusions of his book.

We have no sympathy with those who are jealous of all investigations like those of this volume. We regard it as a mortifying concession for Christian apologists to make when they acknowledge that the study of the historical evidences of their faith is dangerous or unprofitable. It can be so only when it is onesided, or pursued with "a foregone conclusion." With most persons it must always be but partial, for a lifetime of learned leisure would be insufficient to master the "sum total of evidences," as recently sketched by a Bampton Lecturer.* But even a single chapter of truth on such a subject ought to have a healthy influence upon sincere inquirers. We only dread sophistry on the one hand and a feeble timidity on the other. We anticipate nothing but dishonor to God's word when its friends concede that its outward history has no solid basis, or is of inferior importance. We have the utmost confidence in the internal witness which the Bible bears to the conscience when it is fully manifested in the sight of God, but we should have great misgiving in the enforcement of the Gospel if we could give no rational and consistent account of its origin.

We have noticed, therefore, with intense interest the recent renewal of the controversy respecting miracles, in their relation to the order of nature. Our own country has contributed an honorable part in this discussion; and although the author of "Nature and the Supernatural" has returned to a view of the object of miracles which always prevailed in the general Church until a comparatively recent period, he has carefully adjusted it to the present demands of science. Real progress has also been made by the labors of Westcott, Fitzgerald, Whately, Wardlaw, Miller, Rogers, Coquerel, and others. Though most of these adhere to the dogmatic narrowness of representing miracles as wrought merely to prove a divine commission, and not rather as the necessary condition of a supernatural life, we think an advance has been made in the definition and application of truth.

Not merely the title of the work before us, but the general reputation of its author for accurate and extensive acquaintance with physical as well as theological science, raised high expectations. The embarrassments of many friends of evangelical

* H. L. Mansel, B.D. Limits of Religious Thought, American edit., p. 214.

truth, and the confident predictions of its enemies that it was about to receive important modifications under the demands of not one science only but of all the sciences, we confess had awakened our fears that there might be dangers we had not comprehended; and we looked with confidence to one who was not only a master of all the sciences, but had a talent clearly to express what he knows, for a comprehensive view of the whole subject. We knew, indeed, something of his prevailing inclinations. We expected more from the Savilian professor than from the evangelical clergyman. We hoped, however, that one who combined these offices, with a distinguished reputation in each, would admirably discuss a subject suited to his double function.

To say that we are disappointed would express the least of the emotions with which we have perused his work. That a man of affluent resources should fail to combine them so as to produce a distinct unity of impression, is just novel enough to remind us of some old, though unpleasant histories; but that ministers of an evangelical Church, composed of honest Englishmen, should renounce all that is essential to historical Christianity, and empty of all content the creed to which they profess allegiance, is yet uncommon enough to produce feelings of extreme mortification. The party to which our author belongs has shown, especially of late, very liberal tendencies, but we were not prepared for a development like this. It contains earnest spiritual elements, from which the English Church has gained in depth of spiritual life as well as in compass of thought. Professor Powell himself is unquestionably a sincere lover of truth, otherwise his doubts would have "smouldered" still beneath "a solemn or cynical hypocrisy." He would have attempted no absurd reform of a faith which appears to us, on his own principles, annihilated. But his mind lacks vigor. He is more scrupulous in entertaining doubts than in giving free scope to truth. He is more irritated by the perpetual friction of some philosophic exotic in his system than he is animated by his general faith. We need not wonder, therefore, that a dreamy philosophy absorbs all his intellectual and spiritual energies, and that faith can act only under its permission.

As some explanation of the want of directness and of a

happy combination of the materials of this work, we may notice that "considerable parts of it were composed long ago as amplifications of an argument pursued in some articles in a periodical," and that these portions have been connected together by new matter so as to form a series. Such "conglomerates" are seldom equable in composition or proportionate in design. The volume itself professes to be sufficiently distinct to be regarded as a separate work, though it is numbered as the third of a series "mainly directed to the great object of illustrating the true fundamental principles of the inductive philosophy." In the previous volumes, published within the last five years, "special reference was made to several points in which physical science and religious belief were brought into peculiar contact with each other." The first and chief of these was the grand inference of natural theology respecting the being of a God from an extended study of the laws of the material universe. After a rather strained criticism of the Theistic argument, he concludes that "science cannot conduct to the idea of a creation out of nothing, or of a personal being with the attributes of Divinity." Such ideas he derives exclusively from revelation through faith.* But besides this main topic, another, involving purely theological considerations, was discussed in a second volume, where the facts of geology were shown "necessarily to contravene the historical character of a very essential portion of the Jewish Scriptures—the six days' work of creation and the seventh day's rest—points so vitally wound up with their whole tenor that if we would maintain any faith in the New Testament we must entirely disconnect it from the Old."† It is, however, in this third volume of the series that his fundamental principle of "an order in nature which admits of no interruption is applied to the grounds of religious belief, and especially of our faith in miracles." He endeavors to supply what he thinks is "wanting in our theological and philosophical literature: a perfectly impartial, candid, unpolemical discussion of the subject of miracles, in immediate connection with the

* Essays on the Spirit of the Inductive Philosophy, the Unity of Worlds, and the Philosophy of Creation. By the Rev. Baden Powell, M. A., etc. London, 1855.

† Christianity without Judaism, a Second Series of Essays, being the substance of Sermons delivered in London and other places. By the Rev. Baden Powell. London, 1858.

vast progress of physical knowledge." He is "thus involved in the larger consideration of the whole relations of physical to spiritual and revealed truth." He first takes a general survey of the history of inductive science, noticing throughout how each class of events, which once seemed casual or supernatural, has gradually been resolved by science and traced to natural laws. Though this essay occupies nearly half the volume, it adds very little to the interest or power of the main argument, for those who needed information on such a subject might better have been referred to more detailed narratives; and intelligent scholars, for whose satisfaction he evidently wrote, would have conceded at first all that he asks in his conclusion. He next contends that "the provinces of natural and religious truth are so independent of each other that the former can yield only the lowest conclusions respecting a Supreme Mind, which is the original cause of natural order; and that the more sublime conceptions of a personal, omnipotent, and moral Governor, who can be worshiped and hold intercourse with men, must be derived, not from natural, not even from moral or metaphysical sources, but from direct revelation." Reason, he thinks, could never infer a supernatural cause from any event, however extraordinary, but only refer every outstanding case, which transcends its existing powers, to some province of nature yet unknown; and if anything could be conceived of not referable to natural law, we should be compelled to look upon it not as supernatural but chaotic and atheistic. He then reviews the theories proposed by various writers to avoid an entire rejection of our Scriptures, by explaining their origin in a way which admits their miraculous history. The naturalistic system of Paulus, the mythic of Strauss, the subjective of Feuerbach, the psychologic of Ewald, and the doctrinal of Neander, he finds each attended with insuperable difficulties, because they receive the scriptural account in some literal sense inconsistent either with the facts of science or the honesty of its authors. Ecclesiastical miracles, however distinguished from the scriptural in dignity and purpose, he contends, can be discredited only on principles applicable equally to all. In a concluding essay he endeavors to present a more rational basis for our faith. He refers to a distinct order of impressions or intimations which may be afforded to some highly gifted individu-

als, and worthily ascribed a divine source. The truths communicated "must refer exclusively to moral and spiritual conceptions, to what we experience within ourselves, or to some more extended and undefined world of spiritual, unseen, eternal existence, above and beyond all that is matter of sense or reason, of which science gives no intimation—apart from the world of material existence, of ordinary human action, or even of metaphysical speculation, wholly the domain and creation of faith and inspiration." The only miracles which the author acknowledges are wholly in our minds, and, so far as we can see, aim only at that spiritual elevation of our natural powers which some have named inspiration.

The views of the school to which he belongs have been more fully developed in the "Essays and Reviews," to which he contributed an essay "On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity;"* but as we wish to confine ourselves at present to a single subject, and one logically fundamental to the whole discussion, we prefer to review this volume of our author. It is the last distinct work in which he expressed his views previous to his departure to a world where he surveys his favorite universal order from another point of view. It is also the best statement in plain English of the present position of those who assail miracles on the ground of natural science. We shall omit most of what might be said of a personal nature, or which is unessential to the argument, and confine ourselves to a criticism of its main positions.

I. The grand principle, with the admission of which he confesses his whole ensuing discussion must stand or fall, is, that all things and events in nature are governed by laws which admit of no interruption. If any are not prepared to accept this principle in its fullest extent, he hardly condescends to reason with them, but refers them to the most ordinary school of inductive science. Now, fortunately, we are willing to admit his principle, but it must be with our own understanding of it. And yet it may help us all to go back for a while to such a school to ascertain what its precise instructions are. Even with the restrictions which, in the spirit of the most rigid, posi-

* "Essays and Reviews," by eminent English Churchmen, reprinted at Boston, from the second London edition, under the title of "Recent Inquiries in Theology." With an Introduction by Rev. F. H. Hedge, D.D.

tive philosophy, he has assigned it, it may afford us some fundamental principles for our discussion.

The word *nature*, as used by our author, includes only the material universe, and man is intended by it only so far as his corporeal structure is concerned. A corresponding definition would probably coincide with that of Dr. Bushnell, and the more restricted signification which Sir William Hamilton gives the word. We may notice, also, that it always applies in this work not to a mere mass of elements, which might be a chaos, but to a Cosmos, a system of things pervaded by laws. These laws are simply the modes in which things uniformly act, though they imply some necessity, which our author recognizes but never attempts to account for. It may be because of qualities inherent in the things themselves, or of some divine power present with them; but any inquiry on this point he regards as belonging not to physical but to metaphysical philosophy. The whole range of science then is confined to simple facts, that is, things and events, and its object is to observe these and to classify them according to the most perfect principles. Strictly speaking, on this supposition it can assert nothing but what relates to matters of direct experience. We see not how it could infer anything respecting the future; how it could arrive at any conviction of the uniformity of nature's laws we do not know. The same principle on which the physical inquirer is forbidden to infer a cause, and required to know nothing but what comes within the province of the understanding, mere antecedents and consequents, we should think would exclude all recognition of a necessary uniformity. When I perceive that fire burns my flesh as often as the experiment is tried, why do I conclude that it will always do so? Why am I surprised when I read that the Fire-king enters the flame unhurt, or that the three Israelites in Babylon, being cast into it, came forth uninjured? If it be replied that a belief in the constancy of nature is a conviction of the primary reason, and not an inference of the understanding, we inquire, What then has it to do with science, and ought it not to be removed to the doubtful region of metaphysics?

But without taking advantage of an obvious inconsistency in our author's reasoning, let us inquire whether science teaches that all nature's laws are *equally* unchangeable. Even if the

primary laws of matter are invariable, must those which we call *derivative* be so also? Some of these are exceedingly complex, and no human intellect can trace all the simple elements included in them. To a Divine mind, indeed, a complex law is as invariable as any, because each element in it can be distinctly known. It can never be the same with a human observer. What he *ranks* among the most unchangeable derivative laws may be in reality mutable. We might be sure that matter always will be extended, will attract, and will be divisible, but we cannot be sure that the sun will continue to rise and set as usual for a century hence. The law of the sun's rising and setting has been in operation each day for thousands of years; but there are too many elements in it for us to be certain of its permanence for the future. We may be satisfied that the offspring of African parents will be human, for this is according to a fundamental law of animal nature; but how can we have equal assurance that it will be black? Even the permanence of specific types in some extraordinary cases is by our author put in jeopardy. And yet some of the most complex derivative laws have been ranked among the greatest certainties of nature, and any interruption of them would have been at some periods reported as miraculous. One of the most remarkable fruits of modern science is the discovery of many new laws of nature, and the combination of others, so as to produce results beyond human power with only the knowledge of other times.

Nothing also is more common than for us to witness one law of nature apparently interrupted by another. Seldom do we see laws operating separately, but almost always together, or in conflict with one another. Not unfrequently they appear entirely to annihilate each other's influence, as when two bodies in motion come into such direct opposition that both are brought to a state of rest. In such cases we say not that there is a violation, but only a conflict of nature's laws. Two forces in the solar system are sometimes so exactly balanced that a planet is made to move in its orbit for ages; they are not annihilated, for each continues to act so as to hold the other in equilibrium. There is scarcely a law in the universe which is not in this manner in conflict with others. In some instances this seems so great as utterly to confound all our notions of order. A thousand regular processes are in a few moments

interrupted by some overwhelming superior influence. A deluge, a conflagration, an earthquake, a tornado, a pestilence, or a drouth, may interfere with a multitude of nature's more quiet movements. Every law is in action still; none are suspended, nor really interrupted, but their ordinary effects are neutralized or destroyed.

A similar remark may be made with respect to the interference of human agency. In what way mind acts upon matter no one can explain, for we learn nothing on this point by knowing the nervous apparatus through which its volitions are conveyed. But man is continually interfering with the courses of nature; he cannot, indeed, alter the primary laws of matter, but he can, to a great extent, combine and arrange them. And when we reflect how much the action of laws depends upon their arrangement, we shall conclude that this power is not to be despised. What would have been our solar system if one of its present elementary substances had been absent, if those elements had been differently combined, or if its planets had been differently arranged, or been made to move at a different angle to the plane of the ecliptic? Every law of matter might have been constituted as at present, but how differently would they have operated? Substances that cannot act upon each other apart, when brought together have a powerful mutual influence. The light and the materials used in the photographic plate have all existed with the same qualities for ages; but to obtain the beautiful images now so common, they had to be placed in peculiar relations. Man is continually discovering new ways in which he can accomplish the mightiest results by the simple power of collocation and arrangement.

In all this conflict of laws with each other, and this action upon them from without, there is no violation of the established constitution of nature. We are quite as anxious to maintain this principle in its integrity as any special devotee of science can be. There could be no extraordinary events if there were no ordinary uniformity. The Scriptures themselves are very explicit in their assertion of the stability of general order. They represent it as the product of the Creator's wisdom, and hence needing no change. It is the manifestation of his unchangeable attributes. There can be no permanent order which is not indicative of the mind of him who arranged it, and he

who formed the world "hath no variableness or shadow of turning." "He established the earth and *it abideth*; they continue according to his ordinances, for all are his servants." * A providence *by means of* natural law is quite consistent with, yea, is demanded by a real and a special providence. Comte and some others imagine that "what can be calculated upon with certainty cannot be dependent upon volition." On the other hand we contend, and the Bible goes upon the principle, that God's providential purposes are formed on such a perfection of wisdom that they must be the perfection of stability. The highest illustration God could adduce of the unchangeable covenant which he intended to make with his people was his covenant with day and night, the ordinances of heaven and earth which he had appointed. He it is who "binds the sweet influence of Pleiades, and brings forth Mazzaroth *in his season*. He knows the ordinances of heaven, and sets the dominion thereof in the earth." He promises that "while the earth remaineth, seed time and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease." In the account of creation a permanent constitution of the universe is asserted, and as each object comes into being it is arranged in its class, and the distinction of genera and species is preserved, "each after their kind." In an age when all possible aid from heaven was expected in behalf of eminent saints, none were encouraged of God to hope for personal favors inconsistent with natural order, and even the Son of God and his apostles refused conscientiously to tempt the Lord by relying upon extraordinary interferences for their own advantage. The promises to prayer, when interpreted with a due regard to the laws of hyperbolic language, no more imply that God will violate nature's laws than when it is said that man uses those laws and bends them to his purposes. These ordinances of heaven he does not abolish or violate, but uses as "his *servants*." †

Indeed, the principal objection we have to our author's views of laws is that he does not consistently carry them out in all departments of the Creator's works. He implies that miracles are violations of regular order, and then, with this understand-

* James i, 17; Psalm cxix, 90.

† Jer. xxxiii, 25; Job xxxviii, 31–33; Gen. i, 11, 12, 21; viii, 22: Matt. iv, 3–7; Phil. ii, 23, 27.

ing of them, admits their occurrence, and contends for them in the spiritual world. We can acknowledge them in this sense no easier in the spiritual than in the material world. We are unwilling to admit, with Dr. Bushnell, that even sin is a violation of mental law. Of *moral* law it unquestionably is, but by the laws assigned us in our mental constitution we are at perfect liberty to sin. We not unfrequently bring about a collision, a conflict of laws in the world of mind, just as we often do in the world of nature; but no original power, or (which is here the same thing) primary law of mind is subverted or suspended. An error of judgment or of morals, a wrong exercise of our powers, disturbs no constitutional law of the spirit any more than an injury to our bodies disturbs a physical law. We know of no limits to the prevalence of this order short of those which belong to the universe of being, material, spiritual, and even divine. Fully to comprehend its extent and power, we need to venture the sublimest flights and explore the vast depths of eternity. To explain what takes place in one part of this universe by principles drawn exclusively from that single section, would as surely involve us in errors as to attempt a complete explanation of one portion of this world's phenomena without reference to any other. We may concede the independence of the sciences, and all that Prof. Powell contends for with respect to the separate provinces of matter and of mind; but when he treats expressly of the relation of the natural to the supernatural he ought not to ignore all facts of a general character, and confine himself to the results of natural science alone. He should rise to a higher position, and take within his view all that can be known of the natural and spiritual world. Then what may have seemed disorder in the contracted, may be found the highest order in the universal sphere; just as what would be easily explained in the animal and vegetable kingdoms would seem inexplicable and even miraculous on the principles merely of the inorganic kingdom.

II. We have still more decided objections to the author's *idea of miracles*. Familiar as he shows himself with all that has been written upon this subject, he deals only with two representations of miracles: the one as violations or suspensions of nature's laws, and the other as natural results, provided for by the Creator in the original constitution of things. To the

latter he offers no serious objection, for in fact they are no miracles, but extraordinary phenomena of a portion of nature unknown perhaps to us, and needing only to be proved on sufficient evidence. Our objections to either theory are much more decided than any which he has presented.

A violation of the laws of nature seems to us unnecessary, incredible, and beyond the assertions of history. Whatever the object of a miracle is supposed to be, it can be attained quite as well by something which leaves those laws in full operation. To assert that they are violated or suspended in any given case is more than the limits of human knowledge authorize us to affirm. The constancy of nature could not be denied without destroying confidence in everything, even in God himself. The very laws of human belief are built upon it, and without assuming it, we could not say that we believe or think at all. Nor should we gain any superior evidence of the Divine presence. The happiness and progress of society under the fixed laws of Providence are better witnesses of divine wisdom than could be given by irregular exhibitions of mere power. We know not how we could reply to the objection of Hume and others, on the supposition that miracles were *contrary* to experience, since, as he asserts, no amount of testimony is as credible as our belief in the uniformity of nature. And finally, the facts of the inspired narrative give us the idea of a divine power not in violent conflict, but in affectionate co-operation with nature. The Scriptures always speak of the original constitution of the world as pleasing to the Divine mind, and all supernatural beings, at least those of a benevolent character, are uniformly represented as admiring and upholding, but never as opposing it.

Much less do miracles appear in human history as the result of nature's own laws. Many serious persons, of very various schools, have attempted to show that they might be regarded as differing from ordinary events only as comets in our solar system differ from planets, appearing only at greater intervals, but by the action of the same laws. To illustrate this, nature has been compared to Mr. Babbage's calculating machine, in which a law holds good for a million of instances and then changes so as to produce a single new result. But do we find, in fact, any evidence that diseases were healed and the dead

were raised in the time of Christ by the mere action of physical laws? Was there anything inserted at creation in the great machine of the universe which produced such results just as Christ called for them? Is not the idea given us by the inspired writers, that the power of Christ itself wrought them? Such a pre-established harmony between the moral and the physical world seems to us the most awkward of all methods of getting clear of the divine interference.

We prefer to regard miracles in all cases as immediate and extraordinary acts of God *in the midst* of nature. They imply the introduction of another and a higher power, but by no means superseding or violating any before present. If a child who tosses his toy into the air does not suspend or violate the law of gravitation, but only interferes with its special *mode* of action, why need we suppose that our Lord suspends or violates any law of nature when he accomplished his miraculous works? When a disease is gradually cured by ordinary remedies, we ascribe the result to no suspension of previous powers, but only to the action of new causes; must we necessarily imagine such suspensions when the same result is produced more rapidly by the direct power of God? This new influence, though spiritual and almighty, may be as consistent with established physical laws as causes which are more gradual.

We have said that a miracle must be *an extraordinary act of God.* Only in an improper sense can it be denominated a work of man. Disease may have been cured at the word of Peter or of Paul, but the real author of the cure was God. Yet many things wrought by God are not miracles. He "bringeth out the host of heaven by the greatness of his might, so that not one faileth;" he sets a tabernacle for the sun from which it comes forth by his command, as a bridegroom from his chamber, and he clothes the lily and the grass of the field; but these are his ordinary acts by means of the ordinary laws of nature. There must be something in every miracle, out of the common course of nature and providence, and leading those who can understand it in its connections to exclaim, "This is the finger of God." Every kind of action, whether by natural laws, above them, or in opposition to them, may become miraculous by the time and manner of its performance. A wind might have dried up the channel of the Red Sea many times

before and since the passage of the Israelites, but that it should have done so at the command of Moses was by an extraordinary act of God. That a fig-tree should wither away was not remarkable, but that it should do so the moment our Lord cursed it was miraculous. And yet that it should be extraordinary was not enough. It might exceed any powers of nature known to us, and still there might be circumstances proving that it could not be directly from God. We are not willing to concede that genuine miracles are ever ascribed in the Scriptures to any being but to God. There are "lying wonders" spoken of, pretended prophecies, "signs" which would, "if it were possible, deceive the very elect;" prodigies that may "bewitch the people" and lead multitudes to exclaim, "This is the great power of God;" but these are never called miracles except by concession, and in an obviously lower sense. We are presented with criteria by which to test their genuineness. Men who have no spiritual susceptibility, no previous faith, no clear perception of the general relations of God's kingdom may have no defense against the evils of false prophets in the guise of angels of light; but our Lord himself intimates that it will not be possible to beguile his people. Exorcists, diviners, and magicians sometimes produced extraordinary effects upon the natural world and upon the bodies of men, which, in external form, perhaps equaled some real miracles; and yet when God wrought for the express purpose of authenticating his messages, he showed that he was above them.

Miracles have too generally been discussed without sufficient reference to their historical relations. They have been viewed simply as isolated external facts, or as wrought for some theological end, and then the question of their possibility or credibility has been answered very much according to men's various conceptions of their importance in a system of faith. In modern times especially, they have been for the most part regarded as wrought solely to prove the divine authority of a message or for the relief of temporary distress. One is apt to inquire, however, if such were their object, why have they been confined to some particular age or country? God's people have been often apparently as much in need of deliverance as they were in the time of Daniel or of Peter; and missionaries especially seem to need sometimes as much as the apostles did the direct testimony

of heaven. In many miracles of the sacred narrative we can discover no aim at either of these objects, and it is only on some far more comprehensive plan that we can suitably explain them.

1. They were the *appropriate operation* of a supernatural power among men. If Christ were, indeed, divine, he was himself a miracle, and his looks and acts were almost necessarily miraculous. With no arbitrary or unnatural design, it must have been nearly unavoidable that he should sometimes have revealed what other men could not learn, and sometimes have done what other men could not accomplish. It was not natural for him to be only of the earth. Why should he not speak unto the winds and the waves, and cause a great calm when he was urged to do so by a pressing occasion? Why should not the glory of "God manifest in the flesh" sometimes flash forth? Such occasional manifestations were in no respect inconsistent with, but rather demanded by, the purpose of his incarnation. He needed not always to be in complete humiliation. There were seasons when he was called upon to manifest his power to invite the confidence and satisfy the wants of his people. In *this* sense his miracles are *evidences* of a divine revelation, for they were his characteristic divine manifestations. He himself calls them his "works," as if they were his proper employment; and though he reproved some for their mere love of the marvelous, because they had no desire for them as a means of truth, and denounced on those who demanded them in a captious spirit the sign of Jonas the prophet, he conceded that if he did not the works of his Father he could expect none to believe on him. The apostles appeal to "miracles, and wonders, and signs" as the appropriate method by which he was "approved of God." The same is true of all who came as special messengers of Heaven. In some way they were expected to show that they were sharers in the powers of the divine kingdom. Whether they came before or after our Lord's personal appearance on earth, it was supposed that they would possess his spirit and his power. They must show that, like the morning's dawn or the evening's twilight, they were part of the same light which had shone at midday. In the *earlier* periods of the world more supernatural influences were necessary, because the mind of God was not then fully revealed in a written word, the facts of redemption were not accom-

plished, and the kingdom of heaven was not visibly set up. After Christ's ascension, earthly signs of his power were required to show that he had not forsaken his disciples, that his person and work had been accepted by his Father, and that he was on the throne to give gifts to his people. These things were not *merely* to afford evidences, but as the appropriate action, the theophanies of the Mediator to save men. Just as persons of extraordinary abilities are not continually achieving exploits merely to display their greatness, but are simply acting out their own exalted nature, so our Lord, in all periods of the world, personally and through his servants, puts forth his power not artificially to display it, but to accomplish some ulterior useful purpose. Such acts are *used* as tokens of the Divine presence, and they may be appealed to for this end; but to say that this was their principal object, would be to take from them much of their glory.

2. Miracles should also be regarded as a part of a great scheme for restoring and exalting our world. We cannot at present discuss the question, whether physical nature exhibits evidence sufficient to satisfy the mere inductive philosopher that it has been perverted from its original destiny. We incline to maintain in general that it does not. And yet, when revelation suggests the thought, and the disorders of our world are assigned as the true reason for miraculous agency, the explanation may be accepted as plausible even on natural grounds. Hence, when the philosopher objects that miracles tend to *derange* nature, and imply an interruption of a constitution fixed by our Creator, we may properly suggest that he knows not but they may be hints of a restoration rather than a derangement of the universe. At least this is our own explanation of them, and he must judge of its credibility from the suitability of the means to such a declared purpose. Christianity goes upon the assumption that our universe has been disordered. The possibility alone, not the necessity of evil, can be allowed to have pertained to it when it came from the divine hand. Man has realized that possibility, has himself broken off from his proper life-center, and has left the material universe over which he should have had dominion, and which he should have guided to perfection and glory, to drift away into confusion, and to be the prey of malignant spirits. Death,

incipient in manifold diseases, and complete in the extinction of corporeal and spiritual life, reigns over his own person, and Satan has become the prince of the power of the air, the god of this world. The fundamental laws of nature have been so perversely combined and directed, that universal disorder prevails. Those which unfallen man would soon have understood and used for a perfect mastery of nature, have been left in a great degree unknown and undeveloped. The recent discovery of three or four such laws, and their application to the mechanic arts, show what a dominion man might have enjoyed had he attained, as his Creator designed he should speedily have attained, a full knowledge of all natural powers. In the possession of such a knowledge, perhaps a large part of the works of the incarnate Redeemer would have been within his power. What were miracles when performed by Christ, and by his servants, might have been the appropriate actions of man in his normal state. If we carefully notice those miracles we may discover in nearly all of them significant tokens of a restorative and perfective character. "For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil;" and God "anointed Jesus of Nazareth to go about doing good, and to heal all that are oppressed of the devil." In the fulfillment of this general design miracles bore no unimportant share. They broke the spell of Satan's enchantment. They gave a slight specimen of the *order* which ought to reign in Christ's kingdom. He expelled demons, healed the sick, allayed storms, raised the dead, was transfigured, walked on the waves, conversed with angels, and held intimate intercourse with his Father. What is there of disorder in all this? What general process of the natural world is injured or confused? On the other hand, is not an elevating and harmonizing influence given to every interest affected? Are not such events related to the material and social nature much as divine spiritual influences are to the soul? May not even those external miracles which seem difficult to interpret on any such principle, be regarded as a part of that great process by which the restitution, the regeneration, the recapitulation (*ἀνακεφαλαίωσις*) of all things under Christ is to be attained?*

* Acts iii, 21; Matt. xix, 28; Eph. i, 10; Rev. xxi, 1, 5. Comp. Rom. viii, 18-22; 1 Cor. xv, 24-28.

III. With such a view of the laws of nature and of miracles, on what ground must the latter be pronounced *incredible?* To allege that they are *impossible* would be to claim an extent of knowledge which would be itself miraculous. Spinoza imagined that if a single miracle like that of the raising of Lazarus should actually occur, our whole universe would be unhinged. It is hard to perceive why such a disastrous result should follow. Every operation to produce it was, for ought we know, confined to a single individual, and it would be difficult to prove that such a transaction might not have taken place, or that such an independent personality might not have been annihilated, and yet other portions of the universe have remained unconscious of the occurrence. Miracles, even according to the most extreme definition, were conceded by Kant and Fichte to be possible, however incredible. They are *naturally* possible, for they imply no absurdity; and they are *morally* possible, for we can imagine a sufficient reason for them. If any law is transgressed it must be one which is derivative, and whose validity depends upon a peculiar combination of primary laws. But such violations, if so they may be called, take place every day by the conflicts which occur among various natural and human agencies. Laws which usually act in combination are separated, or are united in new relations, which may seem in the highest degree extraordinary. Is it incredible that yet higher combinations should sometimes be effected and to an extent beyond finite powers?

Our author attaches much importance to what he calls the "antecedent credibility" of events, and alleges that no amount of evidence would be likely now to make a philosopher believe in the marvels of witchcraft and magic. We are not so sure of this. Intelligent men have recently exhibited some remarkable instances of the power of human faith. This "antecedent credibility," which so much influences men's judgment in matters of religion, we suspect often depends very much upon their tastes and imaginations. There are cases, however, in which it is not altogether to be despised. We should justify a reluctance to believe in extraordinary interpositions of Providence, if no occasion worthy of the Divine presence were made out. But have we not already suggested grounds on which an occasional occurrence of miracles might be credited? To

prove the disorders consequent upon sin is not our present task, but on the supposition that they exist, and that God has interposed to redeem and save men, are not miracles credible? If such a being as the Son of God has entered our humanity, might we not expect him to remove some of the disorders under which nature and humanity groans? At least, is there anything incredible in the assertion that he did some things to be accounted for only by remembering his extraordinary character? Must the miraculous facts of Scripture be regarded, not as aids, but as "the greatest burden our faith has to bear?" Could we of the present day believe in him more easily had he never shed forth his miraculous power?

The experiment has to some extent been tried of forming a system of religion without miraculous facts, and our author has left us one of the latest attempts of this character; but the result is certainly not flattering enough to force a "strong presumption" in their favor.

IV. Our author's next objection is to the *testimony* by which the reality of miracles is proved. He throws suspicion first upon the testimony of the original witnesses, and then upon the documents in which it has been preserved. Satisfied as he appears to be that he could not believe in a miracle, even under the most favorable circumstances before his own eyes, he of course doubts whether any man ever had sufficient evidence of them. Whoever witnesses what claims to be a special act of God, has to determine whether it is beyond the power of all natural agents, and necessarily a direct act of God. "This," our author says, "must be a matter of opinion, depending not on the evidence of the senses but of reason, and relating not to experience, in the limited sense of that word, but to the general ground of our convictions and the whole basis of the inductive philosophy; and it turns especially on the views we have arrived at of the order of the natural world, and the chain of physical causation." If, after a careful sifting of all the facts connected with a marvelous event, he should fail of discovering its origin by natural laws, he declares that he would set it down as an apparent anomaly awaiting future solution; assured, however, that sooner or later, in the advance of physical discovery, it would receive its explanation." This is said not merely of doubtful marvels, but of all possible miracles. God

has left himself no way, it seems, of reaching him! This is a position beyond that which Laplace, or the stanchest disbelievers of whom we have read before, ever ventured to assume. The only apology we can make for such apparent presumption is, that he was probably speaking of miracles as violations of the primary laws of matter. That there are some miracles recorded in the Scriptures respecting which one who witnessed them only as isolated events might doubt whether they were wrought by God, is conceded in the inspired narrative itself; but our Lord gives us his own judgment upon men who had opportunity to observe any considerable number of his works, in their connections with his character and teachings. "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin," "but now have they no cloak for their sin." We are willing to leave the case even where our author has himself placed it, at the bar of reason as well as of our senses, and to be decided by our views of its consistency with natural order, and we shall have no fear of the result where reason is not fettered by some invincible prejudice.

That there is an obvious distinction between believing in a miracle on the testimony of our own senses, and believing in one on the testimony of ancient documents, it would be absurd to deny. In the latter case the additional questions relating to the competency and the honesty of the witnesses, and the authenticity and genuineness of the records, are to be decided. In this discussion we must assume that these are established. That our received text contains words and even sentences which were not in the original records, and that many letters and points have been changed in the course of centuries of transcription and printing, cannot be denied; but a Savilian professor in Oxford must know, what the most ordinary student of higher criticism, friendly or hostile to evangelical religion, concedes, that all these are of no serious consequence to the integrity of our faith. In the language of Bishop Hare, a man quite liberal enough toward men of "broad" faith, but scrupulously accurate in his learning, "Nothing more need be said in defense of our text on this account, nothing can be said against it. A man must be afraid of his own shadow who can hereafter be in pain about a various reading, or think the number of them any prejudice to the integrity or authority of the

sacred books." That we have also the very books which were written by the men whose names they bear, or, if anonymous, by holy men in whom we can have confidence, ought not, after the searching criticism of the last twenty years, to be disputed. And though we must trust to these authors for a statement of the original facts, we do not hesitate to say that we are in quite as favorable circumstances as they could have been for a judgment upon the supernatural character of the miracles. Since the ascension of our Lord, and after the experience of so many centuries, we are in a position to know the consistency of such facts with the divine nature of Christ, their relations to a disordered universe and to the great scheme of redemption, and their *harmony* with other facts in nature and history, and therefore we have a body of materials for an enlightened conviction which no one in the limited horizon of primitive times could have had. The difficulties those original witnesses must have experienced in such an age are obvious; but we are dependent upon them not so much for their "opinions" of the power exhibited in what they saw, as for a mere tradition of the external facts, and accordingly their transparent narratives exhibit very seldom the personal feelings or judgments of their writers, but make us a part of the multitudes around our Lord witnessing his actions and hearing his words. We have, therefore, merely to transfer these scenes and discourses to our own higher position, and connect them with what *we* know of "God manifest in the flesh," and we can scarcely fail to recognize their supernatural character. Even if the age in which they were written were as superstitious and credulous as our author supposes, we are compelled to receive not their philosophy, but only their details of facts. We had supposed, however, that that period was not as remarkable for credulity as for skepticism. The philosophy of the nations then controlling the world's civilization had lost its validity, and even among the Jews an infidel Sadduceeism or a hypocritical Phariseeism had the highest authority. Our Lord himself encouraged no desire to exercise supernatural powers, and his disciples appear to have had no object in relating his miracles but to inculcate truth. We can have no jealousy of such narrators; we instinctively confide in their honesty, and we admire their healthy freedom from the puerile fancies and prejudices of their age.

But whatever we think of them, we have ample materials for an independent judgment of the circumstances in which the miracles were originally performed.

V. We had designed to offer a brief notice of the state in which our author would leave the evidences of our religion, and the general system of our faith. Our limits, however, compel us to curtail what might be presented on this subject. In the book before us we have very little to assist us here, but it is easy to see that the evidences on which such a system relies will authorize but few positive principles. The opponents of evangelical religion seldom venture to present us with a complete theology, and when they do so the result is usually their best confutation. Our author informs us that a disbelief of miracles in the physical world need have no influence upon our faith in spiritual miracles; that is, those influences of the Divine Spirit which reveal truth to the soul. Such operations being more congenial, as he believes, to the spiritual nature of mind than external miracles to the constitution of the natural world, he thinks are just so much more credible. Why they are more congenial he does not inform us, and we find it hard to conceive. We are only partially enlightened on this point by the labors of his coadjutors of the same school in the more recent "Essays and Reviews." There we learn, what some hints in the present work led us to suspect, that these supernatural influences are in no very obvious sense extraordinary or supernatural at all. "Miracles," he says, "are *doctrines* to be received by faith." If we ask on what evidence, we have no answer. How, when the Holy Spirit reveals truth to our inward spirit, are we to know that it is truth? By its own internal evidence? This will not be very convincing, except where truth is suggested by natural religion; and men's power to recognize truth by its own light is often so feeble that such an evidence can never be relied upon as very effective. The moment we go beyond these we come to a region where we must have *facts*. Whether Jesus is divine, whether he died for our sins as an atoning sacrifice, whether he rose again and now sits at the right hand of God, whether he will answer prayer, and pardon all that come unto him, on their repentance and faith, are matters not to be reasoned out and believed on their internal beauty and consistency alone. We can have no satisfactory evidence

of their truth, but from some announcement of the mind of God respecting them. Such an announcement must have proof that it is from heaven. Merely to suggest them to our minds by revelation, and to make us understand them, does not prove them to be *facts*. And yet this revelation to *faith* is all that Professor Powell and his school give us. Closely examined, this is simply *inspiration;* but alas! when we get to a distinct understanding of what is meant by this inspiration, these miracles for faith turn out to be an entirely natural thing under a supernatural name. We have long been familiar with this trick of rationalism, but we were not at first on our guard against it in a clergyman of the Church of England. This inspiration is simply an elevation of genius, an exaltation of human faculties. But how can this reveal and accredit any new truth not discoverable by human reason? Evidently it cannot, and we come to the humiliating fact, that the Christianity of this new Oxford school has no doctrines beyond human discovery. Professor Powell intimates that it would lose nothing very essential if all the historical facts of the Christian system were lost. Indeed! and what is Christianity without these historical facts? Without a historical birth, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus, what becomes of a Saviour, an atonement, and our fellowship with him? This new attempt only demonstrates once more that the removal of the miraculous from the Christian system is tantamount to a reduction of that system to a religion of nature. The only novelty about it is, the effort to substitute a seeming supernaturalism in the spiritual nature of man for one more intelligible in the world of sense. The result is, what its authors call "*Ideology*," but what their exulting friends at Westminster denominate a "provisional system," preparatory to their own more developed "Neo-Christianity." It is sad to witness such a process. A Bible whose historical facts can be interpreted in an "ideal sense," according to their "antecedent probability" and the "inspiration" of its readers, will not serve an exalted purpose in the future "Education of the race." We wonder that a Church like that of the English establishment could have any attractions, except in its emoluments, for men of such principles. Honest John Sterling in such circumstances would have said, "Adieu, O Church! thy road lies that way, mine this." But

these clergymen accept of Articles in a non-natural sense which our author once denounced, hold possession of the most responsible positions in an orthodox Church, and hope to lead that Church itself into their own path, "*whither* is abundantly obscure, but *whence* is very plain."

Art. II.—ATMOSPHERIC AND OCEANIC CURRENTS.*

[BY LUCIEN DUBOIS, FROM THE FRENCH.]

Currents and Changes of the Atmosphere and the Sea. By M. Felix Julien, Lieutenant in the Navy, and formerly a Pupil of the Polytechnic School. One volume, 8vo. Paris: Lacroix & Baudry. 1860.

The earth floats in the midst of a covering of gas and vapor, according to some, about thirty-seven miles, and others sixty-two miles in depth; a true atmospheric ocean, of which the changes and storms yield in no respect to those of the ocean, to which they have very close relations. It is at the bottom of this immense aerial sea that men and other animals exist, just as the fishes live in the waters.

Although the fostering care of the Creator placed his cradle in privileged places, man must have been early astonished at the spectacle that the various atmospheric changes presented; changes, of which without doubt he was at first an astonished witness, and of which, more than once, he has been the victim. The contrast between these changes and the general harmony

* The following article, with its sequel, which will appear in our July number, translated from "*Le Correspondant*," while nominally a review of a work by M. Felix Julien, Lieutenant in the French Navy, is in effect a masterly statement of the theories as to Atmospheric and Oceanic Currents advanced by our countryman, Lieutenant M. F. Maury, Superintendent of the National Observatory at Washington. Lieutenant Maury's work on the "Physical Geography of the Sea" has excited more attention, both in America and Europe, than any other scientific work issued within the last fifteen years. A new edition, entirely rewritten and greatly enlarged, has recently been published simultaneously in New York and London. It contains all the results of the extended series of observations carried on under the superintendence of Lieutenant Maury, brought down to the latest period.—Ed.

of the universe was not long in arresting his attention. But for a long time he only saw in these phenomena the effect of blind forces, and could not assign them to any other cause than the caprice of nature. What did we know even yesterday? What know we to-day? By turns Galileo, Bacon, Vossius, and, in later times, Halley, d'Alembert, and Chevalier Coudraye, the least known of all, endeavored to resolve the problem; but too often, instead of having recourse to observations, which alone could give the clue, they demanded an impossible solution from futile mathematical abstractions. So that, excepting the trade-winds, and the monsoons, which are only the periodic reversions of the trades, the winds continued to be considered essentially irregular.

At last a man has arisen who, fortified by his own experience, and above all by an abiding faith in the harmony of creation, has resolutely applied himself to the research of the mysterious laws that govern nature, and has attempted to demonstrate the regularity of two things regarded heretofore as the types of inconstancy and change, namely, the winds and the waves. This man, whom posterity will regard as one of the glories of the American Navy, and whose name, but yesterday almost unknown to us, will become more and more celebrated, is—the reader has already named him—Lieutenant Maury. Enrolling all the navies of civilized nations in both continents under the peaceful flag of science, Maury has made himself, for some years, the center of information received from all parts of the world. From this enormous mass of observations, made in all latitudes, and discussed in an international scientific congress held at Brussels in August, 1853, the learned American meteorologist, with the sagacity that only belongs to genius, has formed, as two grand syntheses, his theory of oceanic currents and his very ingenious system of the direction of the winds.

Our readers will understand that we cannot, in these pages, set forth as a whole this double theory, of which a thousand details surround the entire subject of their ingenious system. We will content ourselves with sketching the principal features, drawing aid from the most recent and most reliable works on meteorology, and especially from the book of M. Julien, which is the latest resumé and one of the most complete with which we are acquainted.

I. Atmospheric Currents.

It is known that the atmosphere is divided, from one pole to the other, into at least nine distinct and parallel zones, four of currents, and five of calms or capricious breezes. The latter, 3° or 4° in breadth, are the equatorial, the two tropical, and the two polar zones. The four zones of currents, or of winds, are the four intermediate zones; that is to say, the two that extend north and south from the tropical calms to the polar calms —this is the region of free or prevailing winds—and the two that separate the equatorial calms from the tropical calms—this is the region of the trades, of which the free winds are only the continuation and, as it were, the prolongation.*

Do these different zones form regions separate and distinct? In other words, do the zones of calms arise as impassable barriers before the zones of currents, preventing between these all communication, all interchange of gas and vapor, as was so long believed? Such was the problem to be resolved, a problem intricate and delicate.

On looking at the map of the world, Maury was struck with this singular fact—that nearly all the large rivers of the world arose in the northern hemisphere, although the oceanic surface, and, of course, evaporation, was much less than in the southern hemisphere.

How could this surprising fact be explained except by supposing a continual exchange of moisture between the two hemispheres, and that, too, in despite of the zones of calms?

The observation of facts was not long in giving reason to this bold hypothesis. From these facts we will choose the two following as being the most conclusive. The analysis of the air taken from all latitudes proves it to be identical in constituent particles everywhere, notwithstanding the very different conditions of cold and heat; an evident proof that there are incessant ways of communication between the different zones of the atmosphere. The second fact is still more striking: the showers of dust which have been so often observed at Genoa,

* The free winds of our hemisphere blow from S. W. to N. E., those of the western hemisphere from N. W. to S. E.; the trades of the north blow from N. E. to S. W., those of the south from S. E. to N. W. The free winds of the north are the prolongation of the trades of the south, and the free winds of the south are the continuation of the trade-winds of the north.

Malta, and other places. Now the celebrated naturalist of Berlin, Ehrenberg, provided with his powerful microscope—that wonderful instrument that reveals the boundaries of the infinitesimal world, as the telescope of Lord Ross reveals those of the universe—has discovered in the matter that composes these dust showers the débris of infusoria and of organic matter brought from South America, and which could only reach Europe by traversing the regions of calms. When, in his distant journeys to the torrid zones, Alexander Humboldt observed the formation of whirlwinds of dust, of which he speaks, the illustrious savant did not suppose that this dust, carried by the winds above the equatorial and tropical calms, would fall in showers upon the European shores, and carry there the proof of the upper currents of the atmosphere.

These facts, and many others that want of space will not permit us to notice here, suggested to Maury his theory of winds, a theory subtle as it is ingenious, and of which we will endeavor to convey an idea.

Above the regions where the four zones of surface winds extend, according to the sagacious meteorologist, four higher and parallel counter-currents blow opposite to the first, charged with re-establishing continually the equilibrium of the atmosphere. The intermediate calms are produced, at the equator by the meeting of the trades; at the tropics by that of the superior opposing winds. The expression "calms" is relative, the atmospheric ocean having, no more than the other ocean, absolute repose; this word only signifies the cessation of the horizontal motion of the air and the commencement of its double vertical movement, ascending in the regions of equatorial and polar calms, and descending in the tropical zones; a movement which the barometer points out here by its elevation, there by its depression.

If we follow, in thought, a particle of air in its restless voyage around the globe, we shall see it carried in turn, by the superior currents and the surface winds, to feed alternately the trades of the south and the free winds of the north in going, and the trades of the north and the free winds of the south in returning. All the intermediate places will be overleaped by it in the higher currents. What force determines these currents and drives them thus in opposite directions? What

power prevents the dry and moist air from commingling in the zones of calm, and sends the first to the equatorial seas, from which it will soon imbibe moisture, and the second to the colder regions, where it carries the rain with which it is surcharged, without ever the confusion of the two disturbing the harmony of this marvelous circulation? Maury supposes that in these phenomena are concerned the influences of electro-magnetism, that mysterious and powerful agent so universally present and as yet so little known.

The rotation of the earth's crust around its central mass, which is in a state of fusion, and whose revolutions are less rapid, produces, according to M. Babinet, a double current of electricity, negative in the liquid, and positive in the solid matter. This rotatory motion being greatly accelerated at the equator, the electricity is formed there in much greater abundance. The atmospheric currents, taking up the positive, (positive electricity being in excess,) carry it to the poles, where it is accumulated, and where, meeting with the negative electricity, it produces the magnificent electrical storms which are called Auroras—the intermittent sun of those desolate regions where the sun does not shine. It is to this same polar electricity that Maury attributes the whirl of atmospheric currents around the poles. Faraday has recently demonstrated the magnetic properties of oxygen, a gas that composes the fifth part of the air we breathe. Do not these properties assist in the circulation of the atmosphere? The positions assigned to the magnetic poles—the pole of the winds and that of greatest cold—are nearly identical. Can this be pure coincidence? What force, unless it be electricity, draws on the hurricane and makes it whirl in the same manner that the spiral of the polar current does, to which it is nearly related, that is to say, from right to left in the northern hemisphere, and from left to right in the southern?*

* The Newtonian gravitation is, perhaps, only a phenomenon of the same kind. The law of universal attraction was only to Newton himself but the rule of a fact and not of a cause; bodies are not attracted in truth, but pass from one to the other as if they were attracted. The effect only is constant, the cause is unknown. The dynamic power of the solar heat would be, according to some savans, more than sufficient to determine the rotatory motion of the planets. For what is this solar heat itself except an electrical phenomenon, according to the most generally received opinion? It is true there are those who assign as a cause for it the im-

In proving the identity of electricity and magnetism, Œrstedt, Ampere, and Faraday have made for science a long stride toward unity. They have simplified nature, according to the energetic expression of M. Babinet. "Electricity," says this ingenious savant, "is the universal agent of organic and inorganic life; it is everything." "It is the soul of the physical world," adds M. Becquerel.

Electricity, magnetism, heat, light, like the sphinx, propose their enigmas to the Œdipi of science, who, little by little, penetrate the mysterious meaning, and are already catching vague glimpses of the unity of all.

Truly, every step that science advances, every new discovery that is made in the domain of the physical world, brings more clearly to view the unity of the force that presides over the changes of nature. If, as M. Dumas thinks, and with him many other wise men, the physical world originates from a single element, (hydrogen, according to the Englishman, Prout; an unknown body of half the weight of hydrogen, according to M. Marignac;) if also, as science supposes, this unique element is submitted to a single force, what admirable simplicity shines forth, then, in the creation! What an astonishing variety, in the effects, is produced by the combination of these two causes. The day will come, without doubt, when science will place in brighter light these two equally astonishing marvels. Kepler saw the dawn of this memorable day when he said, "God being an Intelligence unique and universal, the character of the laws which he has imposed upon the world ought to be unity and universality."

However it may be, solar heat, together with electricity, appears to play an important part in the formation and direction of the winds. At length, in the eighteenth century, Halley assigned the daily heat as a cause for the trades. In the equatorial regions the sun heats the air to such a degree that a continued ascending current is there produced, carrying

fact of the sun upon cosmical matter scattered through space under the form of shooting stars, balls, comets, and zodiacal lights. But the greater number see in the sun an electrical battery of increasing activity. M. Geniller, of Liége, among others, thinks that the development of the cloudlike covering which, according to Herschel and Arago, covers the nucleus of the sun, gives rise to torrents of static electricity, whose constant discharges cause the solar light, and thus this body shines by virtue of a permanent electrical storm.

into the higher regions the hot air, which is lighter, from the same cause that makes the heated air and smoke from the fires we kindle ascend in a vertical column. To fill the void thus caused two currents of colder air from the north and the south rush in, which, heated in their turn, are continually lifted into the upper regions. There is thus a constant coming and going; an equilibrium constantly being broken up and re-established. For above these surface-currents, drawn toward the equator, there is necessarily a double higher and opposite current, carrying to the north and the south the superabundance of air that without it would accumulate over the line.

It is to this same cause that we should attribute the breeze called the sea-breeze, which blows on our coasts during the day, and the land breeze, which prevails during the night. During the day the land, heating more promptly than the sea, makes above itself a stratum of hot air incessantly replaced on the surface by a current of colder air coming from the sea. During the night the land, more prompt to grow cold by radiation, sends, in its turn, a current of cold air toward the sea, above which the heated air is continually lifted. The typhoon and the waterspouts, so terrible always in the Indian Ocean, boiling under a vertical sun, are only the effects of the same cause; that is to say, the ascending whirlwinds of heated air that carry along with irresistible power everything that is caught in their fearful spirals.*

Besides the part that the winds play in maintaining the equilibrium of the air, they act, in a not less interesting and wonderful manner, as vehicles of rain, and as agents prepared for the irrigation of our globe.

It is here that the wisdom of Providence shines forth in all its splendor. Maury divides the winds into two classes: the dry or evaporating winds, (these are the trades;) and the moist or precipitating winds, (these are the free winds.) The first,

* It is useless to add, that the circulation of the atmosphere does not prevent in reality all the regularity of this system. Without speaking of unknown causes of disturbance, the rotation of the earth and the different phases that its surface presents, (mountains, deserts now hot, now cold, etc.,) exercise a constant influence upon the direction of the currents. The typical winds of Maury are those that blow over the ocean, where the nearly level surface offers less resistance to the regularity of their course. The oceanic is to the land surface as twenty-seven is to ten.

blowing over the intertropical regions, imbibe, as a dry sponge, the vapors produced by the solar heat; for, under these boiling latitudes, the evaporating power of the sun is such that it is supposed a liquid stratum of fifteen feet in depth is evaporated annually. In certain seas, such as the Indian Ocean, this stratum attains a depth of twenty feet. Charged with the vapors of the southern hemisphere, the south trades carry them above the calms of the equator and tropic of Cancer to the regions of free winds or precipitants, which, taking them up in their turn, carry them toward the north, until the cold, operating upon the air, presses from it the water which it contains and causes it to fall in rain. The trades of the north transport in a similar manner the vapors of the northern hemisphere to the southern.

Thus is solved the problem of which science has in vain, until now, sought the solution. The northern hemisphere presenting to the solar rays, in the region of the trades, a water surface about a third smaller than the southern, and, in the mean time, receiving a quantity of rain one third greater; all is explained by the exchange of vapors effected between the two hemispheres.

Thus, by a wonderful harmony, a drop of water, drawn from the ocean in the form of vapor by a ray of the sun, courses through the air on the wing of the winds, and in distant places falls as rain on the land which it fertilizes, then, borne in the current of the stream, it reaches the ocean again from which it came, to begin once more the circle of these changes.*

The theory of precipitation is known. The air, forced by some cause to elevate itself, becomes lighter than the column at that time above it, and consequently dilates; then, as it ascends it becomes colder, and the watery vapors that it con-

* The equatorial zone is the grand laboratory in which the winds and the rains are formed. This zone, as well as the two bands of tropical calms, is as a thick arch of vapor, which, being in excess, forms almost continued rains. The zone of equatorial calms is not unchangeable; oscillating from the south to the north and from the north to the south of the line, according to the seasons and the position of the sun in the ecliptic, its change makes the rainy and the dry seasons by turn in the intertropical regions. The countries under the equator have the band of equatorial calms to pass over them twice, and consequently have two seasons of rain. The climate of Santa Fe de Bogota is an example of this phenomenon.

tains, condensed by the cold, fall in the form of rain. The proportional cooling of the air is about 37° Fahrenheit to every six hundred and fifty-six feet of elevation. It is on this account we say, that the forests draw the rain; the barrier that they oppose to the currents on the surface forces them to a higher elevation, and consequently deprive them of the vapors that they hold in suspension. From which it happens that in Egypt, where rains were formerly unknown, they have become relatively abundant since trees have been planted. What cause renders the basin of the Meuse so abundant in water, yet of such inconsiderable extent, but the forests that cover it?

As a consequent of what precedes it must be established as a principle, that the configuration of the earth and the prevailing winds determine the natural irrigation of a country. The flow of water represents the excess of precipitation over evaporation.*

The quantity of annual rain in France is about 353,165 cubic feet per hectare, [the hectare is two acres, one rood, and thirty-five perches;] this quantity for the whole world amounts to the enormous sum of 27,401,286,824 cubic feet, say 75,072,018 a day. Suppose that rain falls on the Atlantic to the depth of 0.081 feet, the surface being about 25,000,000 square miles. The weight of this water would be about 1,800,000,000 tons, and the salt that it leaves by evaporation would not weigh less than 80,000,000 tons, tenfold the weight that the navies of the whole world could float. If, as may be supposed, in place of a hypothetical depth of 0.081 feet, the volume of water that annually falls on the Atlantic is in reality 4.88 feet, to what a formidable amount will we arrive? What must be the disturbing power of such evaporation and precipitation?

By a wonderful foresight the northern hemisphere, which contains three fourths of the habitable portion of the world, is

* The air saturated with watery vapor and that in which this moisture is absent, is equally injurious to mankind. The first constitutes the atmosphere of the hot and moist places; it is the malaria of Marennes and the Pontine Marshes, which every year besieges more and more closely the Eternal City, and threatens to invade it with its marshy poisons. The second is the Simoon and Khamsin of the desert. The atmosphere of misty England is almost completely saturated with water, that of France holds a just mean. What moral phenomena are explained by this simple physical fact.

that for which the winds are charged to afford the most abundant rain, at the same time fertilizing the earth and creating the thousand streams that form the watercourses and constitute the natural channels of communication between its different parts.

What may we not say concerning the influence exerted by the winds in forming the streams?

Every watercourse supposes a prevailing wind that feeds it. Let us follow, for example, the course of the western winds, so constant in our country, charged with the vapors of the Atlantic and heated by the Gulf-stream, over which they pass. These currents are cooled little by little by contact with the colder air which they meet, and deposit along the way part of their moisture, until, meeting the Helvetic Alps, they are still more elevated, and give out on the summit of these mountains, in the form of rain or snow, the remainder of their moisture, whence are supplied the sources of the Rhone and Rhine. It is the same with the Po, whose stream is nourished by the rains that are carried to the top of the Tyrolese Alps, these same winds blowing over the plains of Lombardy.

Let us point out in a few words the course of the trades. After having crossed the Atlantic and imbibed its vapors, these winds cross America to the Cordilleras. In crossing this colossal barrier, they are forced into the colder regions, where they are relieved of the moisture with which they are saturated, and send down the torrents of water which are soon named the Orinoco and the Amazon. Becoming dry, the trades descend to the arid plains of Peru, (where rain is unknown,) cross the wide Pacific, where they drink up new vapors, which they deposit on the mountains of Cochin China and Siam, where they become the sources of large rivers. Then, continuing their journey, they cross the Indian Ocean and carry its abundant vapors to the mountains of Central Africa, the source of the Nile, and then redescend hot and dry over the desert.

It is thus that the divine economy of the creation is brilliant in the simplicity of the cause, and in the variety and power of the effects. Even the deserts themselves play their part in the atmospheric circulation and in the irrigation of the earth: whether, being heated, one after another, by the periodic passage of the sun between the tropics they draw the trades in turn

to the north and south of the line, according to the seasons, and cause the monsoons to blow in two directions during six months alternately, as do the broiling deserts of Africa and Asia; or whether, in cooling the air, they cause an abundant precipitation, as do the icy steppes of Siberia, from whence the rain nourishes the sources of the Obi, Lena, and Yenesei.

Mountains, deserts, waters, and winds all join in the universal harmony. All, if we may be allowed the expression, perform their part in the great concert of nature.

When the winds have to pass over large continents that deprive them of their moisture, Providence, by wonderful wisdom, has placed along their route lakes and interior seas to refresh them and fill them with vapors, with which they irrigate, in proportion as they receive moisture, the countries over which they pass. Thus the trades of the south, after having traversed South America, on the heights of which they have left their moisture, descend from the higher regions in leaving the calms of the Tropic of Cancer and arrive changed in our hemisphere, where they blow from southwest to northeast, as prevailing winds, passing on their way the Mediterranean, Black, Caspian, and Aral Seas. It is the same with the trades that have crossed the south of Africa, which fall hot and dry on the Egyptian land, and then pass on to drink up the vapors of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Such is the avidity of these winds that the first absorbs from the Mediterranean three times the quantity of water that this sea receives from the rivers and the rains, and the second takes up from the Red Sea a stratum of water not less than eight feet in thickness. The Straits of Gibraltar and Bab-el-Mandeb are constantly re-establishing the level of these two seas and repairing their losses.

If we believe Maury, the winds are not only the irrigators of the earth; they are also its historians, the chronographers of its changes. Why, for instance, is the Dead Sea twelve hundred feet below the level of the Mediterranean? Why are the waters of the great Salt Lake of Utah, Lake Tadjurra, and those of Titicaca, in America, progressively becoming lower? Why did the great chain of North American Lakes, which now empty their surplus water into the ocean only through the St. Lawrence, formerly empty it into the Mississippi by channels of which there are still evident traces? To all these effects

Maury assigns one cause: At an unknown epoch, yet comparatively recent, as geology makes evident, the South American continent emerged from the bosom of the waters, and elevated the immense chain of mountains which are called the back-bone of the two Americas. Previous to this period the winds, filled with the vapors of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, then but one sea, carried the rains to North America and Europe, and kept up the level of the interior seas. These same winds, whose direction has not changed, it being determined by the rotation of the earth, had afterward to elevate themselves over the land and mountains, which, depriving them of the most of their moisture, left them none to distribute, and it is owing to this geological phenomenon that rain is scarce in the basins of the two continents which they are charged to supply.

Thus, according to Maury, is explained the progressive falling of the waters of the interior seas; an action that continues until precipitation and evaporation become equal. The same thing would happen to the Mediterranean and Gulf of Mexico if the straits that unite them to the Atlantic should become closed; these two seas, as we have before seen, losing more by evaporation than they gain by rivers and rain. It is proper to remark, that the movement by which the Rocky Mountains, and with them the western coast of North America, have been elevated, still continues;* on the other hand, the eastern coasts are lowering by a slight depresssion.

It is to this double phenomenon that M. Elisha Reclus, in a recent and very interesting work on the Mississippi, attributes the force that draws this river toward the east, although the motion of the earth generally gives an opposite direction to the movable particles on the surface.

It is thus that geology and meteorology join hands and assist in the solution of their respective problems. It is thus that, in this beautiful theory, all is held together by a powerful logic, and facts come in crowds to the support of the opinions of a genius as sagacious as bold.

Here we must mention a remarkable occurrence that, a few years ago, demonstrated the practical advantage of meteorological science.

* This is also true of Scandinavia and the western coasts of France, where the progressive elevation is perceptible.

The reader doubtless recollects the terrible hurricane of the 14th November, 1854, which disturbed the Black Sea and ravaged the Crimea, sowing in its passage shipwrecks and devastation. Meteorology has given to this storm an explanation, if not completely irrefutable, at least very plausible. All the wise men of the civilized world having been questioned by M. Leverrier as to the atmospheric changes which preceded, accompanied, and followed the phenomenon, M. Lias, of the Observatory, was charged with arranging the reports that were transmitted. On examination, it was evident that on the 12th of November, at midday, (Paris time,) the barometers in all the western countries of Europe noted the pressure of a vast stratum of air that was elevated on the surface of the atmospheric ocean like an immense wave, stretching from north to south and advancing slightly toward the east. Hour by hour the barometers marked the march of this gigantic billow of air from west to east, which caused everywhere a remarkable calm, precursor of the tempest. It was preceded and followed by an empty furrow, equally extended as itself, and indicated by the barometer. The furrow that it preceded arrived on the 14th of November on the shores of the Black Sea. If an ordinary depression of atmosphere produces the rains and the winds, and often the tempest, what might not follow this immense furrow? We know of its fearful ravages. The wreck of the "Henri Quatre," stranded on the coast of Crimea, is still a witness of its fury. By a striking coincidence, on the 14th of November the eastern furrow devastated the Crimea, and on the 15th and 16th the western rioted in the whirlwind over France and the neighboring countries. May we not think that the destructive effect of this tempest might have been, if not shunned, at least lessened, if the observations had preceded and not followed, to be explained after the blow?

If we suppose posts of observation scattered over the globe, and communicating instantly to each other by means of electricity their remarks on the direction of the winds, the course of the clouds charged with moisture, the currents of cold or hot air, in a word, all the different atmospheric changes, what a view would thenceforth be opened toward the practical advantage of meteorology!

Art. III.—BUDDHISM: ITS ORIGIN AND RESULTS.

Encyclopedie Catholique. Art. Buddha.
Buddha et sa Religion. Par Geoffrey de St. Hilaire. Paris: 1859.

Buddhism, originally an offshoot from Brahminism, has for almost twenty-five hundred years been a distinct and even antagonistic system. It is, in its higher development, essentially atheistic. It does not admit any first cause, but regards all worlds and their inhabitants as having been from all eternity in a constant round of arising and perishing.

It is a matter of considerable difficulty to ascertain what were the original tenets of its founder, and what have since been grafted on to the system by Buddhist writers; but the recent translation of the most important theological treatises of the Buddhists into the French and German languages, give facilities not hitherto enjoyed for this purpose.

There have been, according to the Dharmma, many thousands of Buddhas, and will be many thousands more; but the Buddha Sakyamuni or Gaudama, the present Buddha, is a historic personage, who was nearly cotemporary with Jeremiah, having been born 622 B.C. and died 542 B.C.

The Brahmins, rioting in the power over the inferior castes conferred on them by their sacred books, had become haughty, proud, tyrannical, oppressive, and corrupt. Under their iron heel the subordinate castes had been ground down and crushed in property, liberty, happiness, and life. The degraded Südra might yield uncomplainingly to such oppression; but the hot blood of the Kshattriyas, or warrior caste, drove them to resistance more than once, but generally unsuccessfully. It was one of these protests against the tyranny of the Brahmins, which was headed by Buddha Sakyamuni, which led to the institution of Buddism.

Buddha Sakyamuni was the son of Suddhodana, king of Benares, and both his parents belonged to the Kshattriyas. Possessing talents of a high order, he was early admitted to the esoteric rites of Brahminism, and became familiar with the philosophy of the Vedantic school. He was endowed also

with remarkable physical powers, and in all the public games won the prizes. For a time the attractions of a life of pleasure seem to have absorbed his attention; he married, and engaged in the frivolities and gayeties of his father's court with great freedom; but soon the purpose, cherished from his earliest years, of being the deliverer of his people from the tyranny of the Brahmins, returned in its highest intensity, and abandoning his home and his pleasures, he secluded himself in the forest, practiced the greatest austerities and the severest penances, and after a pilgrimage to the sacred Banyan-tree of Gaya, professed to have received divine enlightenment, and to have become incarnate to save his people. At Benares, and subsequently at Sravasti, on the north bank of the Ganges, he assumed the office of teacher, propagating his doctrines through his pupils in other countries, and writing some books in defense of his teachings.

Whether he claimed to be the Buddha who was to be the ninth incarnation of Vishnu, is uncertain; but he was soon denounced by the Brahmins, whom he had offended by his bold exposure of their crimes and corruptions, by his abrogation of caste, and his avowal of the equality of all races and castes of men, in the sight of the Divine Beings.

The cry of "atheist" was raised against him by his enemies, who were hardly less atheistic than himself in doctrine, and far less virtuous and correct in conduct. This collision of doctrines finally led to civil war, in which the relatives and many of the followers of Sakyamuni were savagely butchered. These wars did not cease with the death of the Buddhist prophet, but were continued for nearly four hundred and fifty years, and resulted in the expulsion of the Buddhists from the peninsula of Hindostan, and their establishment in Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, Pegu, and Cochin China, and subsequently in China, Mongolia, and Japan.

Most of the traditions and legends in regard to Buddha originated, or at least were compiled, subsequent to this date, and it is doubtful whether any portion of the Yatus or sacred books belong to an earlier period. The striking similarity in some of them to the incidents in the life of Christ would indicate the probability that their compilers had been brought into contact with the disciples of St. Thomas, who,

according to tradition, visited India in the first century of the Christian era, and whose followers were probably provided with copies of the earlier Gospels. The traditions of the Cingalese, or inhabitants of Ceylon, concerning Buddha are the earliest, but are quite as absurd as those of the Burmese or Siamese. He is represented as determining upon his incarnation while in the fourth heaven; as coming to earth in the form of a white elephant, effecting his miraculous conception by a virgin; as a five colored ray of light, being born, amid wonderful convulsions of nature, from the right side of his mother, and at the instant of birth proclaiming his divine mission; as losing his mother on the seventh day after his birth, and being adopted by her sister, by whom he was named Gautama or Gaudama, (wise master of the world;) as having, without exertion acquired all human wisdom, and become the victor in all athletic games, and after his marriage as having become an ascetic, and resisted the numerous and extraordinary temptations of Mara, the god of love, sin, and death; as having taken his place on the throne of intelligence at Gaya, where were made present to his mental vision all the events of his past existence, as well as those of all other beings, past, present, and to come; that he then became a teacher or founder of a sect, and performed the most wonderful miracles, healing the sick, raising the dead, restoring sight and hearing, and relieving the wants of the poor; that in the forty-five years of his life as a teacher he underwent five hundred and fifty transformations, and performed innumerable acts of the highest merit, such as, while personating a prince, giving himself to be devoured by a starving tigress and her young; using his own skin for parchment, his blood for ink, and splinters of his bones for a stylus, to record a lost portion of the sacred books, etc., etc. They also narrate some wonderful miracles and convulsions of nature as having occurred at his death, and declare that his body could not be burned until reverence had been done to his feet, and that then fire burst forth spontaneously from his breast and consumed the sacred corpse. Relics of the prophet, reputed to be genuine, are preserved in several of the cities of Ceylon, Burmah, and Siam.

The sacred books (Yatus) are divided into three sections. They are, I. The DHARMMA, which comprises the cosmology

and cosmography, the revelations, dogmas, and precepts of the Buddhist faith. II. The VINAYA, which contains the ceremonial law or ritual of the priests, and has also some religious instruction in regard to the conduct of laymen. III. The ABHIDHARMMA, or system of Buddhist metaphysics. The last, which in its subtle distinctions, and its false, though ingenious logical principles, bears a strong resemblance to the Hindoo metaphysical systems from which it sprung, would not interest our readers, and we shall therefore content ourselves with a brief account of the two former.

The DHARMMA recognizes no Supreme Being. There was no beginning, there will be no end; and from the not-beginning there has ever been and will ever be a ceaseless round of arising and perishing worlds. Of the vast number or duration of these worlds, the intellect can have no knowledge and can form no idea. "Four things," says the DHARMMA, "are unmeasurable: the science of Buddha, space, the number of breathing beings, and the number of worlds." The Buddhist writers frequently speak of three thousand *great chiliocosms*, by which they mean three thousand billions of worlds, a number, one would think, sufficiently large to satisfy even the most ambitious cosmogonist; but this vast number bears so small a proportion to the whole, that according to those writers, its loss from the system of the universe would not be observable.

In the number of their places of reward and punishment they are less profuse. There are four chief heavens, which, in all the convulsions which affect the other worlds or heavens, remain undisturbed. These are occupied by Buddhas and the highest order of saints. Below these are twenty-eight inferior heavens, the abodes of those who have attained merit; at the end of a *kulpu* or *kalpa* (an æon of incalculable duration) these will be destroyed and replaced by others. These are all above the earth. To the earth, or some other of the innumerable worlds on the same plane, will return after death in human shape, or in the form of some animal, the great bulk of those who die, for transmigration has been retained from the Hindoo theology in their system. Below the earth are, first, the world of snakes, for the punishment of those whose offenses, though not the most aggravated, are too great to permit their immediate transmigration even in animal form. Next in order

of downward progression are one hundred and twenty hells of comparatively mild torments, and twelve, or according to the Burmese version, sixteen chief hells in which the tortures are the severest which an oriental imagination can describe.

Klesa, or the commission of sin in a former existence, is the fountain of all evil. This sin can only be extinguished by deeds of merit, and one or several lives of good deeds may not be sufficient to atone for a previous life of crime. Hence the individual is bound to live a pure life, not only from the dread of hell and the suffering he must endure, but from the fear of inflicting upon a future self, in another state of existence, the penalty of his sinfulness in this life.

But there is, besides this *Klesa*, another source of evil and suffering. Mundane existence, (*sansara*,) far from being a boon and a blessing, is a curse, a fundamental evil, from which flow out four poisonous streams, birth, age, disease, and death. To be freed from this condition of woe, and also from the sinfulness of a former life, is the highest of aims. To attain to this freedom is *nirvāna*, or more properly *nirvvāna*, a state in which the original sin is conquered, the desires subdued, the passions tamed, pain, emotion, disease, age, death, and transmigration banished, and, in its highest degree, the consciousness of existence swallowed up in a profound repose. Many writers have represented this condition of *nirvvāna* as annihilation; but the Buddhists themselves will not admit that the idea of physical annihilation is included in it.

To attain to this beatific state meritorious deeds are requisite, but above all, profound and long-continued meditation. This opens the gates of heaven, and if persisted in will lead to omniscience and omnipotence.

The Buddhist doctrine is often called in the Dharmma *the way of the four truths*, in allusion to the four propositions of Buddha, which are posted in the pagodas, and widely scattered among the people. They are as follows:

1. Pain is truth, age, disease, death, the meeting with what one dislikes, the separation from what one loves, the failure to obtain what one strives for.
2. The causes of pain are desires, lusts, passions.
3. These can be overcome.
4. The way of overcoming (*nirvvāna*) has eight parts: right

view, right sense, right speech, right action, right position, right energy, right memory, and right meditation.

Caste was abolished by Buddha himself, and the right of the lower classes, as well as woman, to instruction, admitted. He was not an idolater, and the sacred books, while they encourage the erection of shrines to his memory and the offering of flowers upon these shrines, yet admit no worship of idols. The priests at the present day will profess that they do not worship the idol or idols found in their temples, but the self-existent Buddha, of whom these are only mementos; but it is certain that the masses make no such distinction.

The VINAYA, or ritual of priestly and religious observance, prescribes two hundred and fifty ordinances, which the priests (*scavanas*, sense tamers) must observe. Of these ten are essential, viz.: not to kill, not to steal, to be chaste, not to lie, not to get drunk, not to eat after mid-day, not to sing or dance, to abstain from ornamental dresses, not to use a large bed, and not to receive the precious metals.

The first five of these are incumbent upon all the followers of Buddha, and, under the name of the five commands, are repeated by the priests to the people morning and evening, and responded to by their hearers. Five of the two hundred and fifty ordinances refer to the respect to be paid to Buddha, the laws, and the priests; the remainder comprise ritual observances. The garments of the priest are prescribed; in Ceylon and Farther India they are yellow, in Thibet crimson or violet. The priests are forbidden to marry, and if they have married before becoming priests, they must separate from their wives.

The Vinaya also recognizes different orders of monks and nuns, and prescribes rules for their conduct, dress, mode of life, etc. There are also directions in regard to the conduct and duties of the *upasakus* and *upasakis*, the religious servants of the priesthood, who lead a semi-monastic life, without the vows which are required from the monks and nuns. It also enjoins toleration of other religious systems, and forbids persecution.

The remaining volumes of the Vinaya are occupied with an account of the different orders of saints, of which there are eight or nine, from the teachers of theology to the embryonic

Buddhas; and with litanies, forms of worship, mode of presenting offerings, donations of rice, betel-nuts, etc., for the priests, and other like matters. The priest is required to take the vow of poverty, to possess but three garments, and only such furniture, utensils, etc., as are absolutely necessary for his subsistence. He must recite the requisite prayers, and make the required repetition of the names of Buddha before the shrine for the worshiper; must punctually, morning and evening, rehearse the five commands to the people, and if he would acquire merit, must instruct the youth without reward, and exercise his kindness toward animals, particularly those that are lame, infirm, or decrepid. To feed these with his own flesh is the highest work of merit. We have spoken of the Buddhistic legends as giving presumptive evidence that their compilers had read or heard one of the Gospels. The Vinaya gives similar indications of familiarity with the Mosaic ritual, probably obtained through some copy of the LXX, which, in the frequent intercourse between Egypt and India in the first and second centuries of our era, was not a rare book in India. On the other hand, the school of Alexandria, whose influence upon the early Church was so powerful for evil, undoubtedly acquired the first idea of the monasticism they introduced in the third century, from the Buddhists, and it is not impossible that Gregory the Great drew his notion of the celibacy of the clergy from a similar source.

The practical effects of this religious system upon the natives who profess it remain to be considered. It is not so degrading and licentious, so utterly devoid of morality as Brahminism. Woman occupies a much higher social position, and vice is not so open and unblushing; but a cold, dead atheism has nothing in it to inspire holy living, or high and noble action. There are those among its professors who seek to attain to a high degree of merit; but it is rather by ritual observance, asceticism, repetition of the names of Buddha, or kindness to animals, than by a pure and holy life. There is nothing in the system to inspire elevated thought, noble acts, or generous endeavors. No omniscient eye watches human conduct, no unerring and holy judge punishes wrong doing. Unconsciousness of existence is the highest reward for the most meritorious life, or succession of lives, and the chance of obtaining this is so much

modified by the crimes of former lives that the motives to holiness are not very strong. Then, too, it is a religion whose primal law is intense selfishness. The good of our fellow-men, the feeling of gratitude, or of disinterested love, finds no place in it.

The Buddhist faith is the predominant though not the only religion of Ceylon. It is the national religion of Burmah, Siam, and Farther India generally, of Thibet and Mongolia. It is also the most prominent of the three religions of China and Japan, and has found many adherents among the tribes bordering on the sea of Okhotsk.

In Burmah and the other countries of Farther India, Buddha is usually called *Gaudama* or *Gotama;* in China, *Fo*, *Fohi*, *Fo-thu*, *O-me-do-veh*, or *Kio;* in Thibet, *Sangs-rgyas;* in Mongolia, *Burchau;* in Japan, *Budsdo.* The adherents of Buddhism number not less than three hundred millions. This great prevalence it has gained, not so much by the earnestness of its apostles in preaching its distinctive doctrines, as by their readiness to assimilate with other forms of religion. Wherever it has penetrated it has absorbed a large portion of the adherents of other creeds by adopting a portion of their forms and tenets, and persuading them that Buddhism was nothing else than a desirable reform of their own system.

It has resulted from this that the Buddhism of Ceylon is one thing and that of China and Thibet quite another. In Thibet and in Japan its priests possess secular as well as spiritual power; in the former country the chief rulers of the nation are two priests, who have attained to the condition of inferior Buddhas. In order to maintain this power in the hands of the priests, the soul of the departing Lama, or spiritual potentate, is said to have passed into the body of a child, whom the priests profess to recognize by certain marks, and elevating him to the throne, govern in his name.

For some centuries subsequent to the death of Buddha, his worship was conducted in grottos and cave temples, on the sculptures of which immense sums were expended. The ruins of many of these still exist, and give evidence of the imposing character of this early worship. The most remarkable among them are the caves at Elephanta, Ellora, and Salsetta; the vast temple of Lava-Matra-Palu in Ceylon, with its 1600 pillars of

hewn stone; and the grotto shrines of Mehentele and Dambulu-galli. The esoteric doctrines of Buddhism, which it is alleged were taught in these temples, are now entirely lost, if they ever had an existence, and the worship of Buddha is now conducted in pagodas, lofty towerlike structures, and his offerings are flowers, while the worshipers bring also rice and betelnut for the priests.

Art. IV.—OLD MACKINAW.

Old Mackinaw: or, The Fortress of the Lakes and its Surroundings. By W. P. Strickland. Philadelphia: J. Challen & Son.

Exposition of Mackinaw City. By E. D. Mansfield.

Annals of the West: embracing a Concise Account of the Principal Events which have occurred in the Western States and Territories. By James H. Pekins.

Whoever looks upon the map of North America will be struck with the singular conformation of both land and water round the Straits of Mackinaw. There is scarcely anything in American geography more remarkable. The vast expanse of American lakes, flowing through more than two thousand miles, and covering more than one hundred thousand square miles of water surface, seem here to concentrate; and the three great lakes, Superior, Huron, and Michigan, to speak metaphysically, lay their heads together, as if to consider some notable point. Far to the northwest of the straits stretches Lake Superior, with its clear waters and its pictured rocks. Far to the south lies Lake Michigan, with its long arm at Green Bay; while to the southeast stretch the dark waters of Huron, with its Manitou Islands and its Georgian Sea. But vast as are these inland seas, they here meet together. Superior forms its waters through the Sault of St. Mary's; Michigan rolls through the Straits of Mackinaw, and the magnificent Huron comes up to meet them. That a point so remarkable by nature should become equally so in the growth of a young and rising empire, seems to be a necessary inference from these facts. There are but few points on the earth which present such striking ad-

vantages for the pursuits of commerce. If we look upon the map of the globe, we shall find, perhaps, only four or five which have similar features. The Straits of Gibraltar, separating Europe from Africa; Constantinople, on the Bosphorus; Singapore, on the Straits of Malacca; and the Isthmus of Panama, are the only ones which now strike us as presenting a parallel. Singapore has rapidly concentrated Asiatic navigation, and more various people may be found there than at any ocean point. Panama is rising to commercial importance with equal rapidity, while Gibraltar and Constantinople are world-renowned for the value of their positions. Mackinaw presents nearly the same features. Not only do great inland seas here meet together, but on every side of these waters press down great districts of land, rich, various, and abundant in their resources. On the north lies the peninsula of Canada, which, although long regarded as barren and inhospitable, has been recently proved a country of good soil, abundant water, and mild climate. To the south is the peninsula of Michigan, now fast filling up with a thrifty American population. To the west is the great mining region, where copper and iron seem inexhaustible. Thus nature seems to have made this place as rich in the materials as in the channels of commerce. Nor has she placed any barriers in the way of its future growth. Constantinople has its plague, and Panama its fevers; but Mackinaw, grand in its scenery, and opulent in its resources, is equally salubrious in its climate, and inviting to the seekers for health, pleasure, and repose. Here, says Dr. Drake, in his work on the diseases of America, is the *minimum* of the conditions which give rise to fever; and here is that equability of climate which is so favorable to the consumptive and the invalid from southern climes. That the length and rigor of winter cold may be unfavorable to some of the vegetable products may be admitted, without seriously impairing the advantages of its position for commerce, certainly almost unrivaled in the Western Hemisphere.

Such is the position of Mackinaw, and to this let us now add that it was one of the earliest visited and occupied (as a missionary station) in that great and most prosperous region—the Northwest. The reader will recollect the zeal and energy with which the Jesuit missionaries, some two or three centu-

ries since, endeavored to penetrate the wilderness of America. While the colonies of Plymouth and Jamestown were yet infant settlements, Nicolet, who had probably heard from the Indians rumors of great seas and wide savannas, set out in search of the mysterious rivers of the West, which, like the sources of the Nile to the European, rose in obscure grandeur before his excited imagination. From Quebec he proceeded to visit the Indians of Green Bay, and was the first to notice the Straits of Mackinaw. Thirty years after, in 1670, James Marquette, a devoted missionary of the Jesuit Society, with a company of Huron Indians, known as the Wyandots, entered the old Indian town at the north of the straits. Here he planted a colony, called the missionary station of St. Ignatius, while he resided on the island of Mackinaw. In his narratives to the society he describes this point as the key, or gate, for all the tribes of the South, as the Sault of St. Mary's was for those from the North, there being in this section of country only these two passages by water.

"Old Mackinaw," says Mr. Strickland, "the Indian name of which is Pequod-e-non-ge, on the south side of the straits, became the place of the first French settlement northwest of Fort Frontenac, or Cadaracqui, on Lake Ontario. It was the metropolis of a portion of the Ojibwa and Ottawa nations. It was there their congresses met to adopt a policy which terminated in the conquest of the country south of it; it was there that the tramping feet of thousands of plumed and painted warriors shook Pequod-e-non-ge; it was there that the startling sounds of their war yell, wafted to the adjacent coast and islands, made the peaceful woods ring with unearthly shouts of victory or death." In process of time the place became the site of a chapel, a fort, and a college. On an eminence the Ottawas erected a fortification. Within the inclosure of the French fort and chapel the Jesuits erected a college, the first of that kind established in the West; and thus arose the settlement of St. Ignatius, called from the head of the order of Jesuits.

The Mackinaw Missions fell with the fall of the Jesuits, and the peaceful devotion, the quiet loyalty of the Indians were never again renewed. In 1759 Mackinaw fell into the hands of the English; and in 1762, three years after, was enacted the

dark tragedy of Pontiac's conspiracy. The bands of the Chippewas, the great warlike tribe of the North, gathered round Mackinaw. Just then an English trader named Henry arrived at the post for the purposes of trade. He was called upon by an Indian wrapped in a mantle, who in eloquent language narrated their attachment to the French, whose spirits he seemed to see coming to excite their hatred of the English, and avenge the wrongs of the Indian. He told Henry that they were the enemies of the English, but that Henry, having come as a trader, might remain in peace. This Indian was supposed to be Pontiac, who was then about to strike the blow so fatal to the English.

In another day Henry beheld from his window the massacre of the entire garrison, and the beginning of that sudden and disastrous war which caused streams of blood to flow through the basin of the Lakes and the valley of the Ohio. Henry barely escaped, by favor of an Indian chief, to narrate the story of desolation by which Mackinaw was overthrown.

In looking to the events of that day, it is not to be disguised that however successful or praiseworthy the Jesuit missions may have been, the prejudices which they instilled among the Indians in favor of the French, and against the English, had no small influence in exciting that hatred against both English and Americans which existed for half a century after Pontiac's conspiracy, and has reacted in the conquest of the Indians, and will terminate only in their final destruction. The Jesuit missions, as we have seen, terminated. Mackinaw passed from the French to the English, and finally to the Americans. The Indians have retreated further to the northwest, and the tribes which still linger round their ancient haunts have dwindled away. Several Protestant missions have been established among them; but as all the circumstances were changed, so the success was different. The first Protestant missionary in that region was sent out by the first American Missionary Society. "The Connecticut Missionary Society," believed to be the oldest missionary association, was formed in June, 1795, with the direct object in view *to Christianize the heathen in North America, and to support and promote Christian knowledge in the new settlements within the United States.* Before this society Mr. David Bacon presented himself, as a candidate for a field of labor at

once dangerous and unpromising. On the 8th of August, 1800, he left Hartford on foot, with his pack on his back, walking most of the way to Buffalo. In September he accompanied General Tracy, formerly Senator from Connecticut, to an island at the head of Lake St. Clair, and was formally introduced to the Indians at Detroit. After returning to Connecticut he was ordained, and in May, 1802, after the study of the Chippewa language, succeeded in getting an audience of the Indians. It was, however, very different from that which had attended the visit of Marquette one hundred and thirty years before. The Indian race no longer possessed its simplicity of character. The fiery passions excited by the white aggressions were aroused; and, worse than all, the "fire water" of the whites was introduced.

The Indian Council was just recovered from a drunken frolic, when Bacon wearied their patience by reading the long written message of the Connecticut Missionary Society. Little Otter, in reply, said the whites spoke long, the Indians but little; that the religion of his brother was very good, but only good for white people; it will not do for the Indians; they are a different sort of people.

Mr. Bacon labored in studying the language, in teaching, and in preaching, but soon found an Indian mission required greater expenditures than the society could afford. The mission was abandoned, and in 1804 Mr. Bacon removed to the Western Reserve, and became the first founder of the town of Tallmadge, Ohio. A mission at Mackinaw was maintained by the Presbyterian Church till 1837, when the Indians having almost entirely ceased their visits, the mission was abandoned.

At various points in the far Northwest, Methodists, Baptists, Catholics, and others still have mission settlements, and in some there has been considerable success; but on all the Indian frontier the frauds of white men and the "fire water" they diffuse are alike destructive of Christian influence and of Indian life. The race disappears almost swifter than the pen can record its ruin. The thousands who once gathered in their strength round "Old Mackinaw," are replaced by the few and scattered parties who now revisit the homes of their fathers, and subsist on the charity of the whites. We trace the steps of the missionaries for a hundred and fifty years round the Straits of Mackinaw,

and find the race to which they were sent are almost gone. The Wyandots, whose sepulchral remains are found throughout the valley of the Ohio, are but a feeble band beyond the Mississippi; the Ottawas have retreated to the northern forests of Canada; and the warlike race of the Chippewas have followed the buffalo to the northern prairies.

"Old Mackinaw" has ceased to be the home of the Indian, the colony of the French, or the resort of the Jesuits. Made almost classical in American history by the memorable events which here occurred, it has returned to the wilderness of nature just at the time when its destinies are transferred to a new and an extraordinary race. In the hands of the Anglo-American, its story is again to be renewed, its interest to be revived, its coasts to be filled with a stronger people; its broad expanse of surrounding waters, no more stirred by the light oar of the frail canoe, will be furrowed by the keels of a thousand ships, and resound with the heavy plash of a thousand wheels. It is to this new appearance of the "Old Mackinaw" we would now direct the attention of the reader.

After the acquisition of the French territories in Canada by the English, "Old Mackinaw" was gradually abandoned. The bloody siege by Pontiac had left gloomy memories around it. Desolation reigned around; and Indians, French, and English gradually moved away. Many of the frame buildings, including Marquette's chapel, were moved to the Island of Mackinaw, which became the "New Mackinaw," made important by the establishment of a military post. By the Treaty of Peace in 1783 the island became part of the United States, but was not surrendered by the British till 1793. In the war of 1812 it was retaken by the British, and by the Treaty of Ghent again restored. The United States established a military post there, and thus attracted the few inhabitants which remained in that till recently wild and remote region.

The island is annually resorted to by thousands of travelers, who seek health or pleasure in a voyage through the Northern Lakes. It is situated right in the midst of that vast flow of waters which unite the three great inland seas of the North.

But there are obvious and irresistible reasons why the island cannot be the great commercial point of this region. As an island, it cannot be the terminus of the great railroad lines

which must soon terminate at the straits. As an island, also, it embraces too small a space and too much isolation for a great commercial entrepot. For that we must look to "Old Mackinaw," on the extremity of the Michigan Peninsula, on the American shore, for such a city must be in the United States.

In looking for a moment to what has been done in the surrounding country, and to the ultimate concentration of great social and commercial results at this point, we must notice two remarkable facts in the history of Mackinaw. The first is that the very advantages of its inland water position was the reason why, although one of the earliest settled and known points in this country, it has not yet attracted a great population. The growth of the United States has been *from the exterior inward;* from the ocean border up navigable rivers to the interior. Thus the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, the mouth of the Hudson, the mouth of the Mississippi, and, finally, even the Bay of San Francisco and the outlet of the Columbia are all settled, great cities founded, and dense populations moving to the interior, while the largest part of North America, in the central portions, remains yet almost a wilderness.

In the very midst of this central portion, and at the confluence of great inland seas whose shores are not yet settled, is Mackinaw, the very heart of the whole; but, for this very reason, almost isolated from social growth, because the waves of population from the exterior have not yet flowed so far into the interior. An acute observer, however, may reasonably infer that whatever points in this great interior have decisive advantages of position, will spring up the faster and stronger when the waves of growing commerce and population concentrate upon them from every side. Such is unquestionably the position of Mackinaw.

We will now note the flowing inward of commerce, people, and states, which has already taken place. If we take a radius from Mackinaw sufficient in length to include Canada West, (which is about the distance from Mackinaw to Cincinnati,) we shall include within the circumference Canada West, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and parts of New York and Pennsylvania. This is an interior region which has grown and is growing under the second wave from the Atlantic inward. Take the growth of this

section from 1830 to the present time, about the period of an average generation, and we have (disregarding the portions of New York and Pennsylvania, the following growth:

	1830.	1840.	1850.	1860.
Canada West	650,000	950,000	1,100,000	1,400,000
Ohio	937,903	1,519,467	1,980,329	2,350,000
Indiana	343,031	685,686	988,416	1,400,000
Illinois	157,445	476,183	851,470	1,750,000
Michigan	31,639	212,267	397,654	700,000
Wisconsin	....	30,945	305,391	600,000
Iowa	....	43,112	192,214	400,000
Minnesota	....	....	6,077	200,000
Aggregate	2,120,018	3,897,660	5,821,551	8,800,000

We thus see that in thirty years only the interior region lying at an equal distance round Mackinaw has quadrupled in population. We find that the northern or Canada side has more than doubled, while the states of Michigan and Wisconsin to the south, and Minnesota to the west, have more than doubled in *ten* years. We find, then, that while Mackinaw itself and its immediate surroundings are yet in a comparatively wild and unsettled country, the wave of population and growth is circling round it, and rapidly tending to that center.

Looking now to the commercial and industrial development of that region, we find still more extraordinary results. Attached to the state of Michigan is the Peninsula, which is inclosed between the Straits of Mackinaw, Lake Michigan, and Lake Superior. For two centuries after the settlement of New England and New York, the wild, unfrequented, unknown shores of Lake Superior were unsuspected of any other capacity for production than those of the forest and the lake. It is only since 1846, that its immense beds of iron and copper were discovered, and only within the last ten years that that region has exhibited a wealth of mineral production which the world can scarcely parallel on an equal space. No sooner were the facts known, than copper companies (and since iron companies) began to be formed with the celerity and energy of an excited speculation. Capital was found in the great cities ready to be invested in such enterprises, laborers flocked thither, mines were opened, and now we have immense bodies of copper annually transported to Boston, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and other

places, to be smelted. In 1858, the copper ore exported from points in the Peninsula was six thousand tons, which yielded four thousand tons of pure copper, worth two millions of dollars. When we consider that this is one third the amount of copper produced by Great Britain, and one seventh of the whole amount produced out of America, we can understand the value of these mines, which have scarcely been opened ten years.

In the same region, and above the Sault of St. Mary, are iron mines equally extraordinary. The United States has in various sections immense deposites of iron. But in all the basins of the lakes there is nothing comparable to this. In the vicinity of Marquette, a flourishing port of Lake Superior, iron hills rise from six to seven hundred feet in height, which are a solid mass of iron ore. When smelted in the furnace they yield more than half in pure iron of superior quality, which is in demand at all the manufacturing towns of the East.

In the mean while the resources of the country which were obvious to the eye were naturally sought and developed by a different class of persons. The fisheries yielded the finest fish in exhaustless quantities; and from Sandusky Bay, in Ohio, to Superior City, in the wild Northwest, the lake salmon and the Mackinaw trout are transported, like the oysters of the Atlantic, to gratify the epicurean palate in town and city. These fisheries have now risen to great importance. They are supposed to exceed in product the whole of the other fresh water fisheries in the United States. At this time about one hundred thousand barrels of fish are freighted, and the annual value of the fisheries amounts to a million of dollars.

No sooner had civilization penetrated the wilderness of Lake Superior than another product came into immediate demand. Far as the eye could cast its searching glance, or the traveler penetrate the dark forests of Michigan, of Wisconsin, or of Canada, there rose the tall, slim trunks, and deep green foliage of the pine. Here was material in which the people South and West were deficient. The pines of the Alleghany and the Susquehanna had begun to diminish. Their stock would soon be gone, while here stretched away hundreds and thousands of miles of pine forest. Very soon, as the settlements began to increase in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, powerful steam-engines were erected on the Saginaw, the Sable, Traverse Bay,

La Crosse River, St. Peter's, and throughout the pine region, creating at once an immense trade in pine lumber. The great center of the pineries at this time is in the lower peninsula of Michigan, south of old Mackinaw. This lumber region is one of the wonders of our country, and it is supposed that Michigan is the greatest lumber region of the world. Here are not only interminable forests of choice pine but water outlets on every side. At the northern extremity is the Straits of Mackinaw; at the east, Saginaw and Sable; at the west is Traverse Bay, the Muskegon, and Grand River; while to the south is the northern outlet of Lake Erie. On every side lakes and rivers are ready to transport the products of Michigan, which enjoys every advantage which belongs to the northern temperate zone. As this immense production, this flow inward of the growing population, this growth of industry goes on, there will finally arise a great commercial city on the straits. Before we speak of this let us glance at the commerce of the lakes, which has grown already out of this recent development of mines, and fisheries, and pineries. Even the people of the United States, accustomed to the rapid growth of their own country, have scarcely been able to realize that of this lake commerce. But a very few years since scarcely a single steamer proceeded beyond Detroit, and not five years since the newspapers announced as an extraordinary event the annual voyage of a passenger vessel to the upper end of Lake Superior. Recently, however, the canal round the Sault of St. Mary has been completed, and this has given a great impetus to the navigation of Lake Superior. In 1854 but two steamboats and five sail vessels reached Superior City. In 1856, two years after, forty steamers and sixteen sail vessels reached that port. Now, hundreds of vessels navigate that lake from one extremity to the other. What the commerce of this great northern lake will be may be judged by the startling facts, that there are now sixteen hundred vessels navigating the northwestern lakes, manned by thirteen thousand seamen, and trading with ports on five thousand miles of lake and river coasts. The exports and imports amount to hundreds of millions in value, and are still increasing at a most rapid rate. Since the continuation of the canal round the Sault of St. Mary, the annual value of exports and imports which pass through the Straits of Mackinaw is es-

timated at one hundred millions of dollars, and this commerce of the great lake will flow on till it exceeds that of the Caspian or the Black Sea; till its shores shall be lined with cities, and the story of Marquette, and the victory of Pontiac, become the classic legends of marveling boyhood. With these facts before us, it is no surprise to find that while the immediate country round old Mackinaw is yet a wilderness, an enterprising gentleman has laid out a city on the site of "Old Mackinaw." There was one laid out years before at the upper end of Lake Superior, and is now a large town, growing with great rapidity. At the Straits of Mackinaw, as well as the upper end of Lake Superior, there must be large cities to supply the demands of commerce. It is not a matter of speculation, but a necessity of nature. The same necessity has already created Buffalo, Toledo, Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis. The demand for such towns on the shores of Lakes Huron and Superior, and especially at the Straits of Mackinaw, whose bay and Lake Michigan flow together, are obviously far greater than those which have already caused the growth of Buffalo and Chicago. They have grown to supply the commerce of comparatively limited districts. One means of testing this is to apply *radial lines* to the site of any city existent or proposed, so as to include what naturally belongs to them, and thus compare them with one another. The *radial* lines of New York and Philadelphia extend across the ocean to Europe on one hand, and across the mountains to the Valley of the Mississippi on the other. In looking to this fact we are no longer surprised that New York has its million of inhabitants, and Philadelphia its six hundred thousand.

If we look to the radial lines of Chicago, we find that they are limited on the south by the competion of St. Louis, and on the North by Milwaukee. Yet Chicago, at the southern end of Lake Michigan, has risen to be a large city by a sudden and extraordinary growth, arising from the rich, though limited country about it. Apply these radial lines to Mackinaw, and we find that they naturally include all of Michigan, a large part of Wisconsin, and a large part of Canada West; but in reference to water navigation no interior site in America is equal to that of Mackinaw. Here concentrate the navigation of eighty thousand square miles of water surface, which

has no common center but that of the Straits of Mackinaw. Two facts must be observed: that a commercial point which concentrates the trade of Lakes Superior, and Michigan *must* lie within the circuit of their coasts; but there is no such point, but Mackinaw. The other is that the point of commerce which offers the shortest distance, and therefore the cheapest, to the great markets of the Atlantic, will be preferred. Mackinaw is five hundred miles nearer to Buffalo than is Fond du Lac, and three hundred miles nearer than Chicago. So it is the same distance nearer to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or the city of New York. It is on the south side only, through the peninsular of Michigan, and toward the states of Indiana and Ohio, that the position of Mackinaw seems deficient in communications. But we no sooner see this than we see also two great lines of railroad, progressing from the South through the peninsula toward Mackinaw. The one passes on the west side from Fort Wayne (Indiana) through Grand Rapids and Traverse Bay. The other through Lansing and Amboy, both terminating on the north at Mackinaw, and both, by connection with Indiana and Ohio roads, at Cincinnati on the south; thence, they will soon be carried to the orange-growing shores of Florida. Thus may some future traveler be borne in a few hours from the soft air of the southern Atlantic to the keen breezes of the North, and bathe his languid limbs in the clear cold waters of Michigan.

Thus briefly have we followed the facts presented by Mr. Strickland, till we find ourselves again standing on the site of "Old Mackinaw;" no more the single, lonely spot of civilization amid red warriors and Alpine forests, but just emerging to light amid a wonderful growth of people, of commerce, of industry, and art. The forests still stand, scarcely broken; but the sound of the advancing host, which is to level them with the ground and build up the structures of civil society, cannot be mistaken. They come with the heavy tread and confused noise of an army with banners.

The growth of the American States, as we have said, is from the outer to the inner circles; from the shores of the Atlantic and the Pacific, from the Bay of St. Lawrence and the mouths of the Hudson and the Mississippi, toward the interior. Then we had Boston, New York, Quebec, and New Orleans,

long before we had Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Chicago, which are the second growth when the wave flowed over the Alleghanies. Again the wave is flowing from the valleys of the St. Lawrence, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, into the great central basin of the lakes, which, lying in the very center of the North American continent, are the last to receive, as they will ultimately concentrate, the great moving mass of humanity and civilization. The circles are growing narrower, and Mackinaw, which was the center of Indian and of missionary romance, will finally become one of the great centers of commercial growth and social progress, presenting the contrast between the solitudes of nature and the wild life of the Indian on one hand, with the busy activity of modern society, its multitude of people, and the wonderful arts.

The steady uninterrupted growth of our country, which no other nation can now interrupt, affords at once the moral evidence that what we have seen of growth and development in the past, will be exhibited in a progressive line through the future till ages have passed away. We have seen from the little settlements at Plymouth and Jamestown their gradual growth inward till cities arose along our coasts which rival the largest of ancient nations. We have seen them again extending along the Ohio and the Mississippi till great towns, filled with commerce and with arts, rose upon their banks. We have seen them enter the basin of the lakes, till Buffalo spreads itself along the rapids of Niagara, till Chicago looms up in a day, and St. Paul looks down from the far Northwest. Why should not this movement continue? What should interrupt it? We may imagine the beautiful shores of Huron and Superior alive with the chariots of commerce, and gleaming with the spires of beautiful towns. Here, where we have stood on the site of "Old Mackinaw," beholding its world of waters, we seem to see, shining in the morning sun, some metropolis of the lakes, some Byzantium, presiding over the seas which lave its shores. *Here*, perhaps, in those bright days of triumphant civilization, some pilgrim student may inquire for the grave of Marquette, may read the story of Pontiac, and lament the woes of that wild nation who once frequented the shores of Huron, and sung their last songs round the "Pequod-e-nonge" of the Indian, the Mackinaw of the whites.

Art. V.—THE PAULINE USE OF THE WORD ΣΑΡΞ AS IT APPLIES TO THE DOCTRINE OF DEPRAVITY.

In studying general theology as a science, it is proper to begin with the direct doctrine of God, his being and attributes. But not so with the special system of "Christian doctrine," or positive Christian theology. Here the doctrine of God is supposed to be understood. Christianity is a remedial scheme, and its whole force and fitness depend on the pre-supposition of the ruined state of man. As the value of medicine depends on the antecedent existence of disease, so the total worth of the Christian scheme must be estimated by the actual condition and necessities of human nature, making such a scheme necessary. From our views of man, his natural condition and capabilities, must arise our peculiar doctrines concerning Christ, his mediation, his atonement, the Church, human accountability, and the means by which human nature is to achieve its exalted destiny. We say, therefore, it is from the ἄνθρωπος rather than the θεός that our inquiries relating to the Christian scheme are to take their rise.

The condition of man by nature, taking the word *nature* in the sense of *generation*, *birth*, is commonly denoted by the term *depravity*, a word which it is not easy to define with metaphysical accuracy. There is no one word in Scripture which technically answers to the idea of depravity, unless perhaps it is φθορά, which is commonly translated *corruption*. In Rom. viii, 21, it stands in contrast to the state of salvation by Christ, and represents simply our natural or fallen state: "For the creature itself shall be delivered from the bondage of *corruption* into the glorious liberty of the children of God." The corresponding word in the Old Testament is שַׁחַת, *shahath*, generally translated *pit*, but sometimes *grave*, four times *corruption*, (Job xvii, 14; Psa. xvi, 10; xlix, 9; Jonah ii, 6,) and twice *destruction*, (Psa. lv, 23; ciii, 4.) The prevailing idea of the Hebrew word is *destruction*, *loss*, *ruin*, not *corruption* in the sense of *putrescence*. In the New Testament the idea of *corruption* in the sense of *impurity* is prominent; but the radical idea, namely, that of *ruin*, *destruction*, is preserved throughout. When applied to man it sometimes denotes the special derange-

ment and abuse of his faculties, as 2 Pet. i, 4; ii, 12–19; and at others simply the general frailty, mortality, and lapsed state of his nature, without taking in the idea of special or actual abuses of that nature, as Rom. viii, 21; 1 Cor. xv, 42, 50. But in every case it stands contrasted with the state of personal salvation in Christ, and the complete fruition of his redeeming grace.

Various theories of human depravity have been set forth. The lowest we shall mention is that which resolves the cause of sin into a simple negation, the imperfection of man metaphysically, or constitutionally considered, the "*limited receptivity*" of mind. According to this, error is made to mingle with our perceptions of truth, pain with our emotions of pleasure, evil with our attainments of good, simply from the defectiveness, privation, or limitation of our faculties, which we have, as finite creatures, placed under such physical conditions of development as naturally depress, excite, limit, and perplex our mental operations. But if this *privation* operates to necessitate sin, then God is the cause of it, and man is to be pitied for his misfortune; if it only makes sin *possible*, then the cause of universal defection is still left unexplained.

A much more plausible theory is that which makes depravity consist primarily in the wrong condition of the body, or organic nature of man, its appetites and desires. This theory supposes the wrong action of the soul to be due to its connection with and dependence on the body, and through it on the external world, assuming that the mind apart from the body and *per se* is not depraved. Much of human experience and of Scripture seems to lodge the seeds of sin in the physical nature of man. Our bodily infirmities, appetites, and desires, and our susceptibility of impressions from the external world, are, indeed, the chief *occasions* of sin, and the besetting snares of the soul; but are not sufficient to account for the universal prevalence of the lower laws of our being over the higher, for the "evil that is in the world," the wrong condition of human society, or for the explicit statements of revelation.

This theory naturally identifies itself with *sensationalism*, or that system which, adopting a more metaphysical groundwork, resolves the origin of sin into the susceptibility of the mind of being determined by impressions received through the senses. With the metaphysical school of sensational philosophers, as

such, we have nothing to do, and it will suffice here to state that, so long as the senses and bodily desires are entirely subservient to the reason and higher nature of man, furnishing him, as Müller expresses it, with "a basis of his earthly existence, and the means of his self-activity and sensibility in relation to the world," just so long our physical nature and organism innocently and usefully subserve the purposes of the Creator. But when our external nature assumes an independency, and usurps dominion over the spirit, subjecting the will to the passions, the whole current of our moral being is perverted. Now, the sensational theory of depravity supposes this ascendency of the outward over the inner man; this triumph of sense over the intelligence, the will, and the moral feelings, to be the true *rationale* of sin. The sensational side of our being, it says, develops first, and seeks only the agreeable, the self-pleasing; and the child has already acquired considerable facility and strength of habit in seeking the sensationally agreeable before the period of reason and reflection arrives to enable it to choose and pursue the morally good, so that the preponderance is on the side of the earthly, the perishable, the selfish, and hence arises sin. The metaphysical basis of this theory plausibly identifies itself with the doctrine that the mind is dependent for its ideas on objective existence, and the senses are the necessary medium of those ideas.

All heathenism, wherever it has attained any philosophical development, is underlaid with the doctrine of dualism, of the two eternal antagonistic elements of mind and matter. In the Chaldean and Hindoo philosophy in the East, and in that of Plato in the West, which reappeared in the Jewish Church in the form of Essenism, and in the Christian Church under the forms of Gnosticism and Manicheism, this notion of matter and spirit, struggling against each other for the mastery in irreconcilable conflict, reached its highest manifestation. In this theory spirit is essentially pure, matter essentially corrupt; and the existence of sin is caused by the connection of the two, wherein the latter obtains the mastery over the former. It is easy to see how, according to this materialistic notion of the origin of evil, the whole system of asceticism arose in the Church, making self-mortification, or physical attrition in the Brahminical sense, the condition of the

highest attainments of holiness. These theories of paganistic dualism and modern ethical sensationalism naturally affiliate, and ground themselves upon the common admission that depravity does not inhere in the spirit, but in matter and our physical condition, and affects the spirit only through its connection with matter. In theological dogma they would slightly differ, but in ethics they are the same.

It is against these views that the Bible teaches that sin, in the sense of hereditary depravity, is positive, as opposed to a simple negation, affecting our entire being, the soul as well as the body; that is, however it may be philosophically defined, it is the wrong condition of the entire being as compared with the holy law of God, possessing, aside from grace, a determinate potentiality to evil.

The sensational theory has sheltered itself under a misapprehension of the scriptural, and especially the Pauline use of the term σαρξ, *flesh*, more than all other exegetical defenses. It is necessary, therefore, to push our inquiries into the ethical use of this word. The corresponding Hebrew to σαρξ, is בָּשָׂר, *basar*, and is used to denote *flesh* as a constituent part of the body; also the entire *body*, the *human race*, the *flesh* of animals, all *animate beings*, *blood relations*, etc. Then, also, it is used to signify *man*, as *frail*, *mortal*, *perishable*. Beyond this, the Old Testament, philologically, will rarely carry us. The ethical sense of *flesh*, as *a nature at enmity with God*, the very point of the Pauline use of σαρξ, appears only by implication, and must be made out of such texts as the following: Gen. vi, 3, "For that he also is *flesh*;" 2 Chron. xxxii, 8, "For with him is an arm of *flesh*;" Psa. lvi, 4, "I will not fear what *flesh* can do;" Psa. lxxviii, 39, "He remembered that they were but *flesh*;" Jer. xvii, 5, "Cursed is he that maketh *flesh* his arm." The practiced reader will at once perceive how slender must be the reliance on such passages for proof that the Old Testament usage of the word in question carries with it the marked figurative and moral sense of σαρξ in the New. Yet the germ of the New Testament usage is found in the Old, for in such passages as the above there is an implied idea of *corruption* and *alienation from God*, as well as the prominent foreground of meaning of *frailty* and *infirmity*.

Let it be borne in mind, then, that *σαρξ*, in the New Testament, has the same literal and relative uses as בָּשָׂר, in the Old, but that beyond this it has also, and especially in the writings of Paul, the fully developed ethical and figurative sense of a *nature opposed to God.* This is the sense which interests us now. It is not the signification of what is *mortal, frail, weak*, in man, but *human nature as at enmity with God.* We take the position that that state or condition of our nature which the apostle defines to be *ἐν σαρκὶ, in the flesh*, is a state of the mind as well as the body, the condition of our whole being, and defines our natural depravity, our condition by nature, as apart from all redeeming and saving grace.

The description *ἐν σαρκὶ, in the flesh*, Rom. viii, 8, 9, is the same as *κατὰ σάρκα, after the flesh*, verses 4, 5, 13; or as *φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς, the mind of the flesh, carnally minded*, verses 6, 7; or as *ἐν τῇ σαρκί, in the flesh*, chap. vii, 5. In the same sense also *κατὰ σάρκα, after the flesh*, is used, 2 Cor. x, 2, 3, and xi, 8. This *carnal mind* is the same as *ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος, our old* [or former] *man*, Rom. vi, 6; and *the old man*, Eph. iv, 22; Col. iii, 9. The natural outgrowth or development of this *carnal mind*, this *old man*, is *σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας, the body of sin*, Rom. vi, 6; called also *σώματος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς σαρκός, the body of the sins of the flesh*, Col. ii, 11; and *τοῦ σώματος τοῦ θανάτου τούτου, the body of this death*, Rom. vii, 24. And this *flesh*, or *carnal mind*, with its collective whole of natural appetites and outgrowth of evil, is called *τὴν σάρκα σὺν τοῖς παθήμασι καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, the flesh with its affections and lusts*, Gal. v, 24; and also *παλαιὸν ἄνθροπον σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ, the old man with his deeds*, Col. iii, 9.

Now it is evident from all these and such like expressions, that we are to understand the *carnal mind* to be that state of the human soul and body, morally, wherein they are left to "simple naturals," deriving all their governing influences from within themselves, the instincts, appetites, desires, affections, aptitudes, and inclinations of nature, where redeeming grace supplies no governing principle or saving power. This is nature apart from the Spirit of God; nature, not in its metaphysical sense, as a simple creation of God, but nature in its historic and actual sense, as a derivation from God through Adam; nature as affected by the sin of Adam, developing it-

self under its own infirmity and disease, without the renewing and controlling influence of the Spirit of God.

But if σαρξ denotes the *carnal state*, the state of actual nature as apart from the renewing grace of Christ, it is still a distinct question, and one of the first importance, How far does this state imply evil? What is the state thus set forth? This we can answer only by attending to the logical predicates of σαρξ in the New Testament. What do the Scriptures affirm of it? Here is the grand point.

1. This carnal mind is a state of *death*: Rom. viii, 6, "For to be carnally minded is *death*." This is not natural or physical death, for θάνατος, *death*, here stands opposed, not to *natural life*, but to "ζωὴ καὶ εἰρήνη, *life and peace*." And this "life and peace" were the fruit and state of that φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος, *mind of the Spirit*, which stands opposed to the φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς, *mind of the flesh*, or *carnal mind*, in the first member of the verse. The *carnal*, or *fleshly mind*, therefore, is characterized by *spiritual death*, *death to God*, the absence of the divine life in the soul. So also, in verse 13: "For if ye live after the *flesh* ye shall *die;* but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall *live*." This *life* and *death* result from opposite states of the soul; the one where it is left to obey the inclinations of nature, the other where it is subjected, and hence subjects the body, to the Spirit of God.

2. This *carnal* or *fleshly mind* is ἔχθρα εἰς θεόν, *enmity against God*. Rom. viii, 7. The word *enmity* is in the abstract, not in the concrete; absolute, not relative; denoting essential quality, not degree; and is hence more intensive. It does not say the carnal mind, or flesh, is hostile to God, which might imply any degree of opposition, however feeble; but it is *hostility* to God, the essence, not the measure of enmity, in no part subdued and reconciled.

To the same effect is the notable passage, Gal. v, 17: "For the *flesh* lusteth [hath desires] against the spirit, and the spirit against the *flesh*, AND THESE ARE CONTRARY THE ONE TO THE OTHER." This is not an affirmation that the "*soul* hath desires against the body, and the *body* against the *soul*." The antagonism here is not laid between the material and organic nature on the one hand, and the spiritual and immortal nature on the

other. This would be to lay down the dualistic principle of heathenism, before referred to, which Paul himself confronted in the Gnostic philosophy, in its earliest appearance in the Essenistic tendencies of the Jewish converts. The antagonism brought to view in Gal. v, 17, lies between fallen nature as apart from grace, and left to its own inclinations, and the Spirit of God as the author of spiritual life, and holy affections to the soul; between nature as left to itself, and nature renewed and governed by the Spirit of God. Its natural desires are opposed to God.

3. It is affirmed of the *flesh*, or *carnal mind*, that it "*οὐχ ὑποτάσσεται, does not subject itself* to the law of God." And the apostle immediately adds, "*οὐδὲ γαρ δύναται, for indeed it is not able* [to subject itself,] Rom. viii, 7. The reflexive form of the verb *ὑποτάσσεται* gives this sense, *does not subject itself.* The conjunction *γαρ* is here properly causative, according to its usual sense, and might be translated *because*—"*because it cannot;*" or "*because it is not able.*" I have given it partly the intensive and partly the causal signification, "for indeed it is not able."

Here, then, is an *inability*, *want of power*, to submit and conform to the law of God, directly and in the most literal form, affirmed of the *flesh*, the carnal mind, or natural state of man. It is not a denial of the liberty of the will, metaphysically considered, or considered as a constitutional power of the mind, but an inability to submit and conform to the holy laws of God. And this inability belongs to human nature as such, as an inherited effect of Adam's sin. The same idea is reproduced in verse 8: "So then they that are *in the flesh*, *θεῷ ἀρέσαι οὐ δύνανται, have no power to please God.*" In this place, also, the nature of the inability is defined: "They have not power TO PLEASE GOD." In chap. vii, 18, speaking of this same carnal mind, and of its inability, Paul says: "For to will is present with me, but how to perform that which I will I find not." The power of simple volition was there; all the faculties of a moral agent were there; but the power to conform to the law of God in its spiritual claims was not there as a property of the carnal or natural state; "For the good that I would I do not, but the evil which I would not, that I do." This is the inability of our nature apart from grace.

We hold with Augustine here, that since man by his free-will became estranged from God, "this free-will, left to itself, is now only active to sin," and man needs now "a new supervenient grace in order to be brought back to goodness." Indeed, as that acute reasoner maintained against Pelagius, "all rational beings are brought into dependence on God for the development of their powers as really as for their first creation." The natural capacities are not complete and sufficient of themselves, but require the continued concurrent action of the supernatural spirit. But in the fallen nature there is superadded to this natural dependence hostility to the holiness and authority of God, and the will has no executive power, and the heart no inclination of itself to holy exercises. The power "to please God" is lost. We take the statements of Scripture here as they harmonize with common sense and common experience and philosophy. "Wherefore," says our seventh Article of Religion, (copied from the tenth Article of the Church of England,) "we have no power to do good works, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good-will, and working with us when we have that good-will." "Without me," says Christ, "ye can do nothing." "No man cometh unto me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him."

4. In Rom. vii, 18 it is affirmed that no inherent goodness belongs to the *flesh*. "For I know that *in me*, that is, *in my flesh*, dwelleth no good thing."

This is an important statement. The ἐν ἐμοί, IN ME, here, is specifically defined to mean ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου, IN MY FLESH; that is, in my natural state, my state by natural birth, apart from grace. The word ἀγαθός, *good*, in this passage, denotes not only *moral excellence*, but excellence of that specific kind, or quality, which the law of God requires. The whole scope and connections of the passage determine this. Nothing was found in the *flesh*, or *carnal state*, of the person here represented, which answered to the requirement of that law which was "holy, just, and good," and this disconformity was the cause of the agony described in this seventh chapter. That very state of the soul which the law required was not found in him by nature. What more can be said?

On this point the apostle is elsewhere explicit. In Eph. ii, 3,

after stating it as a trait of their natural condition, that prior to the work of regeneration, "we all," that is, both Jews and Gentiles, "fulfilled the desires of the flesh and of the mind," he adds, "*and were* BY NATURE *children of wrath, even as others.*" Observe here, that what is affirmed is affirmed of the "we all," of "Jews and Gentiles," of these Ephesians and "others," a description that comprehends all the human family without exception or distinction. Again, it is affirmed that this "ALL" are "children of wrath" "BY NATURE." Here is the important point. This word φύσις, *nature*, occurs fourteen times in the New Testament, and is uniformly translated as here, except that in two instances it is translated *kind*. (James iii, 7.) In every instance the word keeps strictly to its radical meaning of *generation, birth, innate constitution*, or that quality, or characteristic, which is in consequence of natural generation, as denoted by the words *genus, kind*. "NATURE," says Bengel, here "denotes the state of man without the grace of God in Christ." This is exactly the idea of the word *flesh*, as used in Romans viii. Olshausen makes it tantamount to "sinful birth," as if it had read, "and were by *sinful birth* children of wrath," etc. This he proposes, not as a translation, but as a doctrinal sense, sustained by the meaning of the word, putting it in antithesis to χάριτί, *by grace*, in verse 5. The sense of the passage would then stand thus: "By *nature* [*sinful birth*] ye are children of wrath; *by grace* are ye saved." This is unquestionably the doctrine of the apostle, and distinguishes between the two conditions of natural and spiritual birth, after the example of our Lord: "That which is born of the *flesh* is *flesh*, and that which is born of the *Spirit* is *spirit*." And so also John: "As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name; which were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." John i, 12, 13; iii, 6.

5. In Gal. v, 19–21, there are predicates of σαρξ which belong only to the operations of the intellective and higher nature of man, operations of the mind as distinguished from the body. In that passage "the works of the *flesh*" are enumerated, among which are some that belong distinctively to the lower and animal nature, as "adultery, fornication, lasciv-

iousness, drunkenness, reveling," etc.; while others belong as exclusively to the mind, as "hatred, variance, wrath, strifes, heresies, envyings," etc. Here are operations which categorically belong only to the intellective and moral nature, and are yet called "works of the *σάρξ*, *flesh*." Can anything be more plain than that the term *flesh* was understood of the total *being* of man as apart from grace? his mind as well as his body? If the higher nature of man did not partake of the evil effects of the fall, how could disordered bodily desires prevail against orderly mental operation, so that deranged mental, as well as bodily action should become the characteristic of man in all ages? Love of power and love of fame are aspirations of the higher nature, misdirected, lawless, corrupt, and ruinous passions, originating not in depraved bodies, but in depraved minds. The mind "hath desires against the Spirit of God" no less than the body.

In Eph. ii, 3, where Paul describes the traits of depravity common to both Jews and Gentiles, he says, they "fulfilled the desires (*τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τῶν διανοιῶν*) *of the* FLESH *and of the* MIND." Here *σαρξ*, *flesh*, is not used in its figurative sense, but literally, to denote the body and its organism. Whenever "*flesh* and *mind*," or "*flesh* and *spirit*," or "*body* and *spirit*," are thus enumerated and contrasted, the terms are to be understood literally as of the two natures of man, *body* and *soul*, *material* and *immaterial*. In the entire New Testament *διανοια*, here translated *mind*, never means anything but the thinking principle, the intelligent soul. To this sense both etymology and usage confine us. Here then is an inspired declaration that Gentile and Jewish corruptions were brought about by "fulfilling the desires of the *mind*," as well as of the "*flesh*" or *body*. And these literal *σαρκὸς και διανοιας*, FLESH *and* MIND of Eph. ii, 3, which in their natural state are the fountains of Jewish and Gentile corruption, the seed and soil of all the outgrowth of the "body of sin," are both comprehended in the ethical sense of *σάρξ*, *flesh*, as above given.

How consonant to this doctrine is the current teaching of both the Old and New Testaments! Speaking of human depravity, God goes directly to the inner man, the moral and intellective *ego*, the *heart*. "*Every formation of the devices, or purposes of his heart*, יֵצֶר מַחְשְׁבֹת לִבּוֹ, is only evil every day." Gen. vi, 5.

Here the fountain of evil is laid in the *heart.* His cogitations, whenever they take the form of design or purpose, that is, assume a moral character, are only evil. And this רַע, *evil*, is of great significance and comprehension. It is the standing antithesis of טוֹב, *good*, throughout the Old Testament, as in the phrase "*good* and *evil.*" "Depart from *evil* and do *good.*" "For as an angel of God, so is my lord the king to discern *good* and *bad.*" Gen. ii, 17; 1 Sam. xxvi, 17; 2 Sam. xiiii, 17; Psa. xxxiv, 14. The *good* is the state of blessedness and perfection in which God created man, and for which he designed him when he pronounced him "very *good;*" the *evil* is the quality of badness in which the common nature of man is involved, and wherein every formation of his purposes, all the operations of his heart, are "only *evil* continually." The good and the evil were set before man in the garden of paradise as the two possible states of his existence; the former as the inheritance of his being as he came from his Creator, the latter as the bitter consequence of eating the forbidden fruit of "the tree of knowledge of good and evil." Such is the import of the word, and such the condition of the fallen heart.

To this same "*heart*" Jeremiah bears witness, chap. xvii, 9, that it is "deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked," totally deceitful, and incurably diseased. Its disease is such that in human nature is left no curative or recuperative power, not even power to fathom and comprehend its own depth of deceit and perversity. That the term *heart* here represents the entire intellectuality of man is proved from the prophet's own words, which follow. Who can know this heart? "I Jehovah search the heart, I try the reins, even to give to every man according to his ways, and according to the fruit of his doings." How pertinently do the words of Christ apply here. "Out of the *heart* proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies; these are the things which defile a man." Matt. xv, 19, 20. It is this heart which is the real *ego*, the responsible, individual *entity*, of which is predicated in Scripture all the personal good or evil of the character. When the heart is surrendered to God all is surrendered; when that is withdrawn and alienated, no work or worship is acceptable. The Hebrews were not a phil-

osophic people, and their language is not adapted to the uses of exact science. Not a metaphysical turn of thought occurs throughout the Bible. The outward, physical world, and the inward intellectual, are alike spoken of in the language of common life, in words borrowed from the observation of the senses. Their knowledge of nature and of mind being phenomenal rather than scientific, their language was hence simple, and better adapted to general moral instruction than to philosophic discourse, their meaning being apparent from the connection and drift of discourse, if not from the precision of words. The ethical use of the terms "*heart*" and "*flesh*" in Scripture cannot be doubtful.

The sensational theory of depravity has found a semblance of proof in such phrases as "sin in the *flesh*," Rom. viii, 3; "Vile *body*," Phil. iii, 21; and especially the statement, "*νόμῳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας . . . ἐν τοῖς μέλεσί, the law of sin in my members*," Rom. vii, 23, (compare also chap. vi, 19:) and also in chap. vii, 5, "for when we were in the *flesh*, (*ἐν σαρκί,*) the *passions of sin* or *sinful affections* (*παθήματα ἁμαρτιῶν*) did work (*ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν*) *in our members*, [our organism,] to bring forth fruit unto death." But these may be explained in harmony with the foregoing views. The "*law of sin*" may have been located "in the *members*" of the physical nature by the apostle, because the greatest force of sinful habit and temptation seemed to lodge and to develop there, and the soul to feel her greatest impotency and servitude from hence. "The soul," says Bengel, "is, as it were, the king; the members are its citizens; sin is, as an enemy, admitted through the fault of the king, who is doomed to be punished by the oppression of the citizens." But in any wise such phrases cannot be construed against the clear and overwhelming light of the analogy of Scripture as already given. The early Christian Church unhappily mistook the Scriptural antithesis of *flesh* and *spirit* for the dualistic antagonism of spirit and matter, as taught by the heathen, and as the Jews had done before them when they had become infected with the pagan philosophy, became enamored of a false asceticism in piety, which, in the language of Hundeshagen, "virtually turns the body into a creature of the devil," while the soul is commiserated for its unfortunate companionship therewith. But as Meyer well observes, "There is nothing in the

biblical use of the term to justify the opinion that *the flesh* [the literal body] (*σαρξ*) is in itself evil, or necessarily productive of sin." It is the body in its living animate state, hence as including the soul, and as the instrument of the soul, that has this deadly power. "The physical-corporeal life of man, with its center, I, (says the author last quoted,) departed from the life of God and isolated itself, and being no longer sustained and attracted by the powers of the world above, is drawn downward, its tendency becomes earthly, worldly, and all its functions partake of this character." But united to God it is controlled by the Divine Spirit.

The Church of England in her ninth Article of Religion defines original sin, or natural depravity, to be "the fault or corruption of the nature of every man," which he has by natural birth, "whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil." Now, here are four points in the definition: the "*fault*," (defect, or infirmity;) the "corruption," (which is, says Jeremy Taylor, "exegetical of the other;") the loss of "original righteousness," and hence of all supernatural aids, leaving man to "pure naturals;" and the "inclination to evil." The whole definition is then resolved into an "infection of nature," and the sum and essence of depravity declared to be the same as Paul calls *φρόνημα σαρκὸς*, which, says the Article, "some do expound the *wisdom*, some *sensuality*, some the *affection*, some the *desire* of the flesh." It is simply transalated in our English Bible, "*carnal mind*." All this cautious avoidance of philosophic terms shows how the framers of the Articles felt themselves pressed upon either hand with human speculations, and with the importance, in giving adequate definitions, of keeping within scriptural phraseology, and not erecting into dogma subjects which lose themselves in obscure depths of psychology and metaphysics. "That the first ages taught the doctrine of original sin," says Jeremy Taylor, "I do no wise doubt, but affirm it all the way; but that it is a sin improperly, that is, a stain and a reproach rather than a sin; that is, the effect of one sin and the cause of many; that it brought in sickness and death, mortality and passions; that it made us naked of those supernatural aids that Adam had, and so more liable to the temptations of the devil: this is all I find in antiquity, and sufficient for the explication of

this question, which," he adds, "the more simply it is handled the more true and reasonable it is."

What, then, is the sum of orthodox teaching as to the nature and extent of original sin, or hereditary depravity? We cannot agree with those who make it to consist merely in the inordinateness of bodily desires. This is one condition of our nature, but does not comprehend the evil. Nor can we agree with those who make the connection of mind and matter, and the consequent impressions of the latter upon the former, through the senses, the cause of universal aberration and alienation from God. This also has its influence, but falls short of the real and adequate cause of the disordered action of the moral *ego*. Nor can we make out an adequate account of human depravity by adding to these the frailty, disease, disabilities, and mortality of the body. Above all these there is an evil affecting the higher nature, the soul. The soul has lost its original righteousness, its supernatural helps, its holy sympathies, affections, and aspirations. This righteousness was not a development of constitutional powers, but the gift of God superadded to existence. This the sin of Adam forfeited, not merely for himself, but for the race, for universal humanity. Whether the effect of Adam's personal sin on universal human nature was according to a law of natural connection, or of federal relation between him and his posterity, we stop not now to inquire. The fact only we affirm, without speculating upon the *modus* of its accomplishment. But this absence or loss of "righteousness and true holiness," which is the moral image of God, in which man was created, is not merely a negative loss, but implies also the presence of opposite qualities of character. The loss of good implies the presence of evil; the loss of humility is the presence of pride; the loss of love, the dominion of the malevolent affections; the loss of holy desires from the soul, the indwelling of their opposites.

President Edwards lays down the case thus: When God created man he implanted in him two kinds of principles: the one *inferior*, comprehending all that is simply natural to man; and the other *superior*, comprehending all that is supernatural, spiritual, holy. These superior principles were given to possess the throne and maintain dominion. Sin forfeited this divine, spiritual, holy nature, and this supernatural aid, and

left man to the dominion of the lower, or simply natural principles. "As light ceases in the room when the candle is withdrawn, so man is left in a state of darkness, woful corruption and ruin, nothing but flesh without spirit, when the Holy Ghost, that heavenly inhabitant, forsakes the house." "It were easy to show," he adds, "how every depraved disposition would naturally arise from this *privative* original."

It is human nature thus left alone by the withdrawment of divine and spiritual influence, that is denoted by the figurative use of σαρξ, *flesh*, in the New Testament, a term which constantly stands opposed to πνευμα, *spirit*, which in this ethical or figurative sense as constantly either signifies the Holy Spirit, or the intellectual nature of man as under the renewing, sanctifying, and controlling influence of the Holy Spirit.

Such, then, is man's natural state. Such is the Arminian doctrine upon the subject. Herein we agree with Augustine and Calvin, however we may differ in certain corollaries arising from this doctrine, or on the principle by which the atonement is applied as a remedy according to the divine plan of grace, not to go back of this to speak of foreordination and particular election.

Art. VI.—THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

The English Language in its Elements and Forms. With a History of its Origin and Development. Designed for use in Colleges and Schools. Revised and enlarged by William C. Fowler, late Professor of Rhetoric in Amherst College.

The English Language in its Elements and Forms. Abridged from the octavo edition. By William C. Fowler.

Elementary Grammar, Etymology and Syntax. Designed for General Use in Common Schools. By William C. Fowler. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1859.

A language has a history and a life, which, if we can but trace, we shall find to be of wonderful interest. "There are cases," says Coleridge, "in which more knowledge of more value may be conveyed by the history of a word than by the history of a campaign."

It is of especial importance and interest to trace the history of our own tongue, for the English language is marked in its character as composite, its two chief elements being the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin, though it has taken many words in its vocabulary from other sources.

In the earliest historic times Britain was inhabited by a Celtic race. Of them but little is known, though we infer they had made some advancement in the arts, for they had acquired skill in working metals. It is also evident that they had some political organization, and carried on considerable commerce with the Continent. Comparatively little of our language comes from the early Britons, yet the Celtic element has at different times furnished words for our vocabulary.

After Britain was conquered by Rome, though her literature and arts were cultivated,* but little trace of her language was left. Only a few words relating to military affairs are ascribed to this period.

The Saxons invaded Britain A. D. 449, and in less than a century they acquired possession of all the island they ever conquered.

But little is known of the literature of the Saxons before the introduction of Christianity among them. On their first invasion they destroyed the monasteries and religious houses of the Britons, and the conquered race relapsed into heathenism. It is said that the nation was again brought back to Christianity through the efforts set on foot by Gregory the Great before he became pope. Passing through the slave-market at Rome, as the story is told, he was struck with the beauty of some youth exposed for sale. He asked of what nation they were, and was told they were Angli. Playing upon the word he replied they ought rather to be *angeli*. Gregory sent the monk Augustine to Britain in the year 597, and so great success attended his efforts that in a few years the nation became nominally Christian. From the introduction of Christianity may be dated the rise of their literature. About seventy years after the arrival of Augustine among a people whom he dreaded to visit, because he looked upon them as a race of bar-

* Tacitus says: "Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant eloquentiam concupiscerent." Agricola c. 21.

barous heathen, we find in a remote part of the island a native Saxon, Bede, devoting his life to literary pursuits. At the same time Caedmon, the greatest of the Anglo-Saxon poets, appeared, who deserves notice from the marked influence he exerted on Saxon literature till the time of the Norman Conquest. So wonderful did it seem that an unlearned peasant could sing of the mysteries of creation, the wondrous miracles of the Old and New Testament, that many deemed him inspired. Through his songs the history of the people of God, and the whole Christian scheme, were brought in their native tongue to the Anglo-Saxons. "Caedmon's poetry," says Milman, "was their Bible, no doubt far more effective in awakening and changing the popular mind than a literal translation of the Scriptures could have been."*

As early as the eighth century the Anglo-Saxons not only founded several public libraries at home, but sent books to the Continent.

In the monasteries they worked zealously, copying and ornamenting large and costly works. Boniface, while traveling on the Continent, sent over frequent requests for books. On one occasion he asks the Abbess Eadburga to cause a copy of the Gospels to be written in letters of gold and sent to him in Germany.

In the time of Theodore and Adrian, the principal seats of learning were in Kent. But the school founded by Wilfried and Egbert at York was the most celebrated. Here Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were taught; and the library collected by Egbert and his predecessor furnished great facilities to scholars. Alcuin, who was one of Egbert's scholars, often speaks in his letters of his old master and his early studies.

Few modern nations have so abundant an early literature as the English. To Alfred much credit is due for his love of letters, and his fostering care of literature. During his reign his kingdom was often invaded by the Danes, who burned the churches and monasteries where the most valuable books were kept. Yet through his efforts provision was made not only for the education of the clergy, but also for the common people. Alfred declared it to be his wish "that all the free-born youth of his people might persevere in learning, so long as they have

* Milman's Latin Christianity, vol. ii.

no other affairs to prosecute, until they can perfectly read the English Scriptures." Alfred translated or caused to be translated many of the Latin authors. William of Malmesbury, speaking of his literary labors says: "A very great part of Roman literature he gave to English ears, conveying a rich booty of foreign wares for the use of his countrymen." Another distinguished name in Anglo-Saxon literature is "Aelfric," Archbishop of Canterbury, who died 1006. He wrote in the purest style, avoiding the use of obscure words, that he might be understood, as he tells us, by unlettered people.

The Danish invasions of England did not to any great extent affect the purity of the language, as they used a cognate dialect. They left, however, some traces of their language, especially in the northern counties.

A little before the Norman Conquest, which was 1066, commenced those changes which would have greatly modified the language even if England had never fallen under the dominion of the Norman French. It is now generally conceded that too much importance has been ascribed to the influence of the Conquest on our language. It is true that after the Conquest, for two or three centuries, Norman French was spoken by the higher classes. The Normans held the throne, and the highest offices in the courts of law and in the Church. Norman nobles in their halls, surrounded by armed retainers, looked with contempt on their Saxon vassals, and despised what they deemed an ignoble tongue. The enmity between the two races was like that between the master and his bondman. A form of indignant reply on the part of the Norman gentleman was, "Do you take me for an Englishman?" One of the ministers of Henry III. tauntingly asked, "Am I an Englishman, that I should know these Saxon charters and these laws?"

William the Conqueror seems to have tried to learn the Anglo-Saxon, but having exhausted his patience in the attempt, he was determined to suppress the language if possible. On his return from Normandy, after several months' absence from England, he adopted stringent measures for rooting out the language, and destroying the nationality of his conquered subjects. He required that French should be used in the courts and the schools.

It is impossible to mark any precise time when the Anglo-

Saxon became English, the change was brought about so gradually. Hallam says, when we compare the earliest English of the thirteenth century with the Anglo-Saxon of the twelfth, it seems hard to pronounce why it should pass for a separate language rather than for a modification of the other.

For the sake of definiteness we may date the decline of the Anglo-Saxon at 1150, and the commencement of the English at 1250. For centuries the Norman and the Saxon were living side by side, the one spoken in the court and in the baron's hall, the other in the home of the poor, in the every-day talk of the common people. Yet slowly the tongue of the conquered race worked its way up through all ranks of society, and became, with some slight changes, our noble English speech. The changes took place in the grammar rather than in the vocabulary of the language. Many of the inflections, both of nouns and verbs, were dispensed with, though some of the forms were reluctantly abandoned. "The persons plural," says Ben Jonson, in his grammar, "keep the termination of the first person singular. In former times they were wont to be formed by *en*, thus: *loven*, *sayen*."

Much credit belongs to the Church for keeping the Anglo-Saxon in its purity so long, and for making it the chief element of our language. The English clergy, partly from the characteristics of the Saxon race, and partly from their insular position, were always more independent than the clergy of the continent. They used the Anglo-Saxon in the services of the Church, and they had more versions of the Scriptures than any other nation of that time. Even after the Conquest the clergy sympathized with the conquered race and still used the despised tongue. Though Norman French was the language of the schools, teachers of Anglo-Saxon remained in some of the monasteries which had been endowed by Saxon princes. During the period when the Normans ruled with a despotic hand, many young Saxons entered the Church to escape serfdom, for whoever took holy orders became free. These became the best educated of the land, and their piety, as well as their learning, gave them influence with the common people.

It was not until the close of the 14th century that the English can be said to have become the language of literature. The transition period of a language seems unfavorable for either

the development or expression of thought. The specimens of the literature of this early age of the English are interesting, only because they mark the changes in structure and vocabulary. And yet at this time we may consider our language as fully formed. Its grammatical structure and its general features were what they are now. Changes have been made, and others will take place, for a living tongue cannot become stereotyped in its forms. Caxton, the first English printer, who lived in the latter part of the fifteenth century, thus speaks of the changes that were made in his day: "Our language, as now used, varyeth far from that which was spoken when I was born. For we Englishmen be born under the domination of the moon, which is never steadfast, but ever wavering; waxing one season, it waneth and decreaseth another season; and common English that is spoken in one shire varyeth in another."

The good effect of the study of classical literature is seen in many of the English writers before the age of Elizabeth. Some of the most cultivated scholars, instead of affecting foreign idioms, were almost purists in style. Sir John Cheke, Greek professor at Cambridge, proposed to strike out of the vocabulary all words not Saxon.

The reign of Elizabeth is a marked epoch in the history of the language. The best scholars and writers labored to preserve the strength and vigor of the native tongue. The time for the critical cultivation of the language had come. Roger Ascham, the tutor of Elizabeth, recommends to him who would write well in any tongue, the counsel of Aristotle, "to think as the wise man, to speak as the common people." He had the true idea of the chief element of a nation's language; it must be the speech of the common people. The language of the writers of the age of Elizabeth was much the same as the English of the present day. Dr. Johnson does not exaggerate when he says: "From the authors who rose in the time of Elizabeth, a speech might be formed adequate to all the purposes of use and elegance. If the language of theology were extracted from Hooker and the translators of the Bible, the terms of natural knowledge from Bacon, the phrases of war, policy, and navigation from Raleigh, the dialect of poetry from Spenser and Sidney, and the diction of common life from Shakspeare, few

ideas would be lost to mankind for want of English words to express them."

For a while after the age of Elizabeth we find an increasing tendency to use Latin derivatives and idioms. This is not to be ascribed to an increased attention to the study of the classics, but mainly, perhaps, to the fact that Latin became the language of intercourse for scholars, and many learned men used it in their correspondence, so that it, insensibly perhaps, affected their style. This, as Coleridge says, "gives a stately march, and sometimes a majestic, organlike harmony to their diction." To such an excess was this tendency carried, that passages from some of these writers could be selected that would be scarcely understood by the ordinary English reader. Thus Sir Thomas Browne in the following passage hardly uses a Saxon word if he can find or coin a Latin equivalent: "Who were the proprietaries of these bones, or what bodies these ashes made up, were a question above antiquarianism, not to be resolved by man, nor easily perhaps by spirits, except we consult the provincial guardians or tutelary observators. Had they made as good provision for their names as they have done for their relics, they had not so grossly erred in the art of perpetuation. But to subsist in bones, and be but pyramidally extant, is a fallacy in duration. . . . Pyramids, arches, obelisks, were but the irregularities of vain-glory and wild enormities of ancient magnanimity. But the most magnanimous resolution rests in the Christian religion, which trampleth upon pride, and sits upon the neck of ambition, humbly pursuing that infallible perpetuity unto which all others must diminish their diameters, and be poorly seen in the angles of contingency. To subsist in lasting monuments, to live in their productions, to exist in the names and predicament of chimeras, was large satisfaction unto old expectations, and made one part of their elysiums. But all this is nothing in the metaphysics of true belief."

Dr. Johnson at a later period complained of these innovations, and yet to some extent imitated them: not so much in introducing new Latin derivatives, as in profusely employing such as he found in use.

Had there not been a reaction soon after the period of which we have been speaking, we should have lost much of the simplicity and manly vigor of our tongue. In this reaction the

critics rejected many that are now deemed good English words. *Despicable*, *imbibe*, *destructive*, *obsequious*, *ponderous*, were condemned because they smelled too much of Latin.

There was a vitiated style, which prevailed to some extent as early as the latter half of the sixteenth century, which has left its traces in the language. This is caricatured by Scott in "The Monastery," in the character of Piercie Shafton. It has been described as consisting in "pedantic and far-fetched allusion, elaborate indirectness, a cloying smoothness, and drowsy monotony of phrase, alliterating, punning, and other such puerilities." Sir Philip Sidney ridiculed these affectations; and in "Love's Labor Lost," Shakspeare makes Holofernes give his opinion of Don Adriano de Armado, who affected this style. "His humor," says Holofernes, "is lofty, his discourse peremptory, his tongue filed, his eye ambitious, his gait majestical, and his general behavior vain, ridiculous, thrasonical. He is too picked, too spruce, too affected, too odd as it were, too peregrinate as I may call it. He draweth out the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument. I abhor such fanatical phantasms, such insociable companions, such rackers of orthography as to speak *dout* fine when he should say *doubt*, *det* when he should pronounce *debt*." And yet even from this affected style our language may have gained in euphony.

Nothing in the literature of the seventeenth century so much affected the language as our received version of the Bible. At a meeting of the clergy at Hampton Court in 1604 the version of the Scriptures then in use was generally disapproved, and James I. appointed fifty-four men to begin a new translation. The result of the joint labors of these scholars was published in 1611, and has been pronounced, by those who have compared the European modern translations with the original, to be the most accurate and faithful of the whole. Perhaps no language is better able than the English to seize and express the very spirit of the original. And it has been said that the translators seem to have gone in advance of the language, for the English tongue of their day was hardly equal to the work. Being so generally read by all classes, their translation tended to give uniformity and stability to the language. Most beautifully and touchingly does a Roman Catholic writer* speak of

* Dublin Review, June, 1853.

the wondrous power of our English Bible: "Who will not say that the uncommon beauty and marvelous English of the Protestant Bible is not one of the great strongholds of heresy in this country? It lives in the ear like music that can never be forgotten, like the sound of church-bells which the convert hardly knows how he can forego. Its felicities often seem to be almost things rather than mere words. It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of national seriousness. The memory of the dead passes into it. The potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the griefs and trials of a man is hidden beneath its words. It is the representative of his best moments, and all that there has been about him of soft, and gentle, and pure, and penitent, and good speaks to him forever out of his English Bible."

At the restoration of Charles II. our language passed through an ordeal that tested its purity and strength. Had it not been for the Saxon element, which lies at the base of our tongue, it would have been hopelessly corrupted by the Gallicisms and colloquialisms that the courtiers of Charles made for a while popular. Instead of the inflated and pedantic style prevalent in the time of James I., there was a tendency to the opposite extreme; and in place of the stately movement of Latin derivatives, the harmony and rhythm of sentences we find in Sidney, Jeremy Taylor, and Sir Thomas Browne, the writers of this age affected a colloquial style which often degenerated into vulgar talk. So prevailing was this tendency that Coleridge says this "cavalier slang affected the divines."

At the commencement of the eighteenth century the language, in its style and construction, settled into permanence. The writings of the essayists of this age contributed much to stay the tide of Latin derivatives, and to bring back the language to the beauty and force of the original Saxon.

Within the present century no changes have been made in the structure of the language. True, there has been a large addition of words to our vocabulary, and these, with the exception of scientific terms, for which the Greek is the common source, have mainly come from the German. Several words now in general use have quite a recent origin. Thus *landsman*, *fatherland*, *handbook*, and other similar words have but just become naturalized. A language has a growth. As a great philolo-

ogist* expressed it: "An idiom is an organism subject, like every organism, to the laws of development. One must not consider a language as a product dead and formed but once; it is animate and ever creative." Hence we may not suppose that our own tongue has attained its full growth. He who gives a new word that is really needed to the language is a public benefactor. But all such words should be, if possible, the product of native roots, and not simply foreign words with an English form.

The two chief factors of the English language are the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin. It is of interest to observe the relative value of the two. The general form and structure of the language is almost exclusively Saxon. What few inflections we have, as the possessive case, the comparative and superlative degree, the old form of the plural, as *oxen*, *women*, the forms for the persons of the verbs, are from this source. Even those words which are derived from Latin and Greek take Saxon inflections. The names of most objects in nature, its agencies and changes, are Saxon, as sun, moon, stars, earth, fire, day, night, morning, evening. It also gives us the names for most of the phenomena of nature, as light, heat, cold, frost, rain, snow, hail. So are nearly all the words that denote the movements and cries of animals Saxon, such as buzz, hum, clash, hiss, run, walk, leap, swim, fly, slide, glide, with a large number of others.

The Saxon gives us most of those terms that express the closest and dearest relations of the family: Father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister, husband, wife.

Most of the objects of common, everyday life are expressed by the Saxon. Nearly all our proverbs are Saxon.

To show the preponderance of Saxon words in general use, Sharon Turner gives the result of his comparison of a number of passages from different authors. In a passage of Shakspeare of eighty-one words, all but thirteen are Saxon. In a passage of Milton of ninety, all but sixteen. In one of Cowley, consisting of seventy-six, all but ten. In one of Hume, of one hundred and one words, all but thirty-eight.

Marsh, in his lectures on the English Language, has made a more careful comparison and a more explicit statement of the

* Wilhelm Von Humboldt.

result. Thus, in some portions of the English version of the Gospels, ninety-six, ninety-three, ninety-two per cent. are Saxon words. In Milton's Poetical Works, from eighty to ninety per cent. are Saxon. In Webster's great speech, his Reply to Hayne, seventy-five per cent. are Saxon.

The Latin element of our language is the next in importance. This furnishes a large number of abstract and general terms in theology, and in moral and political philosophy. Most of the terms of law, and words referring to judicial proceedings, as judge, advocate, are from the Latin. But in many instances they have come to us through the French, and are so disguised that we hardly recognize them.

The Latin element was introduced into the language at different periods. The Roman invasion left a few words, mostly proper names: Lincoln, the termination being the Latin *colonia;* Worcester, the termination *cester*, from *castra.* Many ecclesiastical terms were introduced under the Saxon kings after they became Christian. Between the Norman Conquest and the reign of Henry VIII. a large number of Latin words were added. During this period the Church was so connected with Rome, and English scholars had so much intercourse with those of the Continent that very naturally many Latin terms came into common use. In the reign of Elizabeth and James the pedantry of scholars overloaded the language with Latin derivatives.

There is a large number of Greek derivatives in our language, but they can all be reduced to a few roots. The Greek seems almost a necessity for the coining of new scientific terms, and our language is constantly enriched from this source.

We are not disposed to undervalue the classical element in our language. These derivatives add to its expressiveness by enlarging its vocabulary. These languages furnish us with many synonyms, and thus give variety and beauty to expression.

There can be no question that the English tongue has been greatly enriched by what it has taken from the classical languages; but the relative value of the two elements can be inferred from the fact the English could be spoken without the classical element, but not without the Teutonic. Long ago,

Camden said, "Great verily was the glory of our tongue before the Norman Conquest in this, that the old English could express most aptly all the conceptions of the mind in their own tongue, without borrowing from any."

We might naturally expect that in our own country the language would receive many additional terms, and in other respects be much modified. True, we have a number of words in use that have been demanded from our peculiar institutions, and yet it is wonderful with what uniformity the English language is spoken throughout our extensive territory. The constant interchange between the different parts of our land, the general diffusion of education, the fact that we are to such an extent a reading people, all tend to keep us from peculiarities of dialect.

It is gratifying to observe the increased interest that has been taken of late years in the study of our language. The works we have placed at the head of this article show the results of this. Professor Fowler, in the preface to his larger work, acknowledges his indebtedness to Latham; and many of its valuable sections were contributed by Professor Gibbs of Yale College, one of the most indefatigable laborers in philology we know. This work, which has for its comprehensive title, The English Language, is not only designed, but especially adapted for our higher seminaries of learning. Before its publication our colleges had no work that could be well used as a text-book in this department.

The peculiar excellences of this work are very apparent. It consists not in a mere dry synopsis of forms and rules, but we have given us the history of the formation of the language, its growth, as well as its present appearance.

There are several prominent features in Professor Fowler's works which ought to commend them to the scholar and secure their general adoption. The historical development is as fully treated as necessary in works designed for text-books. Much interest has been taken of late years in this department of our language, and with marked results. Professor Fowler shows his intimate acquaintance with the investigations both of English and German scholars, as Kemble, Latham, Bosworth, and Rurk, and Grim, and Bopp, for he furnishes in succinct form many of the results of their labors.

We have been especially pleased with the development of the phonetic elements of our language. Very few teachers even seem to be aware of the importance of a knowledge of these elements. If the subject were more heeded there would be less occasion for the sneer of the witty Frenchman, that "the Englishman gains two hours a day over the Frenchman, because he swallows half his words." We have a great deal of vicious pronunciation and unimpressive elocution that might be saved by a careful study of the force of the sounds of our language.

The great attention given to the derivation of words will be considered by many a great excellence of these volumes. Nearly a hundred pages of the larger work are devoted to this, and we know of no other treatise where, in so small a compass, the same amount of information can be found.

Professor Fowler has all through his works introduced the prominent features of the new philology. Becker's classification, and his analysis of the sentence, which have produced such an entire change in the later grammars of Latin and Greek, are introduced as fully as practicable in elementary works.

After a careful examination of these volumes, we are prepared to say that there is no series of English Grammars so well adapted for instruction. Professor Fowler has placed us all under great obligation, for we have found much interest in reading his larger work. We often hear the regret expressed that so little attention is given to the study of our own tongue in our colleges and higher seminaries. Surely it cannot be said that it is for want of a suitable text-book. We trust the time will soon come when the thorough and systematic study of our language will be pursued all through the schools, and it will no longer be to the reproach of our colleges that they graduate students who have no conception of the value and resources of their own tongue.

Art. VII.—M'COSH ON THE INTUITIONS.

A Review of the Intuitions Inductively Investigated. By the Rev. James M'Cosh, LL.D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860.

The importance and difficulty of a thorough and sifting discussion of our primary intuitions can be doubted by no philosophic mind. The looseness of expressions and the crudeness of the views of these germs of systems have contributed to bewilder the deepest thinkers, and to deprive the brightest ages of a complete psychology. Never did the interests of mental science utter a louder demand than at this hour for the proof of the reality of these intuitions, for the analyzation of their characteristics, and for the demonstration of the validity of their objective affirmations. Should this demand be promptly heeded the threatened mischief may be averted; but otherwise, the highest interests of the science will be imperiled. Before the close of the present century the *sensationalism* of France, or the *idealism* of Germany, may become the grave of all that is ennobling in psychology. In vain has Christian philosophy looked to the great mind of Hamilton, and to the thorough scholarship of Mansel* for that scientific indemnity against this fatal relapse which it had a right to expect from so high a

* The pantheistic assertion of Schelling, that "*God contains in himself all that is actual, evil included,*" is indorsed by Mansel, who says: "This conclusion we may repudiate with indignation, but *the reasoning is unassailable.*" That this mind of so high an order should yield assent to the validity of this reasoning, which rests entirely on the most arbitrary definition of God, is amazing! The absurdities that lie on the face of this pantheistic transformation of the adorable Jehovah are glaring. As specimens let us observe the following, namely: that a mind which is infinite and perfect must consist in part of what is finite and imperfect; that Omnipotence cannot give being to what was not from eternity in himself; that the recency of our own being, though a fact of universal consciousness, involves an impossibility; that a being who is infinite must be so in all his conceivable forms and relations, in power and weakness, goodness and malignity, in bliss and anguish, in abject dependence, and in supreme independence. Certainly a sifting analysis would have convinced Mr. M. that all these palpable solecisms arise not from the nature of the subject, but from the gratuitous assumptions of his definitions.

The vicious elements which, after the Germans, Mr. Mansel has admitted into his premises, are the germs of all those startling contradictions to which his otherwise logical reasoning has conducted him.

source. Indeed, these are the minds which have most contributed to accelerate the dreaded result.

Our century has been honored with no metaphysical mind so erudite as Sir William's—with none on which the impress of original greatness was more profound. Still this literary giant was misguided by the doctrine of Kant on the "*conditioned.*" Instead of refuting the error of that Teutonic master, he modified it and embraced it. Nor was Kant completely original. He did not originate the idea, but found it in the skeptical theory of Hume, and powerfully developed and applied it. Indeed, in regard to this idea Hume himself claimed no originality, but found it in the philosophy of Locke, who taught that the mind perceives not the relations of *objects*, but merely the relations of ideas. Like Hume, Kant maintained that we know nothing directly, excepting our own mental states, thus making all relations primarily subjective.

Nor did that singularly acute German mind differ from the skeptical historian in resolving efficient cause into a mental law. Indeed, he developed that doctrine into a far-reaching principle, alleging that whatever appears necessary to us must be given *a priori*, by the mind itself; must be a law of *thought*, and not a law of *things*. It was easy to give this principle a broader application, and thus make time and space mere forms of thought, denying to them the least shadow of external reality. This principle excluded all contents from our intuitions excepting mere *relations*. Substance and cause were regarded as forms in which the understanding produces conceptions. This substitution of the laws of conception for the laws of nature shut out from universal mind all objective reality; it left no room for our own personality, for the universe, or for God.

When against this conclusion objective reality was asserted, the series of judgments were found to involve contradictory results. Hence Kant's *antinomies*, or four contradictions. The first regards the beginning of the world, the second the simplicity of its parts, the third causal efficiency, the fourth the first INFINITE CAUSE. That he should find all these sustained by evidence equally demonstrative to that which proves their opposites, is indeed startling. Mind is not constructed to repose in these fiercely conflict propositions which regard the most

vital subjects of human thought. Of the several modes in which solution has been sought, the only tenable one is the utter denial that reason ever affirmed such contradictions, that they arise solely from the falsity of the system which adopts them.

Instead of exposing and vanquishing this fallacy forever, what has Hamilton done with it? He has conceded the premises and strangely sought to mitigate the gloom involved in the conclusion by referring the contradiction to the mind's imbecility, and not to its falsity. But this admission of the contradiction is a blow at the very root of thought.

Nor is Mansel less dangerous in adopting the principle which is exclusive of efficient cause, (pp. 47–53.) His statement "that the cause cannot as such be absolute, and that the absolute as such cannot be a cause, includes in its fatal grasp all for which the pantheist Spinoza would contend. Though the position of the French school was directly opposite to this, it was no less subversive of fundamental truth. It was this: "The infinite is a necessary and eternal cause—a cause which *must* pass into action." Thus while Mansel and the school of Spinoza make creation involve a contradiction, and thereby precluded its possibility, Cousin made that work an eternal necessity, and thereby placed the Divine omnipotence under a power above itself.

These perversions of first principles are mere specimens of those with which our century has abounded. The demand is therefore imperative for a sifting discussion of our primary convictions.

The author we review has aimed at supplying this desideratum; how he has achieved his object we now proceed to disclose to the reader.

Dr. M'Cosh exhibits our *intuitions* in the opposite characters of both the clearest and the darkest of the mind's objects. In the unborrowed light which flashes on intuitive objects they are clear as vision; but when the mind's eye turns itself back to investigate them in reflex light, they are mantled in the shades of dimmest twilight. The unerring certainty inseparable from these first apprehensions makes them the solid foundation of all our knowledge. It is only at some remove from them that apparent truth may be distrusted. But our author has shown that though these intuitive objects shine in the light of their

own evidence, too clear to be increased, and too strong to be vanquished, yet are they utterly inexplicable. If they yield to analysis and require induction, it cannot be in their simple state, but after they are classified. Had this distinction never escaped Dr. Reid, he would never have asserted "that there are principles in the constitution of the mind, and that they come forth in general propositions."

That the intuitive faculty appertains to the mind, no clearer proof can exist than our knowledge of the objects it apprehends. As another faculty could no more reveal these objects than a microscope or telescope could disclose colors to the blind, the fact of their being known is the proof of the intuitive faculty. The simplicity of the objects apprehended by intuition is a bar against their resolution into simpler elements, and equally so against referring them to higher principles from which they might be supposed to have derived their authority. But though these objects are never *complex*, they are ever *concrete*. In seeking simplicity in the complex, we must continue our regression till we return to that which has its evidence in itself, and the same law which forbids our stopping short of that point prohibits the slightest assurance beyond it. It is otherwise with the *concrete*. This is always united in nature but separable in thought; that is, it is ever perceived by a single intuitive glance, but is separable by a reflex mental act. Thus we cannot perceive what is not self without a co-existing knowledge of self, while we affirm of self which perceives that it is not the thing perceived. We perceive moral excellence, and then think it apart from all mere pleasure. We perceive the pain of guilt, but are never in danger of identifying it with physical pain. This separation in thought of what is apprehended together, is based on the concrete nature of our primary apprehensions.

The complex is the union of elements separately perceptible, and susceptible of reduction to simplicity by analysis. It is then obtrusively plain that by confounding the concrete with the complex, the utmost confusion must ensue; the former being the simple objects of primary apprehension, and the latter a combination of these objects by a reflex mental act.

Our author (in language our space permits us not to copy) has sent back a piercing glance at Greek psychologists, comparing their views of intuitions with those of modern cultiva-

tors of the same field. He shows that Descartes affirmed of innate ideas, "that they were faculties ready to operate, but needed to be called forth." But that philosopher failed to clearly express the light of self-evidence, in which objects so apprehended shone, and only obscurely alluded to the abstraction and generalization by which alone higher principles may be reached. On another point vital to this inquiry Liebnitz is introduced as having distinguished more clearly than his predecessors between *necessary* truth and *experimental* truth, announcing for the first time the infallible *test* of necessary truth. But that writer strangely failed to discriminate between the faculties of apprehending individual objects, and those by which general principles are formed in the mind by the classification of those objects. The same defect is detected in Buffier, who seemed unaware of the self-evidence and necessity of *primary* convictions. At least his views of these deeper qualities of first truths were strikingly defective. While he maintained the original law of intuition, as exhibited in the common judgments of men, he made little distinction between them as single and as classified. Our author awards more definiteness to the views of Dr. Reid, who, under the name of common sense, recognizes the original and natural judgments of the mind as forming a part of our mental constitution. Reid is especially introduced in this connection as opposing the Lockean view of our intuitions, which restricted them to the *relations* of our *ideas*, and to the Kantian development of this theory of Locke, which reduced all the objects of intuition to the mere forms of the mind. Reid further maintained the double office of reason, that of judging of things self-evident, and that of drawing conclusions which are not self-evident from objects which are self-evident. But while these characteristics and others of great merit distinguished Reid, our author justly charges him with the want of rigid accuracy in the application of his tests of primary intuition. More than once he admitted merely experimental truth into that high class of first principles, and did not uniformly discriminate between the reflex and spontaneous uses of reason. (Pp. 448–450.) This betrayed him into the mistake, to which we have alluded, of referring principles to the constitution of the mind, and of asserting "that they come forth in the form of general propositions."

Dr. M'Cosh rapidly glances at some of the weakest and strongest points in the critique of Kant, showing that he, more clearly than his predecessors, taught that *a priori* principles were in the mind prior to their being called into exercise. The powerful array of evidence which he furnished in support of this mental law was a contribution to psychology. This alone would elicit the thanks of posterity had not the same strong hand which established the law pervertingly appropriated it. But by restricting this faculty to the mental sphere alone, Kant allowed it no functions in the objective universe. He maintained that the mind imposed forms on space and duration; that the mind contained categories of quantity, quality, relation, modality, ideas of substance, totality of phenomena, and of Deity; that the mind imposed forms on the judgments reached by these categories. Or in other words, that all these objects and relations are in the mind solely, and nowhere else in the universe. That even self-consciousness is not a knowledge of self as it exists, but a mere form of thought. Things, therefore, are never the objects of intuition, but are created or supplied by that faculty. This excludes time, space, substance, relations, and God himself from every habitation out of the forms of thought; within the mind alone is the sole place of their existence. These are intuitions with a vengeance! They cram heaven and earth, God and the universe, into the magic chambers of a mortal mind! While these "ideas of pure reason" reduce the judgment to unity, they also reduce all reality to the perceptions of nothing.

After this German oracle had thus made reason criticise itself, according to laws arbitrarily imposed on that noble faculty, what could arrest in their amazing career his three famous successors? Making his gaol their starting point, and his logic their guide, they found it as facile to politely bow mind out of the great temple of the universe, as he did to reduce the objective universe to mind. This utter nihilism, into which these masters had conspired to engulf matter and mind, is the only possible legitimate result of falsifying a single intuition of the mind.

Dr. T. Brown is introduced by our author to illustrate both the excellences and defects of that writer on the mind's first convictions. (Cause and Effect, part 3.) Dr. Brown resolutely

maintained that our intuitions are principles—that they are immediately, universally, and irresistibly felt, and that the mind finds it impossible to doubt them. Still is he profoundly silent on the laws, and the nature and the tests of these intuitions.

Nearly the same defect is charged upon Cousin. While he did not overlook the distinction of reason in the spontaneous and reflective forms of its operations, while he insisted on the individuality of the former, he failed to disclose the induction indispensible to reach the latter, to reach necessary truth in its universal form. Though, in recognizing these twofold stages of reason, that writer did involve the observation, abstraction, and generalization indispensable to pass from the first stage to the second, he never attempted to evolve this process.

For the illustration of topics still more vital to his argument, Dr. M'Cosh draws more copiously from Hamilton. While he admits that this great metaphysician has with unsurpassed erudition collected testimonies from the deep thinkers of all ages and from all lands in support of our first principles, (Note A on Reid,) he still urges the charge that Hamilton is either deeply silent on the distinction between the facts of consciousness and generalized maxims, or that he expressly identifies them. This charge is sustained by extracts from his lectures, in such passages as the following. Speaking of general principles he says: "They seem to leap, ready made, from the womb of reason like Pallas from the head of Jupiter." "Sometimes they form the crowning, the consummation of all the intellectual operations." (Lec. 28.) In like manner, overlooking the induction, which can never be apart from the attainment of *general* truth, he alleges it to be revealed at once in consciousness, calling such truths "ultimate primary universal principles, facts of consciousness." (Lec. 15.)

Associated with this blunder is the much graver error of making the objects of our intuitions the laws of *thought*, and not the laws of things—making substance, space, cause, infinity, nothing but the mind's weakness, and thus divesting these intuitions of all trustworthiness. That so startling a proposition should be adopted by so comprehensive an intellect, is humiliating to human greatness.

Our author has excelled his predecessors in the accuracy

with which he has defined the *sources* of our knowledge and the *contents* of our intuitions. He insists on the contents of our intuitions being not *impressions* but *knowledge*, and that therefore something out of themselves is apprehended by them. He shows that the mind is constructed to cognize material objects through sense—perception; to see in them their properties, and not its own creations; to see what was there before it contemplated them, and what will remain there irrespective of all perception. The objection is utterly powerless, "that because the patient suddenly restored to sight cannot determine whether the newly perceived object be in or out of the organ of sight, therefore he cannot decide whether it be a mere mental form or an external object. The fallacy lies in confounding that in the organ with that in the mind. He may mistake an object in the eye for one in space beyond the eye, but he can never mistake either for an object in the mind. Though the knowledge of self ever co-exists with that of externality, the two objects are distinguished with no less certainty than were they successively perceived. To the question, What do we experience when an object is presented to the senses? Kant answers, The mere impression of the mind itself. Our author replies, the external object which is presented; we see this as extramental, as having extension and form, and as involving space.

The affirmation that our senses deceive us is not strictly correct. A closer scrutiny will convince us that the errors of sense are in fact the errors of judgment. What belongs to our primary sense—perception—is rigidly correct; what we *infer* from such perception is often erroneous. A straight rod in the water appears crooked, but as the *shape* of an object is never a primary perception, but one learned by experience, the unreal appearance of the rod proves no inaccuracy in the sense of sight, but in the judgment based on sight. This palpable distinction between our primitive cognizance of matter, and our acquired knowledge of it, cannot be over-estimated. The absolute certitude of the former is a guarantee against the deception of our primary intuitions, to which the mistakes of the latter are never referable.

The distinction between *sensation* and *perception* is suggested by our above remark, that objects of *knowledge* are appre-

hended by our intuitions. Though these are never apart they are never identical. One may predominate, but they both co-exist. Sensation belongs to the sensibilities, perception to the intellect. The one is mere feeling, the other is intelligence. But though our perceptions are knowledge which grasps external objects, they intermeddle not with the *nature* of those objects. They never elaborate the nature of sounds, flavors, colors, odors, light, heat, and the like; this is the work of the mind's reflective operation, not of its intuitive action; consequently whatever errors are chargeable on the judgment, they can never be regarded as impairing the intuitions.

Self-perception is no more an impression or a mere feeling than is sense-perception. It is an intellection apprehending a thing; it is what falls under the eye of primitive cognition, and can be resolved into nothing more simple, and can be supported by nothing lying deeper than itself. The necessity of this conviction precludes any being stronger, or setting it aside. But while this conviction of self is invincible, it pierces none of the mysteries of self. It knows self as not depending on that knowledge, it knows it as the source of action, and as the subject of action, and as not being the action itself. But while nothing can shake its certainty of the fact, it advances not a hair's breadth beyond, leaving the wonders involved in self to be otherwise elaborated.

The same may be asserted of cause, whose nature we never intuitively perceive, but never fail to so perceive a demand for it on the appearance of an effect. The ascertainment of an agent operating in a given case is by another mental process, so that should the cause never be reached the felt necessity of its existence remains unchanged. The necessity of experience to ascertian the particular cause by no means invalidates the intuitive nature of the demand for a cause, as these are by two very different mental laws. The remark equally applies to difference between the object known and the mind knowing it. The difference is intuitively seen; the nature of that difference is otherwise learned. Thus, though external objects are often mistaken for each other, they are never mistaken for the mind itself. In this unmistakeable distinction intuitively forced upon us, lies our protection against both *idealism* and pantheism. But this simplicity of intuitive knowledge we have

found in harmony with the *concreteness* of its objects. We cannot apprehend a color without taking in an extended surface, but in thought the color may be abstracted from the substance. Though in this same concrete state the object is ever recalled, showing though thought could hold the qualities and their substance in solution, when the mind returns to them it apprehends them as a *unit*. The impossibility of a quality existing apart from its substance is no disproof of its reality. Gravity is no less real than the body which falls by its law. "The beauty of Venus is no less imaginary than Venus herself. Qualities and their substances are ever under this law. Qualities are therefore neither independent existences, nor the creations of the perceiving mind. Time, space, beauty, morality, and the like, are no more the mind's creation than the events in time, the bodies in space, or the goodness which is contemplated. Again, when our author puts the question, is not the known certainty equally great of perceiving matter as that of perceiving mind? Is the answer affirmative, then why resolve one into the other—mind into matter, or matter into mind? Why not embrace or reject both alike? Indeed, as both are seen, the mind and body, by the same intuitive glance, it is impossible they should not both be equally real. Our intuitive knowledge of personality involves thought, emotion, will, as properties of personality, just as our apprehension of matter does extension and other kindred properties. As a knowledge of substance includes that of its mode, each is revealed with the other. Many of the properties may remain concealed; but so far as they are perceived the substance is known, which precludes the possibility of its being more inscrutable than they. When these are separated it is by a mental act, which is never identical with a primary intuition. Thus body cannot be known out of space which is concreted with it, but in thought it may be separated from it. But this intuitive knowledge of space is not the measure of the faith which it involves. So number is cognized with the things numbered, and cannot exist apart from them; still I can think them apart. But while I conceive of time and space as limitless, I conceive of number as bounded. The consciousness of an event concretes it with the present time. This gliding into the past becomes the contents of memory, but another event or mental state taking its

place gives perpetually an idea of concreted time. By touch and sight we have an immediate sense-perception of space in the apprehension of any material object. We cognize our own organism as occupying space.

As, in thought, space and time may be abstracted from bodies and events, they must be something more than the mind's law imposed on bodies and events; they must be what the mind finds and not what it originates. Such as set aside this conclusion invalidate every primary conviction; and as inductive knowledge derives all its certainty from these convictions, it must perish in the rejection of time and space as realities.

Let the questions be directly answered, If our knowledge of time may resolve duration into a mental form, why may not the *events* of time be so resolved? If space can be, why ought not the bodies in space to share the same fate? And if all objects of sense-perception may be thus resolved into mental forms, why may not every mental object in the same manner be divested of reality so as to empty of its contents the whole universe of mind and matter? Then where in the whole compass of thought lies there a preventive to universal scepticism?

Time and space are confessedly mysterious in their nature, but certain in their evidence. They are alike in their continuous flow, like water, forever unbroken, comparable only in proportions not in parts. They are alike in precluding all subtraction and addition.

They are known intuitively, and perceived to stretch away beyond our conception. We conceive of their boundlessness without comprehending it, as we do of the infinite nature. Having faculties to conceive the relations of time and space neither to the infinite mind or any other object, we are compelled to leave them as we find them, inexplicable realities. But this utter solitude or profound concealment of their relations can never impair the evidence of their reality. Indeed, the fact of their infinity is the necessity of their concealment in regard to many of their relations. We can neither comprehend or image forth an infinite object, but we may know it *accurately* though only *limitedly*. Were it otherwise, could there be no correct knowledge of the Infinite until he is comprehended, then, necessarily, universally, and eternally, he must remain unknown, as it must forever be impossible to

originate a mind comprehensively knowing God. Then would the mocking inscription be fit, blazing on the universal altar of matter and mind, "To the Unknown God."

But our author has thrown us on our own consciousness to settle this question. He asserts in the light of that evidence, that when we look into time and space, and into the divine perfections, we see far, and then there is a conception of more of the same object, and more still further on. Thus, though finite thought is limited, it never reaches limits in the infinite object. As the globe is the attracting center of the air, this conception is the nucleus of far-reaching beliefs. The fact is significant, that this *unincreasable* thing beyond is inseparable from the object of our primary apprehension.

We are aware of unavoidable belief in objects not directly known, as in *efficient cause*. In view of an effect, the mind demands a cause. It does this equally whether the cause be revealed or concealed. Of this cause we know nothing beyond the principle of its operation. Thus faith fastens to objects unperceived by the primary convictions, but which are related to a principle of the mind stirred by those convictions. By virtue of this principle we form some judgments of the *unknown*—of time, space, God; we judge them to be everywhere. Though no space can be added to infinite space, yet infinite space may not contain all else which is infinite. The relation of the attributes of mind to space is too deeply concealed for us to determine whether the one requires the other; whether knowledge, power, and the like cannot have existence and action irrespective of space.

Every class of faith must be tried by its *appropriate tests*. The test of that faith, cleaving to a nucleus formed by a mixture of the intuitive and observational knowledge, cannot be identical with that determining the facts of consciousness. The latter regards belief in the infinite, and in the unlimitedness of space and duration. The questions whether this belief depends on something else, or on simple consciousness; whether it be optional or necessary, suggest the instant answer that it depends on nothing out of intuition. This settles unchangeably the fundamental character of this belief.

Our derived beliefs, forming a larger class, pervade a broader surface, and are tested by other rules. The intuitive convic-

tions are more potent; they carry faith into a boundless sphere; plunging into the infinite, their object is never limited by their own bounds; they find sea-room in that shoreless ocean in which their peculiarities fit them to operate. These convictions are the loftiest prerogatives and the transcendent glories of the human intellect.

But, in addition to these primary faculties, we have there productive powers of memory and imagination, and likewise the *comparing* faculty by which judgments are formed. Primitive judgments are based on the relations of intuitive objects. Thus, in comparing the nature of duration with that of space, we judge the latter has three dimensions, and duration only one of simple continuance. But we have hinted at the functions of judgment with the single aim of distinguishing between the knowledge thus acquired and that of intuition. Judgment by comparison elicits other ideas from those before obtained, but has no power to originate them. What is not known previously to judging can never be matters of judgment. As the intuitions would be valueless alone, so judgment would be useless without them. When the intellectual process is *legitimate*, the certainty of the intuitions is transferred to the conclusion. The reality of the one secures the reality of the other.

Were time and space mere mental forms, so must be all their relations unfolded by mathematics; so must be all bodies in space, all events in time, all mental and all material substances. The presence of a complex object is proof that the mind has advanced beyond its primary intuition. Thus the impossibility of two parallel straight lines inclosing space is intuitively perceived; but that this is true in all like cases is reached by another step. The necessity that a given event must have a cause is intuitively seen; but that this is true of *all* events the mind perceives at a stage beyond intuition. This latter is a generalization based not on external experience, which must ever be partial, but based on the inward laws of mind, to which universal necessity ever attaches itself.

The distinction cannot be too carefully made between what takes place in intuition and what occurs at other stages of the intellect. Let it be illustrated by the difference between *self-consciousness* and *personal identity*. That is purely intuitive; this involves the additional exercise of memory. The past self

and the present self are made one self by this twofold exercise. But the identity of nothing beyond self can be certified by this process. Nothing else lies so perfectly within the range of consciousness. What is unconscious may pass unobserved changes, and retain the same form. This is true of one's own organism; the identity of this is only apparent. The body being unconscious, may pass the changes of waste and repair without one's notice. The certainty of its being bears the evidence of intuition; but for its identity is demanded very different evidence. One's personality being exclusive of his body, he may dwell in it, or in another, or out of either, without impairing his identity. Since the first moment of memory there is a real identity of mind; otherwise self-consciousness, with the aid of this recalling faculty, could not fail to detect the mutation. But the range of experimental facts lying out of the sphere of intuitive knowledge, errors may occur there, but not here.

There is palpably an error in the statements that no mammal is warm-blooded, and therefore no warm-blooded animal is a mammal. But where does the error lie? Not in the law of thought, for that inferred correctly, but in the alleged fact of the premises. This is an error of experience; that is an intuitive axiom. In the one we mistake, in the other never. Thus the unmistakable certainty with which individuals are intuitively apprehended is no indemnity against error in arranging them into classes. Without individuals we could have no universals, any more than we could have thousands without units. But the certainty of the former may or may not transfer itself to the latter.

The *causal judgment* is a fact in all mental history; the denial of power as the mind's primary apprehension leaves this judgment unaccounted for. The reality of this conviction alone can account for what a new event forces upon us. Numerous reasons combine to deny this causal judgment to experience, and refer it to an ever-operative law of mind. The period of life at which it arises is too early for it to originate in experience. Its universality admits not of such a source; its *necessity* makes it impossible that its source should be experimental. The slightest introspection will convince us that no uniformity in the order of the succession of events through the longest duration will create the conviction of their necessity. The demand for

a *cause* on the occurrence of an event then springs up out of the depths of our being in all the power of a primary conviction. But this is true of *cause* only in its simplest state; not that its effects are seen in the cause, or that the agency is detected which energizes in the cause; only that an adequate cause is an absolute necessity. The disclosure of its hidden energies, the *a priori* knowledge of its future operations, is the prerogative of no intuition of the mind.

Cause operates in space, and time in its production of all external events. But space and time are neither causal nor dependent on cause. As they are never causal, or dependent on an antecedent cause, they form a class alone. This immutability, belonging to the *principles of the intellect, precludes all radical change from the moral faculties.*

The office of the intellect is to discover moral qualities, not to originate them; not to evoke them from its own depths and attach them to objects, but to discriminate them in the very nature of moral acts. A moral act is not good because the mind approves it, but the mind approves of it because it *finds it* to be good. This correspondence, resting on the nature of the object and on the constitution of the mind, must remain changeless as they through all states of being and periods of duration. A want of this uniformity in the standard of moral good would shatter the foundation of virtue, betray the rights of conscience, and obscure the perfections of Jehovah. The opposing theory, which makes *right* a mere *feeling*, might find all the virtue among men in the mere temperament of the race. Though the discovery of the right is ever attended with an impulse in that direction, the connection of that impulse with that intellection places it above the sphere of fitful emotions. The moral intuitions, like the intellectual, stir the mental law to ascend to a moral governor. Thus are we carried irresistibly to the character of our SUPREME AUTHOR.

Our author advances from these *primary intuitions* to what is *indirectly revealed by them.* Scientific knowledge can no more be acquired by intuition than without intuition. Its elements consist in such intuitions, but they must be arranged and generalized to constitute *science.* The utmost confusion ensues by the failure to distinguish between what is known at a glance and what is reached by classification and deduction.

We have adverted to another important distinction on which our author insists, between truth founded on experience and that based on the laws of thought. Thus the result of a thousand experiments is that about one fifth of our atmosphere is of oxygen; but this experimental knowledge may apply to no other globe in the universe. But when we contemplate two parallel straight lines produced a single rod without the possibility of inclosing space, we know the same impossibility would exist were they protruded through boundless space. This suggests the peculiar character of our *necessary beliefs*, as stretching beyond both our notions and cognitions of objects. We can never determine that our ideas must be commensurate with the objects they apprehend; these are extended, those are not. The object may be infinite; the thought grasping it is finite. Let any mind, by reflex action, attempt to fix limits to this object, and its uniform experience will be failure.

The principles, then, on which Dr. M'Cosh has proceeded in this discussion should not escape us. They may be recalled in the few following sentences:

1. They recognize but two sources of our primary knowledge of single objects, namely, that of sense-perception, and that of self-consciousness. In the former the mind operates through the five senses; in the latter in thinking, feeling, and willing.

2. In thought we distinguish the qualities and relations of those concrete objects, as time concreted with an event, space with a body, and cause with an effect.

3. The mind is constructed to analyze and synthetize, by which it reaches the loftiest generalizations of universal and necessary truth.

4. Experimental knowledge, being necessarily partial, can never have the qualities of necessity and universality. Thus the positive poles of magnets mutually repel, but it may not be so on another planet. But in all worlds every quality requires a substance, and all sin is of ill desert.

5. That the mind cannot employ intuitive convictions in science only by the associated exercise of the logical understanding.

Most pleasant should we find it to dismiss our author with these commendations, but paramount regard for truth compels us to advert in a different tone to another portion of his

work. Had his book exhibited throughout the sifting analyses which are striking in most parts of it, the following paragraph would make no part of this review.

Of that most troublesome word CAUSE, he has made the loosest application, though the sharpest definition of it was demanded in so critical a discussion. No other word has more entangled thought. It has been used in the sense of efficient cause, material cause, formal cause, and final cause. Indeed, our author's use of it claims still greater license, as he substituted cause and effect for *substance* and *quality*. When these are interchangeably used or tumbled together the confusion is complete, and a lurking-place is provided for atheism. When efficient cause, that mightiest attribute of mind, is made to invest matter, how is any radical distinction possible between the *made* and the Maker? May not pantheism be right in dispensing with a personal Deity? If causal power belongs to nature, then her operation cannot be a swift witness of her living Author, but a usurper of his throne.

But our author's mistake is not restricted to his terminology. He both verbally and really ascribes power to material substance. (pp. 263–277.) "Every effect," says he, "proceeds from one or more substances having potency." That potency is here used in the sense of efficient cause, it is impossible to doubt, as it is added. "If this world be an effect, we look for its cause in a being possessing power."

The "potency," therefore, ascribed to matter answers to the "power" which invests the Creator. The idea is the very same whenever he substitutes cause and effect for substance and quality.

What can involve more utter confusion than thus to confound the inert mass with the spirit-mind? "the clod with omnipotence." There is doubtless a viewless agency at work in nature, operating by uniform rules. One of its modes is the order according to which mechanical and chemical elements are arranged. Another develops itself in the arrangement of matter in geometrical forms, a third in converting other matter into plants. Another order is observed in changing vegetable substance into animal organs. But what has this manifold process to do with the power which carries it on? Each of these changes is as utterly apart from power in its subject

as is the unorganized clod. These substances which our author dignifies with the name of causes, are just as powerless as their qualities which he calls effects. It is true that all these changes in nature point to power, and, guided by the laws of thought, they irresistibly carry us upward to that ultimate free force which presides over all. To substitute antecedence for efficient cause, would also preclude *final* cause, as each alike involves intelligence.

We cannot conclude our review of this able writer without at least uttering our *protest* against his use of *cause* in another connection; we allude to the control he gives it over the will. (Pp. 308–312.) After enumerating the difficulties involved in the doctrine of the will, he says: "To avoid these I am inclined to admit that antecedent circumstances do act causally on the will; but at the same time I maintain that cause operates in a very different way from that in which it acts in other departments of nature. . . . Consciousness cannot say what intermediate circumstances of an intermediate character have swayed the will." "These causes certainly do not operate as causes do in physical nature, or as causes operate in our intellectual being." Indeed, it is in the *peculiarity* of the operation of these causes that our author finds "the subject cleared from all its difficulties."

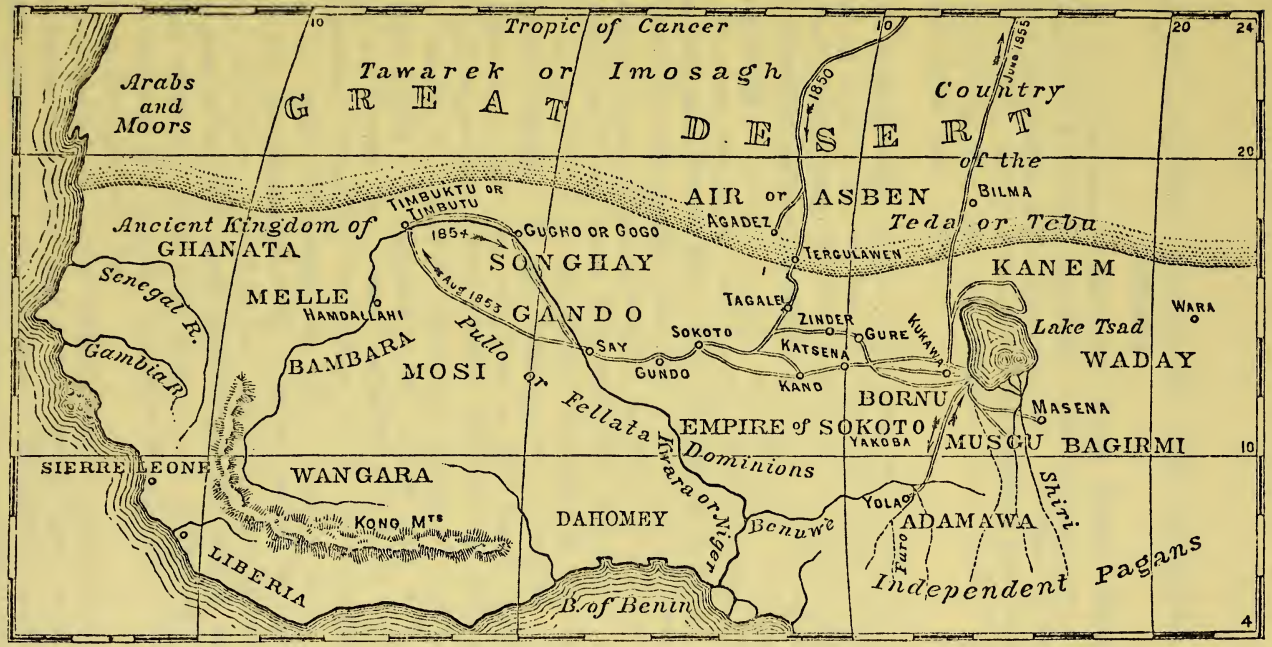
Now this solution seems to us not to clear away difficulties, but to multiply and enhance them. He admits elsewhere that the freedom of the will is distinctly attested by consciousness, with such clearness that no kind or degree of evidence can set aside its testimony; that the knowledge of this fact is a simple intuition, so that it can be drawn from no deeper fact, and can be resolved into no anterior principle; that the will is the only sanctuary in which freedom can ever dwell. But how in the face of these explicit admissions can he expect that the will is under the sway of a foreign cause? He maintains the unlikeness of that cause to any other, and that it operates out of the sphere of consciousness. Do the facts then of its being viewless and secret change its causal character?

It is surely incumbent on the theorist to inform us how its inscrutibility changes its causal nature. We have never before heard that the visibility or invisibility of an efficient cause changed its causal character. As the conflict between outward

cause of volition and the freedom of the will is what our author would reconcile, he cannot divest the cause of its efficiency, and still affirm that it produces volition; he cannot make the cause unlike any other cause in its nature, and yet like all other efficient causes in its operation. This verbal denial of efficiency and argumentative assertion of it, we must leave to be harmonized by our author. Could this concealment of the cause instigate the conflict between its control and the will's freedom, it would avail. But as this remains unaltered, the expedient simply cancels the testimony of consciousness. But in doing this what has our theorist achieved? He has laid deep the foundation of universal scepticism. He has not stopped at charging that faculty with imbecility, but has made it a false witness. That testifies the will itself to be causal. If it be false in this primary conviction, how can it be in anything else trusted?

We must then express with the deepest emphasis our astonishment that this writer, who has with such visionlike clearness vindicated the necessary veracity of our intuitive knowledge, should in this instance betray the cause into the hands of the enemy; that, after he had elsewhere argued with overwhelming evidence that the distrust of consciousness in a single instance would be unbarring the flood-gates of universal scepticism, he should proceed here on the same principle which he had shown to be the grave of all certitude, is indeed amazing.

Guided then by the light of our author's general argument in the former part of his work, we reach a conclusion in direct conflict with his on the will. We prove by his own argument that no efficient cause of volition can lie out of the soul's consciousness, as that consciousness testifies that the soul *alone is causal.*



MAP OF DR. BARTH'S TRAVELS, 1850-1855.

Art. VIII.—BARTH'S NORTHERN AND CENTRAL AFRICA.

Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa. Being a Journal of an Expedition undertaken under the Auspices of H. B. M.'s Government in the Years 1849–55. By Henry Barth, Ph.D., D.C.L., Fellow of the Royal Geographical and Asiatic Societies, etc., etc. In three volumes. 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.

Africa is the paradise of travelers, where, indeed, the tree of life is not found, but the tree of knowledge grows, bearing abundantly its tempting but dangerous fruit. A quarter of the world, second in historical antiquity to only one other, and containing within its limits the cradle of civilization in its three great elements, science, art, and letters, is still, as to most of its ample area, an unknown land; ever inviting the steps of the adventurous by the mystery that vails it, but repelling them by the mighty forces which nature there employs. The Africa of the Greeks and Romans was little more than the narrow belt of the valley of the Nile and the southern shore of the Mediterranean, including Egypt, Carthage, and Numidia. The fountains of the Nile were with them as with us, an unsolved geographical problem, which a more idealistic race than ourselves located in a land of light and beauty, of which the "Happy Valley" of *Rasselas* is but a faint copy, and the kingdom of *Prester John* a coarse caricature; while the "Pillars of Hercules," guarding the passage to the great unknown ocean, into which the evening sun retired from the world, and where was the famous island of Atlantis, marked the farthest goal of adventurous travel in that direction. Southward lay the regions of trackless sands, the inhospitable frontier of the terrible unknown, where were gorgons, and griffins, and pigmies; and over this the rim of the celestial vault rested steadily upon the shoulders of Atlas.

There is also in history a mediæval Africa, quite distinct in its relations from either that of the classical ages or that of modern times. The early followers of Mohammed made the southern coasts of the Mediterranean an important field of

their heroic and zealous propagandism; and a great Saracenic empire was there established and maintained through many centuries, by which the native races were thoroughly established in Islamism, which continues to the present time; and their power and civilization carried beyond the Great Desert, and naturalized in the extensive and fertile regions of Sudan. The history of the Moors is among the most romantic in all the annals of our world, and the Berber race is, both in its history and present *status*, one of the most remarkable facts in the whole range of ethnography. That these people during the times of the califs penetrated far into the interior of the continent, and there established their power, and built cities, and cultivated the arts, and to some extent the sciences, are very well ascertained facts. The efforts made by travelers during the past hundred years in that region has only partially exhumed and brought to light the knowledge possessed by the Moslem Berbers a thousand years ago; and of the whole realm of Islam at this time, probably northern Africa, reckoning from the equator, is the strongest province.

Modern Africa is not simply an enlargement of that of the ancients, but another region. Egypt and the Barbary states are indeed portions of that continent, but they are not usually included in the notion of modern Africa. The discovery and partial exploration of tropical and southern Africa occurred about the same time with the discovery of our own continent, both events being portions of the common results of the impulse given to Europe just previously, which was especially directed to maritime explorations by the discovery of the compass and the revival of trade. While Spain, led by the genius of Columbus, directed her efforts to the New World, whither she was followed by England and France, Portugal, then a first-class maritime power, was pushing her discoveries along the western coast of Africa, till, after passing the "Cape of Storms," her voyagers passed up the eastern coast to the Red Sea, and opened the passage to India. This preoccupation of the African coast by Portugal has no doubt largely affected the subsequent history of that continent, for in the cupidity and the non-progressive character of that nation have most of the evils which specially afflict Africa originated. By the rise and extension of the foreign slave-trade, in promoting which Portugal was

first, as she has been most persistent, legitimate commerce has been kept in abeyance, and the development of the abundant resources of the country hindered; and instead of the higher civilization which should have resulted from the incoming of Europeans and their wares, a lower and more degraded barbarism has been induced. That trade has produced its bitterest fruits, not upon its immediate victims, but at home, both in the murderous wars which it has instigated, and by grafting the worst vices of civilized countries upon the stock of the native barbarism. Africa, because it was given up to the slave-trade, remained unexplored, except upon the seaboard, until within a comparatively recent period.

The interior of that continent began to excite public attention, especially in Great Britain, during the latter part of the last century. An association for the prosecution of explorations was formed in London in 1788, which seven years later sent out Mungo Park, who entered by the way of Senegambia into the kingdom of Sudan, in the valley of the Kwara, or Niger, where on a second visit, ten years later, he lost his life. Burckhardt penetrated into the same region in 1813, and after him Ritchie and Lyon in 1818. In 1822 was undertaken the famous expedition of Clapperton and Denham, which crossed the Desert from Tripoli, and explored the region to the eastward of that passed over by Park and those who followed him, discovering Lake Tsad, and traversing parts of the great interior kingdom of Bornu. In 1825 Major Laing visited and verified the existence of Timbuktu, and was followed thither in 1828 by M. Caillié. Two years later the brothers Lander, one of whom had accompanied Denham and Clapperton's expedition, traversed the course of the Kwara from the point where Park lost his life to the Gulf of Guinea, thus solving a hitherto insoluble mystery, and revealing a mass of highly valuable geographical knowledge. By these various expeditions, extending over nearly forty years, that portion of Africa lying between the Great Desert and the Gulf of Guinea was so far explored that its chief physical features were understood, though most of its interesting and practically useful details were still to be learned. Nor till the publication of the great work of Dr. Barth, named at the head of this paper, could it be said that we possessed any satisfactory account of this truly wonderful region.

We commenced the preparation of this paper with the design of presenting a *résumé* of all the principal works on African travels made during the last ten years, but have found this single work so full of valuable matter that we have filled our allotted space with discussions of this only. In another paper we hope to present the chief points of interest in the great works of Livingstone, Burton, and Du Chaillu.

In 1845 Mr. Richardson, under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society and of the British Government, undertook an expedition over the route formerly taken by Denham and Clapperton, of which he published an account a few years after. Two years later another expedition was projected for him, (which, however, did not fully set out till 1849,) in which he was accompanied by two German scholars, Messrs. Barth and Overweg, the former of whom alone survived the perils of the journey, and was permitted to report its results.

Dr. Barth (so we choose to style him, as the term is easy, and doubly his) possessed many valuable qualifications for the work undertaken by him. He was a ripe scholar, especially in the two important departments of philology and natural history, and an enthusiastic traveler. By former journeys about the shores of the Mediterranean, both in Asia and Africa, he had become familiar with the customs of the Arabs, and especially those of the Barbary States. The preliminaries being all completed, and the parties assembled, the final departure for the interior took place near the end of March, 1850. The route lay directly south from Tripoli, through the Hammada desert to Murzuk, in Fezzan. Thence deflecting westward, the travelers passed by Ghat to the country of the Tuwarek—the Bedouins of Sahara—and then turning again to the south, they after six months' journeying reached Agades, in the country of Aïr, or Asben, near the southern border of the Great Desert. We pass rapidly over this party of the story, which occupies full half of the first volume, not on account of any lack of interest in it, but because it is not so directly connected with our precise subject as are other portions of these volumes.

Aïr, or Asben, lies beyond the desert directly southward from Tripoli, forming a kind of midway region between the wastes of Sahara and the fertile country of Sudan. Its people, the Kel-owi, are Berbers, with laws and institutions settled by pre-

scription, and a history which reaches back to their heroical and mythical times. They hold the faith of Islam—steadily but not fanatically—and seem to have long enjoyed a moderate share of civilization. As compared with the Bedouins, whom they resemble in many things, they are altogether a more elevated race. Agades, the capital of Aïr, lies somewhat to the westward of the route taken by the expedition; but Dr. Barth and a portion of the attendants turned aside thither to pay their respects to the Sultan, and so secure his good-will.

At length (Friday, Oct. 4) the day arrived when I was to set out on my long-wished-for excursion to Agades; for although at that time I was not aware of the whole extent of interest attaching to that place, it had, nevertheless, been to me a point of the strongest attraction. For what can be more interesting than a considerable town, said to have been once as large as Tunis, situated in the midst of lawless tribes, on the borders of the desert, and of the fertile tracts of an almost unknown continent, established there from ancient times, and protected as a place of rendezvous and commerce between nations of the most different character, and having the most various wants. It is by mere accident that this town has not attracted as much interest in Europe as her sister town, Timbuktu.—Vol. i, p. 299.

A six days' journey, made with a small caravan of native traders, brought him to the royal city, and the next day he was presented to the "Sultan," Abd-el-Kader, who had but lately been called to that dignity by something akin to a popular election, and was just then to be formally installed. The city presented rather a neat appearance, and though greatly declined from its former magnificence, it was still a considerable place. Three hundred years ago its circuit was more than three miles, and its population 50,000; but now it was estimated to contain no more than 7,000.

The expedition after he had rejoined it proceeded over the semi-desert table-land of the Kel-owi toward Kano, the capital of a chief province of the great empire of Bornu. Before reaching that place the three Europeans separated—Mr. Richardson turning eastward toward Zinder, and Mr. Overweg, soon after, to the westward, to Tasawa, intending also to visit Gober and Maradi. They were now upon the neutral territory between the Berbers of Aïr and the semi-pagan, negroid races of Bornu, where, in the absence of all authority, violence and rapine are unchecked, except by the power of self-defense. They,

however, passed over it unmolested. This too is the transition region between the elevated plateau of the desert and the fertile negro kingdom. Though within the tropics, on the morning of the 20th of January, 1850, the thermometer stood at 48°, and even to Europeans the cold was most uncomfortable; yet in the course of the day palm-trees were seen, and soon after other clear indications that they had reached a warmer climate as well as a more fertile soil were met with. On that day a salt caravan from Bilma, the country eastward of Aïr, was met, guarded by a strong military escort to protect it from robbers; and to this our travelers united their little caravan, proceeding first to Kàtsena, and afterward to Kano. Respecting this salt trade, which is the principal traffic in all the country to the north and west of Tsad, we have the following statistics:

"An approximate estimate of the entire number of the salt caravans, as affording the means of accurately determining the amount of a great national commerce carried on between widely separated countries, had much occupied my attention; and having in vain on the road tried to arrive at such an estimate, I did all I could to-day to obtain a list of the different divisions comprising it. . . . We may, therefore, be not far from the truth if we estimate the whole number of the salt caravans of the Kel-owi of this year at two thousand five hundred camels. To this must be added the salt which had gone to Zinder, and which I estimate at one thousand camel loads, and that which had been left at Tasawa for the supply of the markets of the country as far as Gober, which I estimate at from two hundred to three hundred camel loads. But it must be borne in mind that the country of Asben had been for some time in a more than ordinarily turbulent state, and that consequently the caravan was at this juncture probably less numerous than it would be in quiet times."—Vol. i, pp. 452, 453.

Kàtsena was formerly the capital of the Hausa, the extensive country lying between Bornu *proper*, on the east, (*Bornu* is sometimes used as the name of this whole region,) and the Songhay, whose capital is Timbuktu on the west. The Hausa people constitute one of the best defined nationalities in all this part of Africa, with a history extending over three or four centuries, and a more advanced civilization than any other in all Negroland. But being less warlike than some of their neighbors they have suffered severe spoliations, and are less powerful now than formerly. Their agriculture is respectable, and owing to the wonderful fertility of the soil, abundantly

productive; and their skill in the mechanic arts and the extent of their manufactures are far from contemptible. At present Kàtsena, with its surrounding territorial province, is a dependency of Kano, and this has caused the town to decline from its former magnificence. The population of the whole province was estimated at three hundred thousand, of whom, on account of the disturbed state of affairs, not more than half paid tribute to Kanò. "Altogether," says Dr. Barth, "the province of Kàtsena is one of the finest parts of Negroland, and being situated just at the water-parting between the basin of the Tsad and that of the Kwara, at a general elevation of from one thousand two hundred to one thousand five hundred feet, it enjoys the advantage of being at once well watered and well drained, the chains of hills which diversify its surface sending down numerous rapid streams, so that it is less insalubrious than other regions of this continent."

The journey thence to Kanò was made during the last days of January and first of February, 1851. The aspect of things as they appeared on the morning of the last day of January is felicitously set forth in the following paragraph, which we insert both for its beauty and real value:

"It was a most beautiful morning, and I indulged in the feeling of unbounded liberty, and in the tranquil enjoyment of the beautiful aspect of God's creation. The country through which we passed on leaving Shibdàwa formed one of the finest landscapes I ever saw in my life. The ground was pleasantly undulating, covered with a profusion of herbage not yet entirely dried up by the sun's power; the trees, belonging to a great variety of species, were not thrown together in an impenetrable thicket of the forest, but formed into beautiful groups, exhibiting all the advantages of light and shade. There was the kaña, with its rich, dark-tinged foliage; the kadeña, or butter-tree, which I here saw for the first time, exhibiting the freshest and most beautiful green; then the markè, more airy, and sending out its branches in more irregular shape, with light groups of foliage; young tamarind-trees rounding off their thick crown of foliage till it resembled an artificial canopy spread out for the traveler to repose in its shade, besides the gàmji, the shèria, the sokutso, the turawa, and many other species of trees unknown to me; while, above them all, tall and slender górebas unfolded their fan-crowns, just as if to protect the eye of the delighted wanderer from the rays of the morning sun, and to allow him to gaze undisturbed on the enchanting scenery around. Near the village Kashi even the gonda tree, (*carica papaya*,) which is so rarely seen in this quarter, enlivened the

scenery. The densely luxuriant groves seemed to be the abode only of the feathered tribe, birds of numberless variety playing and warbling about in the full enjoyment of their liberty; while the 'serdi,' a large bird, with beautiful plumage of a light blue color, especially attracted my attention. Now and then a herd of cattle was seen dispersed over the rich pasture-grounds, all of white color, and the bulls provided with a large fat hump, or 'tozo,' hanging down on one side. But in this delightful spectacle objects of destruction also were not wanting, the poisonous plant 'tumnia' starting forth everywhere."—Vol. i, p. 482.

Of the state of affairs two days later he thus writes:

"Early the next morning we started with an enthusiastic impulse, in order to reach before night the celebrated emporium of Central Negroland. Kanò, indeed, is a name which excites enthusiasm in every traveler in these regions, from whatever quarter he may come, but principally if he arrives from the north. We thus started in the twilight, passing in the bush some herds of cattle remaining out in the pasture-grounds, and meeting several troops of travelers, which made us fancy the capital to be nearer than it really was. We listened to the tales of our comely and cheerful companion, the "babà-n-bàwa," of Tàgelel, who detailed to us the wonders of this African London, Birmingham, and Manchester—the vastness of the town, the palace and retinue of the governor, the immense multitudes assembled every day in its market-place, the splendor and richness of the merchandise exposed there for sale, the various delicacies of the table, the beauty and gracefulness of the ladies. At times my fiery Tunisian mulatto shouted out from mere anticipation of the pleasures which awaited him." —Vol. i, pp. 485, 486.

In following the traveler through such a country the reader is constantly tempted to wish it was not necessary to have anything to do with the people, so vexatious are all dealings with them, and especially so entirely capable of dispelling the pleasant frames of mind begotten by communings with nature. Notwithstanding their barbaric civilization, the people of this region are still only barbarians, and of course the social image presented contrasts most painfully with the beauties and bounties of nature. Kanò, however, did not belie the praises that had been lavished upon it, either as to its extent and population, or the amount of its trade and manufactures. The permanent population was estimated at thirty-five thousand to forty thousand souls, and that of the province at half a million. The people manufacture silk, cotton, and leather goods from the raw materials, both for home consumption and for expor-

tation. They also deal largely in slaves, but rather as buyers than sellers; for though they are extensive slaveholders, they are not slave-breeders, and marriage of slaves is not encouraged. They are acquainted with the use of the metals, but they have but little of any kind; and though gold is in some sense the standard of value, yet they use shells, "kurdi,"—cowries—as their circulating medium. Islamism is their prevailing form of faith, though many remains of paganism are still obvious; and it would seem that with the Kanawa (people of Kanò) the characteristic fanaticism of Mussulmans has died out, and given place to a kind of liberal indifference.

After a week's stay at Kanò Dr. Barth set out for Kukawa, the capital of Bornu proper, lying nearly due east, at a distance of more than three hundred miles, not far from the western border of Lake Tsad, where the members of the expedition were appointed to rendezvous. His journey, which covered just a month, was a quiet and almost solitary ramble through an open and peaceful frontier, and among a simple rural population, who uniformly treated him with kindness and hospitality. Before reaching his destination he heard of the death of Mr. Richardson, who had fallen a victim to disease only a short time before, while on his route to Kukawa. The account of Dr. Barth's entrance into this chief capital of Negroland, and his reception by the sheik, or governor, together with his efforts to properly care for Mr. Richardson's property, which had been sent on to the capital, and was now faithfully delivered to his successor, make up the closing chapter of the first volume.

Established in the center of the great African empire of Bornu, our traveler pauses in his narrative to favor his readers with a condensed account of the people and the history of that renowned country, all of which we must pass over. A visit to the border of the lake proved it to be, as he had supposed, simply a valley in the great plain, overgrown with reeds, and cut up with creeks and lagunes. Further examination fully satisfied him that the lake is made by the surplus water of the immense basin that surrounds it, and that it has no effluent. Meantime Mr. Overweg had arrived, and preparations were made for a journey to Adamàwa, which lies far to the south, on the borders of the great unexplored pagan kingdoms, beyond the eastern branch of the Kwara. Besides the general pur-

poses of exploration, it was a special object of interest to determine the disputed question of the rise of that river, the Bénu-wé, which has been supposed to be an effluent of the Tsad, and is so laid down upon some maps, but as to the truth of which Dr. Barth was decidedly skeptical. As they advanced southward the negro-pagan elements became more marked, and the Arab-moslem steadily diminished. This is indeed the real frontier between these two forms of civilization, (if that term may apply to African barbarism,) which divide between them the whole of Africa, and here at least Islamism is still winning its way by the sword.

After many day's journey across the level country of the great valley, the travelers came into a more elevated region, with scattered mountain peaks and ranges, and at length, at about the ninth parallel of north latitude, the sought-for river was discovered, just where the main current, flowing from the east, receives a considerable affluent from the south. The writer remarks:

"The principal river, the Bénu-wé, flowed here from east to west in a broad and majestic course, through an entirely open country, from which only here and there detached mountains started forth. The banks on one side rose twenty-five, and in some places thirty feet, while just opposite to my station, behind a pointed headland of sand, the Fáro rushed forth, appearing from this point not much inferior to the principal river, and coming in a fine sweep from the south-east, where it disappeared in the plain, but was traced by me in thought upward to the steep eastern foot of the Alantika. The river below the junction, keeping the direction of the principal branch, but making a slight bend to the north, ran along the northern foot of Mount Bagele, and was there lost to the eye, but was followed in thought through the mountainous region of the Báchama and Zina, to Hummaruwa, and thence along the industrious country Koróro fa, till it joined the great western river, the Kwara, or Niger, and, conjointly with it, ran toward the great ocean."—Vol. ii, pp. 166, 167.

That he was correct in supposing this river to be no other than the eastern branch of the Kwara, or Niger, which was explored in its lower portion by one of the Niger expeditions, will hardly admit of a doubt; and as at this point it was considerably higher than the level of the lake, the notion that it flows out of it is forever exploded. The rivers Serbenel and Schiri, both considerable affluents of the Tsad, rise in the same elevated region from which the Bénu-wé seems to proceed,

proving most incontestably that the last-named river can have no connection with the lake.

The country of Adamawa is a recent conquest made by the Fulbe—the people of Sokoto, of whom we will speak in another place—and was then governed by the "Sultan," Mohammed Lawl, or Lowel, who, like all his nation, was a somewhat fanatical Mussulman, quite unlike those of Bornu. Yola, the capital, is situated on the south side of the Bénu-wé, and is described as a "large open place, consisting, with few exceptions, of conical huts, surrounded with spacious court-yards, and even by corn-fields." The arrival was on Friday, the Moslem Sabbath, and by ill luck the usual salute announcing their arrival was given just as the governor was proceeding to the mosque to say his mid-day prayer. He soon returned, however, and received his guest respectfully; but the formal audience two days later did not result auspiciously. The traveler had come with a letter of commendation from the governor of Kukawa, whose seeming interference with the affairs of Adamawa, which owed allegiance to Sokoto, was not well received, especially as it was suspected that he entertained some pretensions to the sovereignty of that country. Thus innocently entangled in the diplomacy of these hostile chiefs, he found it impossible to proceed further, and so was compelled to return to Kukawa.

After the return to the capital of Bornu, and a month's delay, an excursion along the north side of the lake into the country of the Kanem was next undertaken. Here they found fields of cotton, millet, and wheat, while the lake afforded a plentiful variety of fish. Like the western side, this shore of the lake was fringed by a broad belt of reedy marshes; and the country, though highly fertile, was wild and uncultivated, on account of the incursions of bands of freebooters. A striking evidence of this wildness was met with in the shape of a herd of ninety-six wild elephants, moving in a phalanx across the country—going to drink and bathe in the lagunes. At length a portion of the robber horde of Wilàd Slimàn was fallen in with; and having propitiated the sheik with a present, the travelers proceeded with the band, among whom they were safe so long as the victory was with the robbers. The occurrence was valuable as affording an insight into the modes of life of these marauders, who have desolated the whole district

of Kanem. The picture of robber-life presented in the story of this excursion is anything but inviting, and the travelers were evidently not displeased at their forced return, without accomplishing all they had hoped for when they set out.

Having thus had some experience of genuine robber-life, Dr. Barth soon afterward had an opportunity to observe another phase of African affairs. Returning to the capital he found that the sheik had gone out with his entire disposable military force toward the south of the lake, ostensibly to chastise the vassal sheik of Màndarà into obedience, but really on a slave hunt. Horribly detestable as was the purpose of this expedition, it afforded a highly valuable opportunity not only to examine the country, but also and especially to witness, and so to determine the true character of a kind of expedition of the horrors of which we have often heard, but only from remote and uncertain authorities.

Our space will not allow us to follow this expedition, nor to describe its warlike appointments and terrible devastations. The reality of slave-hunting, as witnessed by European eyes, did not, indeed, fall short in its horrors of the most highly-wrought images presented by impassioned orators. The invading army swept over the country of the defenseless Musgu people, burning their towns, destroying their plantations, and remorselessly murdering the native men wherever found. The result of the expedition was, however, not very encouraging to those who made it. An army of twenty thousand men, the flower of Bornu, returned from a campaign of several hundred miles with a booty of ten thousand cattle and about three thousand slaves, many of them decrepid old women, of no value to their captors, while the whole number of grown-up men taken did not exceed three hundred. But the ruin and desolation caused among the quiet and unoffending natives presented a much more formidable array of results. Dr. Barth frequently remonstrated with the sheik and his vizier against this horrid trade of butchery, and they readily assented to his objections, but pleaded their necessity, since it was only in exchange for slaves that they could obtain firearms. It is the foreign slave-trade that gives life to the African slave hunts.

An important geographical question engaged Dr. Barth's attention during this excursion. The region of country

into which he came formed the natural water-shed between the streams which flow into the Tsad, and those which unite to form the Bénu-wé. The country was found to be flat, and much of it inundated; the streams were deep and sluggish, rendering at least plausible the conjecture that during the wet season the passage may be made in boats of several feet draft from the Bénu-wé to the affluents of the Tsad, and so a water communication established between the ocean and that great inland water—the center of the garden of the world. To all who contemplate the redemption of Africa this question is one of great interest. "Indeed, I am persuaded," writes Dr. Barth, "that in less than fifty years European boats will keep up a regular annual intercourse between the great basin of the Tsad and the Bay of Biyáfra."

Dr. Barth's account of his next adventure reads a good deal more like some old romance than the simple record of facts occurring in our own times, and of which a thoroughly practical Teuton was at once the chief actor and the chronicler. The country of the Bargimi lies to the southeastward of Lake Tsad, and was reputed to be among the most opulent of all in the whole valley. To visit it was, therefore, a cherished purpose of our traveler. His supplies were, indeed, too far reduced to enable him to fit out a respectable caravan, but his past successes and present buoyant spirits made him hopeful even to presumption. Accordingly, with only two attendants, inconsiderable young men, and strangers to the country, and with a very meager array of servants and animals, he set forth upon the adventure. The acknowledged dominions of Bornu extended more than half the distance, and so far all was easily managed. Next came the province of Logon, which, though pretending to independence, was in some degree a dependency of Bornu, through which he passed without molestation, making all desirable observations by the way. He now approached the borders of Bagirmi with high hopes of success, and with desires stimulated by the consideration that he was about to enter a country into which no European had ever penetrated. Coming to a broad river—the Shiri—which divides the two provinces, he was delighted to find it a clear and beautiful sheet of water, rather a bay than a river; but when he attempted to cross over he was forbidden from the further side. It turned

out that the Sultan of Bagirmi, who was then gone on a war-expedition against some of the pagan tribes beyond him, had, before quitting his capital, heard of the approach of the stranger, who had also been represented to be a highly dangerous person, and therefore strict orders had been given that the white man should not be allowed to enter the country. Not to be so easily foiled, Dr. Barth resolved to try the perilous expedient of entering the country by stealth; so, returning a little way upon his track, to give the impression that he had abandoned his design, he next turned back toward the river, and approached it and passed over further to the north. Hairbrained as this movement seems, it succeeded so far that he penetrated unquestioned, though probably not unwatched, several days' journey into the country, when he was arrested, but allowed to remain quietly at a neighboring hamlet, and a supply of provisions granted him. With admirable "pluck," he warmly resented that kind of treatment, and wearied the lieutenant with messages, demanding leave to proceed to the capital, to which was at length added the alternative to depart from the country. But as neither was granted, but instead he was exhorted to quietly await the return of the Sultan, his patience, not to say his prudence, failed him, and he set off to return, as he came, on his own responsibility. As might have been anticipated, he was again arrested after a few days, and this time he was laid in irons. He submitted to his fate bravely, and with a proper display of indignation; and after four days he was freed from his shackles and most of his goods restored to him. Evidently the lieutenant governor was not a little perplexed by the unaccountable conduct of his strange visitor, and feared either to permit him to come to the capital or to depart from the country till such time as the Sultan should return. But after all dilatory measures had been exhausted, an order came that he should at once proceed to Masina, the capital, which lay two days' journey to the southeast. The day after his arrival he was favored with an interview with the lieutenant governor.

"I therefore went in the afternoon with Bü-Bakr to see him, and found rather an affable man, a little beyond middle age, simply dressed in a dark blue tobe, which had lost a good deal of its former luster. Having saluted him, I explained to him how improper treatment and want of sufficient food had induced me to retrace my steps, after having convinced myself that I was not

welcome in the country; for I assured him that it was our utmost desire to be friends with all the princes of the earth, and to make them acquainted with us, and that, although I had known that the ruler of the country himself was absent, I had not hesitated in paying them a visit, as I had been given to understand that it would be possible to join him in the expedition. He excused his countrymen on the ground that they, not being acquainted with our character, had treated me as they would have done a person belonging to their own tribe who had transgressed the rules of the country. He then restored me my pistol before all the people, and desired me to wait patiently the arrival of the Sultan."—Vol. ii, pp. 504, 505.

Strange to say, in this remote African town Dr. Barth found good companionship in the society of a number of learned men, who soon called on him, most of them extensive travelers. Prominent among these was Faki Sambo, a highly learned and agreeable Fulbe or Pullo, who had traveled over nearly the whole Mohammedan world, and was thoroughly versed in the literature of Islam. The society of this man, whose culture equalled his learning, rendered much less irksome his forced delay, awaiting the return of Abd-el-Kader, the Sultan. The lieutenant governor, though diplomatically polite, was distant, and evidently suspicious; and the people generally believed him a magician and rain-maker, and were not a little troubled on account of his presence among them. At length, after two long and vexatious months, the Sultan returned to his capital, after an absence of half a year. The account of this barbaric procession illustrates the character and condition of the nation:

"It was about nine o'clock in the morning when the army approached the south side of the town, displaying a great deal of gorgeous pomp and barbaric magnificence, although it was not very numerous, being reduced to the mere number of the inhabitants of the capital, the remainder having already dispersed in all directions, and returned to their respective homes. . . . At the head of the troop, as having supplied the place of his master during his absence, in his character of lieutenant governor, rode the Kadàmange, surrounded by a troop of horsemen. Then followed the 'barma,' behind whom was carried a long spear of peculiar make, which in the history of this country forms a very conspicuous object. . . . The Sultan himself wore a yellow burnús, and was mounted on a gray charger. . . . Six slaves, their right arm clad in iron, were fanning him with ostrich feathers attached to long poles, and round about him rode five chieftains, while on his right were to be seen the ghelètma, and other principal men of the country. This whole group around the prince formed such a

motley array that it was impossible to distinguish all the particular features with accuracy. . . . However grotesque the appearance of the royal cavalcade, that part of the procession which followed was more characteristic of the barbaric magnificence and whole manner of living of these African courts. It consisted of a long uniform train of forty-five female slaves or concubines, 'habbàbat,' of the Sultan, mounted on horseback, and dressed from top to toe in black native cloth, each having a slave on either side. The procession terminated in a train of eleven camels carrying the luggage."—Vol. ii, pp. 526, 527.

The tide of fortune was now turned in favor of the adventurous stranger, though his troubles were not yet ended. Very soon after the return of the Sultan of Bagirmi, messengers arrived from Kukawa bringing news from Mr. Overweg, and letters and dispatches from Europe. By the same messengers the great sheik of Bornu had sent a message to the Bagirmi chief, asking of that dignitary that Dr. Barth might return without delay. The Sultan was scarcely less perplexed with his strange guest than his lieutenant had been, and a number of odd expedients were resorted to in order to ascertain whether or not he was the dangerous character that he was by some declared to be; but the boldness and frankness of the traveler availed him in every emergency. A few days later (July 8, 1852) the presentation to the Sultan took place, though his sable majesty only allowed himself to be talked with but not seen. Dr. Barth presented to him the compliments of her Britanic Majesty, and informed him of her desire to form friendly relations with the princes of Negroland, and to establish trade with them, but not in slaves, to which trade her government was much opposed. He further declared that his country was on the best of terms with the Sultan of Stamboul, by which designation they speak of the grand Turk, and to whom they look as to the most potent of monarchs. The address was graciously received, and diplomatic relations established between the high contracting parties. In a second interview he earnestly urged his wish to return to Bornu, on account of the business that now demanded his presence; but African princes have no conceptions of haste, and the impatient stranger was still doomed to vexatious delays, and a whole month passed before he finally departed.

The dispatches received from the British government, which

had arrived at Kukawa during Dr. Barth's absence, were of the most satisfactory character. Lord Palmerston expressed the liveliest interest in their proceedings, and the warmest gratification in what had so far been accomplished, and also suggested that, if found practicable, they should explore the country to the westward as far as Timbuktu, which suggestion only seconded Dr. Barth's most cherished design. Funds had also been sent more freely than before, and altogether the circumstances of the mission were greatly improved; the only considerable drawback was the ill-health of Mr. Overweg, who had returned from a tour to the southwest of Bornu, greatly indisposed, from which a respite of several months had not restored him. Business with the sheik of Bornu, in forming and ratifying a treaty between that dignitary and the British government, occupied their first attention, together with the adjustment of the pecuniary affairs of the mission, which had fallen sadly in arrears, all of which was at length happily concluded. But now the shadow of death came over them, when all other things assumed so hopeful an aspect. Mr. Overweg's health still continued unfavorable, and his bad symptoms were much aggravated by a cold taken by getting thoroughly wetted while hunting along the lake. A low fever ensued, to which he soon completely succumbed. He died on the 29th of August, 1852, and was buried by his now desolate companion in the land in which he was a stranger. With the relation of this sad event Dr. Barth concludes his second volume.

The decease of Mr. Overweg devolved the whole of the duties of the mission upon its sole surviving member at a time when new fields for enterprise were opened, and increased facilities given to it. Dr. Barth therefore remained at Kukawa for more than three months, attending to the details of the business now devolved upon him, and making his arrangements for his journey to the west, with the accomplishment of which he had been specially charged by his instructions from the British government. At length, with a moderately respectable traveler's caravan, he left Kukawa on the 25th of November. The most remarkable fact recorded respecting this part of his route was the almost unexampled coldness of the season—the thermometer sinking to nearly forty degrees for several successive mornings—though on the same days the midday heat was

quite oppressive. His route lay up the slope of the country, which here from the water-shed about Katsena inclines gently eastward toward Lake Tsad, into which it is drained by the great "Komàdugu," the Yroo, or Yô river of the geographers. As is usually the case at water-partings, this elevated region is very poorly drained, and the whole country abounds in lakes, some of fresh water, and others, sometimes very near them, saturated with natron. This is truly a frontier region, as well socially and politically as in the conformation of surface, and its mixed population is made up in pretty equal proportions of the Kanuri of the east, the Tuwarek of the north, and the Fulbe or Fallata of the west. On Christmas day he reached Zinder, a sort of capital of the frontier of Bornu, where he remained more than a month, awaiting the arrival of supplies from the north, and perfecting his arrangements for his journey, and about the first of February (1853) he proceeded to Katsena.

On leaving this place he came fully into the country of the Fulbe, Fallata, or Pullo, (as they are variously styled,) which lies on both sides of the great river—the Niger of Europeans—from above Timbuktu, on the borders of the desert, to as far south as Yoruba. Respecting the origin, history, and character of this most powerful of the races of Sudan, he inserts a learned and valuable disquisition, which our limits forbid us to notice. First came the territory of the ancient and once powerful kingdom of Sokoto, whose sultan or sheik he met near the frontier, called thither on a military expedition, and received from him a kind of passport, which, however, the disturbed state of the country rendered less valuable than otherwise it might have been. This country is rich in natural resources, and though but poorly cultivated, it produces abundantly the various productions of the climate, especially cotton and rice. After a rather tedious detention at Wurno, the modern capital—for Sokoto is no longer the seat of power—awaiting the return of the sultan from his only moderately successful campaign, he at length moved forward to Gando, the chief town of a powerful Pullo chief, whose dominions extended several hundred miles over the route he wished to traverse, and whose friendship it was therefore important that he should secure. This man was a religious recluse, and therefore not favorably inclined toward

his Christian visitor, but he was as fond of "presents," such as travelers always bring to African princes, as are all others of his class. Accordingly, after he had endured infinite vexation, and submitted to the most shameful exactions, the traveler was dismissed with a "letter of franchise," which he had no cause to value very highly, as the rebels held the country up to the very gates of the capital. Of the country generally the author remarks:

> The kingdom or empire of Gando, according to its title, comprises a number of wealthy provinces, all lying along the great West-African river which opens such an easy access into this continent, or its branches; although nobody who stays in the capital for any length of time would suppose that it holds such a prominent rank. . . . They are the western half of Kebbi, Maûra or Arewa, Zaberma, Dendina, a great part of Gurma, with a small portion of Borgu or Barba, a large portion of Yoruba, with the capital Alori or Ilorin, and on the east side of the river, the provinces of Yaura and Nupe or Nyffi. But at that time most of these provinces were plunged into an abyss of anarchy which could not fail to impart to the capital a more somber aspect than it may possess in general.—Vol. iii, pp. 147, 148.

Leaving Gando, his route lay to the north of west, through a lowland region extensively cultivated for rice, for, unlike the Kanuri, whose county about the great lake is so well adapted to its cultivation and yet they have no rice, the Fulbe through all the river region are great rice-growers. A sixteen days' journey through a land everywhere proclaiming the bounty of heaven, alongside of the evidence of man's depravity, brought him to the object of his longing pursuit, the great river of Western Africa, here called the Isa, at the town of Say, or the "Ford," this being a noted passage of the river.

> A noble unbroken stream, though here, where it has become contracted, only about 700 yards broad, hemmed in on this side by a rocky bank of from twenty to thirty feet elevation, the great river of Western Africa (whose name under whatever form it may appear; whether Dhiúlibá, Máyo, Eghirrëu, Isa, Kwára, or Báki-n-rúwa, means nothing but "the river," and which, therefore, may well continue to be called the Niger) was gliding along in a N.N.E. and S.S.W. direction with a moderate current of about three miles an hour. On the flatter shore opposite a large town was spreading out, the low rampart of huts of which were picturesquely overtopped by numbers of slender dum-palms.—Vol. iii, pp. 171, 172.

Having passed over to the right bank of the river, whose course from Timbuktu to Say, forms a large arc of a circle, bearing east at the former and nearly south at the latter, (here for a little way, southwest,) he attempted to make the overland journey in a direct line, leaving the river to his right hand. Above Gando is the province of Gurma, whose people had lately suffered greatly from the incursions of the Fulbe, as formerly they did from the Songhay; but this being still within the dominions of Gando, the passport of the Sultan secured him a safe passage. Further on, he came among a still more fanatical race of Fulbe; and being assured by his fellow-traveler, El Walàti, who had joined him near Gando, that no Christian would be allowed to pass through the country, he adopted the desperate and questionable policy of feigning himself an Arab, when his companion became a kind of protector, who, having the poor pretended Moslem completely in his power, he did not fail to make him pay well for it.

Before reaching that town he had taken the precaution to send a messenger forward to inform the sheik of Timbuktu, Ahmed El Bakay, of his coming, and to place himself under that dignitary's protection. But the sheik being out of town, the message was delivered to his brother, Sidi Alawáte, (he was also let into the secret of his being a Christian,) who immediately went forth to bring the stranger into the city.

At last, after suffering untold hardships, and making innumerable hairbreadth escapes, and being thoroughly despoiled by his evil genius, the Arab, El Walàti, on the 7th of September, 1853, he entered the ancient and renowned city of Timbuktu.

The author's learned and deeply interesting discussions respecting the history and ethnology of Timbuktu, and the empire of Songhay, we are compelled to pass by unnoticed; but should any reader of this paper desire to pursue a subject so full of curious interest, we can confidently commend to him these valuable volumes. Our limits will permit us to trace the personal narrative of our traveler during his residence at this ancient capital of Sudan, and till setting out for Europe, only in the most cursory manner. The sheik Ahmed El Bakay, returned after a few days, and very soon took his strange guest into his full confidence, with whom he dealt with uniform

frankness and generosity throughout the whole of his protracted stay, and often among circumstances which fully tested the sincerity and unselfishness of his friendship. Timbuktu, though properly a Songhay town, is subject to the Fulbe, and its sheik was under the authority of the chief of Hamda-Alláhi, a Pullo residing further up the river, who was fanatically hostile toward "infidels." A course of intrigues against the unfortunate traveler, ostensibly on account of his religion, but often from political causes, and oftener still from more sordid motives, was at once inaugurated, and continued during his residence there. But the sheik was true in his friendship, and though often nearly powerless, and himself in danger, yet he succeeded in enabling his guest to escape from the hands of his enemies, but not without passing through a variety of chances which seemed to render his final safety little less than miraculous. The whole story of these eventful eight months, related with proper embellishments, would form a first-rate romance, and prove once more the correctness of the maxim that truth is stranger than fiction. Dr. Barth gives it, however, with all possible coolness, and apparently without the faintest suspicion that it was anything wonderful. At last, about the middle of May, 1854, accompanied by his ever-faithful protector, the sheik El Bakay, he effected a final departure. Just previously he had received a package, bringing dispatches and news from England, which now, after some strange vicissitudes, reached him in this remote place. His route lay along the left bank of the river, which, from Timbuktu to Gogo, a distance of about two hundred miles, describes an arc whose chord lies nearly east and west. Through most of this distance its bed is rocky, and the stream is often compressed between high banks. At one point it is narrowed to only a hundred and fifty yards, and again it spreads out to a great breadth, with swampy margins. The people, though often suspicious on account of the disturbed state of the country, were generally inclined to be friendly, and to accede to the peaceful advances of the sheik. On the 20th of June they reached Gogo, the ancient political capital of Western Negroland, (as Timbuktu was its commercial emporium,) but now only a hamlet of some three hundred huts.

Cheered at having reached this spot, I passed a tranquil night, and rising early in the morning, lay down outside my tent, quietly

enjoying the prospect over this once busy locality, which, according to the unanimous statements of former writers, was the most splendid city of Negroland, though it is now the desolate abode of a small and miserable population. Just opposite to my tent, toward the south, lay the ruined massive tower, the last remains of the principal mosque of the capital, the sepulcher of the great conqueror Mohammed. Around the wide open area where we were encamped was woven a rich corona of vegetation, among which, in the clear light of the morning, I discovered different species of trees that I had long ago lost sight of, such as date palms, tamarind trees, sycamores, and even the silk-cotton tree, although the specimens of the latter plant were rather poor, and of small growth.—Vol. iii, p. 480.

Having received "letters of franchise" from both the sheik El Bakay, and the deputy of the chief of the country through which he was to pass, he now prepared to bid adieu to his faithful protector.

At length—Saturday, July 8—the day dawned when I was in reality to begin my homeward journey, for all our former movements along the river had rather resembled the wanderings of the natives themselves than the direct march of a European traveler; and although I felt sincerely attached to my protector, and, under other circumstances, might still have found a great many objects worthy of my investigation and research in this region, I could not but feel greatly satisfied at being at length enabled to retrace my steps homeward with a tolerable guarantee as to my safety. It was highly gratifying to me that when I left this place a great many people wished me a hearty farewell and a prosperous journey.—Vol. iii, p. 494.

The good sheik, however, accompanied him all day, and the next morning, after solemnly charging the messengers whom he had sent with his guest to be faithful and obedient, "he gave me his blessing, and assured me that I should certainly reach home in safety."

They now crossed to the right bank of the river, and following it, in its direction, S.S.E., for over two hundred miles, they came again to *Say*, the point at which the passage was made on the journey westward more than a year before. The country through which they passed presented almost every variety of river-scenery. A good deal of it was rocky, and the river-bed was much broken, and its course interrupted by rapids. In other places, and for long distances, it lay like an open sea, stretching its creeks and bays far inland, and its surface dotted with archipelagoes. As they advanced southward the popula-

tion became more dense, and the cultivation improved as the soil increased in fertility. Large fields of cotton and rice were met with, and numerous herds of cattle; and though still somewhat disturbed, the political state of the country became less turbulent. The route from *Say* to Kukawa was nearly the same that had been passed over a year before, and therefore needs not now to be retraced; it was traversed in about three months, and near the end of 1854 Dr. Barth was once more at the headquarters of his operations in Sudân. Here, too, he met with the reinforcement that had been sent to him from England—Mr. Vogel, a young German naturalist, and two English sappers, who were greatly surprised to find him alive, as his death was reported and fully believed at Tripoli—by whom, and the letters and dispatches received through them, he was presently fully posted up on home affairs. Mr. Vogel soon after set out on an expedition to Adamawa, intending to extend his explorations through Waday, in attempting which he lost his life; and Dr. Barth prepared to return to Europe. But in Africa *how not to do it* seems to be the great art of life, and therefore through a variety of dilatory movements his departure was delayed till May. Then with a small caravan, taking the road by Bilma and Murzuk, he came to Tripoli, and thence to London, where he arrived on the 6th of September, 1855.

The closing paragraph of his protracted narrative well becomes his position as that of a man who, feeling that having been occupied in an enterprise of great public interest, in which he has achieved something for the interest of humanity, he may fearlessly submit the record of his deeds to the verdict of the public:

> Thus I closed my long and exhausting career as an African explorer, of which these volumes endeavor to incorporate the results. Having previously gained a good deal of experience of African traveling during an extensive journey through Barbary, I had embarked on this undertaking as a volunteer under the most unfavorable circumstances for myself. The scale and the means of the mission seemed to be extremely limited, and it was only in consequence of the success which accompanied our proceedings that a wider extent was given to the range and objects of the expedition; and after its original leader had succumbed in his arduous task, instead of giving way to despair, I had continued in my career amid great embarrassment, carrying on the exploration of extensive re-

gions almost without any means. And when the leadership of the mission, in consequence of the confidence of her majesty's government, was intrusted to me, and I had been deprived of the only European companion who remained with me, I resolved upon undertaking, with a very limited supply of means, a journey to the far west, in order to endeavor to reach Timbuktu, and to explore that part of the Niger which, through the untimely fate of Mungo Park, had remained unknown to the scientific world. In this enterprise I succeeded to my utmost expectation. . . . I also succeeded in establishing friendly relations with all the most powerful chiefs along the river up to that mysterious city itself. . . . No doubt, even in the track which I myself pursued, I have left a good deal for my successors in this career to improve upon; but I have the satisfaction to feel that I have opened to the view of the scientific public of Europe a most extensive tract of the secluded African world, and not only made it tolerably known, but rendered the opening of a regular intercourse between Europeans and those regions possible.

This summary of the results of these explorations, though creditable to the writer's modesty, comes very far short of doing full justice to the subject. By pushing out beyond where any of his predecessors in the same field had gone, Dr. Barth has somewhat diminished the area of the great "unexplored regions" which have hitherto formed so large a feature in African geography. But this is the least part of his praise. His observations are especially distinguished for their accuracy and thoroughness, and his annotations for their correctness and intelligibility. The knowledge imparted is valuable in itself, as well as available for other purposes. Africa is at length receiving a portion of the attention to which her immense capabilities entitle her, and very likely will be the scene of the next great act in the drama of the world's progress. The region over which Dr. Barth traveled, and the general character of which he ascertained, includes most of the space between the fourth and twentieth degrees of north latitude, and extends from the east of Lake Tsad, in longitude 20° E., to the water-parting between the Niger on the one side and the Senegal and Gambia on the other, in longitude 10° W. This whole region is occupied by numerous and powerful races of mongrel Berber, Arab, and Moorish negroids, all nominally Moslems, and all partially civilized, and having among them a very considerable degree of a kind of barbaric culture. Its history, as to its races, politics, learning, and religion, forms one of

the most curious and interesting chapters in the world's annals. A better acquaintance with it would tend to somewhat abate the intense egotism of Caucasian ignorance, by leading us to contemplate the not improbable idea of African *savans* of the eighth or tenth century discussing the possibility of ever elevating the white barbarians of the north, and questioning whether the Japhetic races were capable of civilization. But the prospects held out by this region, of mercantile profits and the conquest of trade, will interest a much larger class. Strangely enough, there is lying nearer to Western Europe than is any of the great fields of its foreign commerce, a country of vast extent, and of almost unbounded fertility, and accessible to sea-going vessels, that has been waiting through weary ages to pour its wealth into the lap of any who will receive it. Its agricultural resources excel those of India, and rival our own Mississippi Valley; and the labor to develop these is at hand ready to be employed, at prices that would render American slave-labor ridiculously expensive, and for which European fabrics would be received to any extent purchasable by such products. The whole region is now one vast cotton-field, and the production of that staple seems to be easily capable of an indefinite expansion; and there is no reason to doubt that that country alone could very soon be made, by native industry, to supply raw cotton for the whole of Europe. We are glad to know that Great Britain already has her hand as well as her eye upon that good land; we trust before many years her flag will wave along the Niger, the Bénu-wé, and on the bosom of the Tsad, and that her strong but beneficent hand will bind the warring chiefs of all Sudan in the bonds of a peaceful commerce, and so achieve the redemption of a great nation.

We would, in closing, as a simple act of justice, commend these noble volumes as deserving a wider circulation and a more general reading than they have received. Of their intrinsic worth there can be but one opinion among all who know them, while, in point of interest or entertainment, we confess to have found them peculiarly valuable.

Art. IX.—THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

Southern Presbyterian Review, January, 1861. Article Sixth: The State of the Country.

The article in the Southern Presbyterian Review, on "The State of the Country," a production fresh from central South Carolina, is written by Dr. Thornwell, one of the leading minds of the Southern Presbyterian Church. As a defense of southern secession, it will, of course, be held as authoritative and conclusive in its own section. Before the bar of the civilized world, however, the very defense will be held a malfeasance. While the author was penning its unhappy periods, as near as we calculate, the organs of the different languages of Christian Europe, speaking the sentiments of both courts and people, were pouring forth their articulate anathemas against southern slaveholding treason. An earnest prayer in the noble heart of free Europe pulsated alike for the triumph of Garibaldi over the legions of Italian popery, and of Lincoln over the cabals of the American oligarchy. Doubtless there are in Europe as noble men, individually, as Dr. Thornwell, who are ready to utter their plea for the "*peculiar institutions*" of Southern Europe; but the pronunciation of a common infamy is emphatic upon them and him as advocates alike of causes accursed of God and man. Only the infamy upon him is deepest; inasmuch as the Italian "institution" is the remnant of a venerable past, while the South Carolinian is an upstart monster, a misbegotten cross between young despotism and modern democracy.

Dr. Thornwell denies that the desire of reopening the slave-trade is a motive for southern secession. In this he is doubtless sincere, for his Quarterly has opposed firmly, and on Christian grounds, the recommencement of that iniquity. But the developments even now transpiring convince us that, however free from participation he may now be, that project is a part of the political programme of the South Carolina traitors, and that Dr. Thornwell will be obliged in due time to give it his adhesion. He denies, too, that splendid dreams of empire and conquest have been a stimulant to the movement; but who can call to mind the schemes of fillibuster and Cuban purchase which have so filled the reveries of the cotton states for the last few years, without remembering that they were never surrendered—only for the time defeated. And while these schemes of fillibuster southward were agitating the public mind,

who can forget that the breaking of the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas raid, and the plot to force a slavery constitution upon Kansas, were pushing the conquests of slavery northward. But one more national victory of the proslavery Democracy, and the decision of the Lemmon case would have opened the door to the remanding of slavery to the free states. But one turn still farther of the judicial screw, and emancipation even in our northern states would have been decided to be subversive of the rights of property, and contrary to the Constitution, and the plot would have been completed. Slavery would have been pronounced national; Abolitionists and anti-slavery men would have been lynched and hung as freely in New England as in Carolina; and Senator Toombs might have built his slave-pen under the shadow of Bunker Hill. To such a denouement were we firmly and rapidly marching. From it we were saved, not by the advocates of compromise and preachers of pseudo-conservatism, but by fearless hearts and unshrinking voices; by men in Church and State who breasted the brunt of battle and won the victory that culminated in the election of Abraham Lincoln. By that triumph the cohorts of the slave power, so lately exulting in the prospect of laying the nation beneath their feet, were routed, driven in dishonor from power, and amid the exposures of their corruptions and treasons, were broken in sunder, and urged by their own madness down the precipice of rebellion.

It is to the resistance of the extension of slavery into the territories, as indicated by the election of Lincoln, that Dr. Thornwell attributes the secession. We accept the issue. If the extension of slavery and the formation of new slave states are the condition of union with slaveholders, we are ready to give them a walking paper—*abite, evadite, festinate.* The extension of slavery, carried out by those additions which would be by a series of purchases, conquests, and annexations, successively demanded upon pain of dissolving the Union, is but another name for the absolute supremacy of slavery over this nation and continent. This would be to transform our republic into an oligarchy, the most despotic ever inaugurated over a civilized people. It would, indeed, forsooth "preserve the Union;" but it would preserve the Union at the expense of all that renders the Union dear.

Dr. Thornwell's main position, to which all his utterances are subordinate, is, that the proper attitude of our government, as between slavery and freedom, is one of "ABSOLUTE INDIFFERENCE OR NEUTRALITY." It is a question between North and South, upon which neither side should be favored. Freedom is to be held as

good as slavery, slavery as good as freedom; and the government is bound to know no preference for either. Subordinately to this he maintains, 1. That slavery is not the creature of local law, but has a presumptive prescription of universality; 2. That slavery, as a property relation, is sanctioned by the national Constitution; and, therefore, 3. It has a right to equal existence with freedom or against freedom in the territories, in defiance of all legislation.

Before stating a counter position, we may premise that had this governmental neutrality been historically maintained for the last thirty years, the antislavery contest and triumph would never have occurred. Historical fact it is that the last three administrations, at any rate, have been instruments of the slaveholding interest, in pushing proslavery aggression upon freedom and the North. Abolitionism, pure and proper, never would have gained influence in the North; but what abolitionism could not do, the pressure of southern aggression has done, namely, arouse and concentrate the North for freedom. Nor could the North be aroused until distinctly and clearly the ultimatum of complete subjugation to the slave power loomed in view. As that ultimate appeared in prospect, the Republican party sprung into existence; as the ultimate grew clearer the party increased in power, and when it was fully felt that the contest was not for the negro's rights, but for our own dear-bought liberties, its victory became destiny. How cool is the assurance of Dr. T. in telling us, at the terminus of such a series of proslavery aggressions, pushed upon the North with all the power of every branch of the government, that what the South asks is governmental "neutrality!"

Our counter position is this. From the foundations of our government until this contest, freedom has been held accordant and slavery discordant with the fundamental principles of our republic. Freedom has been held the predominant rule, and slavery the dark and temporary exception. Slavery has no more been held as good as freedom than Satan as good as Messiah. Slavery was held simply to be suffered from due regard to existing interests; yet was the leaning to be toward freedom, and the limitation and ultimate termination of slavery held in view. Dr. Thornwell well knows that the perpetuity of slavery is a modern heresy. He is old enough to remember when the black dogma was first broached, that slavery was not an endurable evil, but a perpetuable good. He has had his share in the guilt of the propagation of this doctrine of Satan and John C. Calhoun. The very fact that the word *slave* was elaborately excluded from the Constitution proves the animus of the

body and the age that founded it. That studied silence, more eloquent than any phrase, proclaimed the temporal nature of slavery through every line and letter of the document. To that discountenance of slavery it bound our nation, and to that discouragement, by the grace of God, we mean to hold it bound. The framers of the Constitution, with their entire generation, held that slavery was speedily bound to die. Its existence at this very time is a shameless audacity, an infamous anachronism, an insult to the century, one of slavery's countless breaches of faith. Long since its duty was DEATH, and the voice of the age demands its execution.

The true philosophic history of the case is this: Certain individuals in the first place, without authority of law, purchase a number of human beings and use them as slaves. As the number of purchasers increases an institution and a class are formed. As the class grows powerful legislation sanctions, by regulating, the institution; and thus a degree of state interest is created. What, then, are the duties and rights of the surrounding community in regard to this institution? Clearly, if founded in right, and accordant with the public good, to sustain and cherish it; if otherwise, by the judicious exercise of their franchises, but with due regard to vested rights, to check its growth and shape a course for its termination.

Again, in due time a confederacy of states is formed. The class is powerful, and is enabled to secure advantages and safeguards for itself. It imposes upon all the states the burden of restoring its fugitives, the obligation by fleets or armies to subdue insurrections, together with such a mode of representation that the owner of five hundred slaves shall have a power in the government equal to a village of three hundred Northern freemen. What now are the rights and duties especially of those upon whom these obligations are imposed? Clearly the same as before. If the institution be founded in right, and accordant with public good, the burden should cheerfully be borne, and the institution and class be sustained and cherished. If otherwise, if founded in wrong, if injurious to public welfare and oppressive in its exactions, those who feel their weight have a full right to discuss their nature and to exercise their franchises, with due regard to vested rights, to abate the evils and limit their extension. It is useless to deny this right of discussion; it is equally useless to affirm that the people of the nation, or the government that represents the people, is bound to a strict "impartiality," and deprived of all right to abate or check the evil. No

matter if the safeguards and advantages of the class are embodied in the Constitution. Constitutions must submit to discussion, and time, and change. Constitutional enactments are as truly liable as anything else to discussion and political action tending to ultimate modification. For the surrender of this right of discussion and control, the Union can be no compensation.

Nor is it of any use for Dr. Thornwell to tell us, making it a sectional question, that the North has no right to exercise thus their franchises upon the South, or that the government or administration, shaped by those franchises, must hold it a sectional question and maintain an impartiality between both sections. While the North has obligations, she has a right to discuss the obligations and the sources whence they arise. So long as we are obliged to catch the Southern fugitive, to guarantee against insurrections, to bear an unequal representation, to pay the postal and other governmental expenses of a sparse population, to yield the taxes for purchase or conquest of territory for slave states, so long have we a right to discuss and vote upon the extension of slavery, and, with due regard to vested interests, upon its welfare and existence. Our right is just as good as Dr. Thornwell's. Slavery is as truly North as South. Every square foot of northern ground is hunting-ground for slavery. Every northern man is a legal bailiff for the fugitive. Every taxpayer is the supporter of slavery; the South is the slave-worker, the North the slaveholder. The North shares in proportion with the South the guilt and odium of slavery before the bar of God and of the civilized world. The North is demoralized by the slavery interest through all her political, mercantile, ecclesiastical, and social departments. Some right, then, have we to say that slavery is a question for the North.

At issue with Dr. Thornwell, we maintain, 1. Slavery is the creature of local law; 2. It is carefully ignored by the national Constitution; 3. It has no rightful existence in new territories.

Slavery is the creature of local law. Founded in violence, perpetuated by force against natural right, slavery can only exist within the territorial limits of the law of mere might, by which it is created. Let master and slave cross that line, the relation evaporates, and A is no more the slave of B, than B of A. No law is there either to create or enforce the difference.

Against this Dr. Thornwell argues that slavery is not local, but that it is authorized by the "UNIVERSAL CUSTOM OF MANKIND" through all past ages, while "abolition is municipal and local." 1. The universality of a custom, we reply, does not give it any recti-

tude; it gives neither a moral nor legal sanction. Licentiousness, polygamy, paganism, have been as truly universal as slavery, without obtaining any prescriptive right. The mastery of might over right has been universal; but that does not invalidate the rightfulness of right. 2. Slavery is not so truly universal as the conscious right to liberty; it is not so strictly universal as that affirmation of justice in every human heart—"no man has a right to rob me of my manhood by making me a slave." This is not only a sentiment of the heart but an axiom of the intellect. It is the basis of the slaveholder's own reasonings, even of Dr. Thornwell's. It is the basis of their defense of their present revolt. Their reasoning contains this helpless contradiction, *Nobody has a right so to enslave us as to prevent our making slaves of others.** They struggle for the freedom to be tyrants, for the glorious right to crush human rights. 3. The example of past ages in external conduct is a poor argument for our age. Ages of darkness and oppression may, indeed, furnish plenty of precedent for advocates of oppression. But this argument ignores the position of modern advancement by the light of history, of science, of Christianity, of freedom, of a better ascertained moral and political philosophy. The mere fact of past existence of an institution only brings it up for trial by these lights, in which it must stand or fall.

The Constitution does not recognize the right or the existence of slavery even in any limited locality. Dr. Thornwell argues this recognition from the phrase "persons held to service," which he considers as embracing "the generic conception of slavery." If "generic," we reply, then, it is not specific, and so slavery is not specified. For this "generic" description the proper generic term is *apprentice;* and all there is in slavery beyond mere apprenticeship the Constitution ignores. Hence, fugitives are apprehended and remanded not as slaves, but under the description of apprentices. All beyond apprenticeship is tacked to the man, unknown to the Constitution, by the local law. Then there are certain "other persons" who are not "free" subjected to a two-third representation. What the nature of that non-freedom is the Constitution ignores and declines to inquire. It may be indenture, by self-sale or by law. That tenure is left to, as it exists by, the local

* "A free people," says Dr. Thornwell, "can never consent to their own degradation."—P. 880. The disrespectful titter which the world indulges whenever a Southern slavedealer talks of 'freedom,' must soon become intelligible even to Carolinian ears. Dr. Thornwell also (p. 885,) calls the Southern oligarchy 'republican.' *Risum teneatis?*

law; and the national Constitution adjusts certain exterior provisions to whatever it may be, as shaped by the state legislation. In short, anybody in the wide world out of the Southern states, reading the Constitution would see a studious purpose to afford the caste certain safeguards and advantages where it already existed by local law, but to avoid the shadow of establishing by its own force the institution where it does not exist, or even specifically acknowledging it where it does exist.

But even admitting that the Constitution authorized property in slaves within the local limits of the slave states, *it does not follow that the relation of property is transferable to new localities* where slave law has no previous existence. The master may be full owner of his slave within the state, but the moment the limits are crossed, the master and his property may be two independent men.

1. There is no truth in the argument that by this rule "*the South*" would be excluded from the territories. Slaveholders are but a small part of "the South;" nor does the exclusion of slavery exclude the slaveholder. True, before he enters the territory he may be obliged by sale to transform his property into some other shape. But in this respect he is precisely on the same footing with the landholders and manufacturers of the North. These large and influential classes are unable to transfer their property without transformation, and the slaveholder is only brought to their level. Men must in all cases acquire and hold their property with all the liabilities, whether natural or political, belonging to it.

2. Nor does it quite do for Dr. Thornwell to say "the Southern man politically is the slaveholder." "To exclude slaveholding is, therefore, to exclude the South." What right has the advocate of slavery to say that the slaveholder alone is the South? Neither to the Omniscient eye nor to the view of the civilized world can four millions of human beings in bondage be invisible. Nor to the non-slaveholding freemen of these United States is the slaveholder alone the South even politically. Neither the non-slaveholding South nor the slave South are an unseen infinitesimal. Never can it be admitted by the freemen of the country, that because the slaveholders at the South are in possession of the political power of the South, therefore the exercise of our franchises are to be performed without the slightest recognition of the existence or rights of the inferior classes. Such a course is not required by the Constitution; and if it were, the free citizen has a right to shape his course to an ultimate change of the Constitution itself. Were,

then, the exclusion of slavery an exclusion of the slaveholder, the exclusion of the slaveholder would not by consequence be an exclusion of the South.

3. The reasoning of Dr. Thornwell would irresistibly restore slavery to the free states. He asserts without restriction "that the Constitution recognizes slaves as property." He demands "upon what principle shall Congress undertake to abolish this right upon a territory of which it is the local legislator? It will not permit the slave to cancel it because the service is due. Upon what ground can itself interpose between a man and his dues?" Now, certainly, if the right of property intrinsically in the slave be thus established by the Constitution, no state can abrogate that property without violating the Constitution of the United States. If Congress, in its character of legislature of a territory, cannot abrogate that right of property, much less can the legislature of any state. A large body of slaveholders, therefore, with a caravan of their living chattels, may march into New York state, re-establish slavery, and no state law can touch their ownership. And we solemnly repeat, that had another national victory been won by the great proslavery party of this country, this argument would never have been left a mere abstraction. The same Supreme Court that, with such indecent haste, proclaimed its extra-judicial dicta in the Dred Scott case, would soon announce from the national capital that all laws heretofore passed abolishing slavery are violations of the national Constitution.

4. The injustice of erecting new slave states without the full consent of the free states, is demonstrated from the fact to which we have already referred, that the representation of slavery constitutes the slaveholder a privileged caste. The great injustice of this representation, since it is in the Constitution, may be suffered while confined to the present slave states. But when new states are created, the oligarchic interest is strengthened oppressively to the free states and dangerous to the republic. It is absurd to expect of the free states any increase of slave states on a basis by which themselves are reduced to vassalage.

5. No principle of law is better established than that property destructive to the public good is bound to diminish and disappear. Its circulation, diffusion, extension, are rightfully prohibited. If it blast the soil, destroy the health, or demoralize the character of the community, the law justly abates the nuisance. And now, if there be any truth in history, any reliance upon statistics, any respect due to the voice of the civilized world, any validity in the axioms

of the moral sense, all these evils are chargeable upon the institution of slavery. Acting, then, from his own views of duty, the intelligent northern freeman is compelled by the obligations of conscience so to exercise his franchises as a citizen, as to rescue the virgin soil of the free West from an institution that shall blast it with a curse for untold ages.

6. The claim of Dr. Thornwell that slaves are to be held "just like any other property," and so transferable to free soil, in order to be valid, must be consistent. The claim must be grounded upon the universality of the maxim we quote. It is a hard maxim, degrading to humanity, and contrary to the humane spirit of modern law, that *person*-property has no more tendency to ascend to personality than brute-property or thing-property. But the slaveholder himself, when it comes to the matter of government representation, to constitutional interpretation, and to remanding fugitives, is obliged to claim that the slave shall not be "like any other property." Thing-property is not represented; it is not a "person" in the text of the Constitution; it is never to be restored to the owner by national authority when it escapes. In all these respects slaves are, by the slaveholder's own claim, not "like any other property." By this triple contradiction the slaveholder destroys the validity of his own maxim. He claims that the slave shall rise to *person* and sink to *thing*, arbitrarily and contradictorily, as his own interests, and not the interests of humanity, shall demand.

7. The extension of slavery is the perpetuation of slavery. This with Dr. Thornwell is an argument in favor of such extension; with us, against it. We know that but a brief period has elapsed, since the northern pro-slavery sophists have told us that to extend slavery was only to diffuse and rather weaken it than strengthen and perpetuate it. But Dr. Thornwell and the slaveholders know better. They know that the system, to live, must devour the soil it occupies, and sweep in devastation over new territory. Then the old section becomes slave-breeding, and the new slave-consuming. But circumscribe its area and the system gives way to free industry.

Identifying slavery as well as the slaveholder with the South, Dr. Thornwell characterizes the cessation of slavery as the destruction of the South. This self-deception by use of words and phrases is at the present time maddening the southern mind. But surely slavery is not the South. The slaveholders are but a minority of the South; slavery but an institution in the South. The South

could not only survive slavery, but rise from its cessation to a diversified industry, a vaster wealth, a more liberal education, a higher civilization, a prouder position in the respect of the civilized world. The enemy of slavery, we are the friend of the South. It is not from the destruction or the injury, but from the higher prosperity of the South that there would arise, as we believe, a higher prosperity for the North and a higher happiness to the whole.

Dr. Thornwell expresses the hope that, as the Union can never be restored, still peace may be preserved, and that two great republics may develop their different civilizations in common alliance against any attacks from foreign nations. We expressed in a former number of our Quarterly the wish that this peace might be preserved. To us war and slavery are twin evils. May God deliver both sections of our land from both. Nevertheless, the South in separation can never expect that slave-catching will remain the *ex-officio* duty of northern citizenship. No aid can be expected from northern arms to maintain oppression. No slavery can be permitted to set its foot in the western domain; no fillibuster or foreign conquest can be allowed to enlarge the slave empire. The scorpion must still be girt with fire, and his first and last good act must be suicide. The dismal prospect before the seceding states now appears to be, that not only will they fail in their visions of ruining northern commerce, but that they will forfeit the control of the market of the world for their sole staple, and, by losing the adhesion of the Border States, collapse in their schemes of southern empire. What can be expected from the seven petty cotton oligarchies on the Gulf but the adding a new force to the meaning of the word *failure?*

But it is our purpose merely to defend the rightfulness of our past and present position, not to lay out a programme for the future. With the extreme states lies the responsibility for all the evils of disunion, and most of the misdoings that have prepared its way. Our view of the future is cheerful and trusting, trusting in that Providence that smiles upon its own cause. Even disunion has its compensations. It will make us what we have never yet been, fully and consistently a FREE nation. Countless will be the blessings of a full emancipation from the dread evils not only of slavery domination but of union with slaveholders. That disunion will hasten the downfall of slavery, and perhaps a reconstruction on a free basis. We are thankful that our national government and capital are rescued from the hands of traitors. Our hope and

trust is that it is a Providential hand that has placed at our helm the firmness, integrity, and natural statesmanship of Abraham Lincoln. Surrounded with a cabinet of rare ability, and standing as the impersonation of our national welfare, we rejoice that he exhibits those traits that concentrate popular sympathy, and believe that a rally to his firm support will in due time be held a test of patriotism.

Art. X.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Protestant Churches.—The agitation which has sprung up in the Church of England in consequence of the publication of the Rationalistic *Essays and Reviews*, is still on the increase. The work itself was issued in Febuary, 1861, by the greatest publishing house of England, in a fifth edition, and one of the seven authors (the "Septem contra Christum") has since been elected to the influential position of rector of one of the Oxford colleges. This seems to indicate that the party has gained some strength among the clergy and literary classes; but already the evangelical element in the Church has become aroused. Petitions are numerously signed, praying the bishops to arrest the spreading of the heretical movement; even the powerless Convocation is appealed to for effective measures. In some places the Evangelical party and the High Churchmen have united to combat the intrusion of Rationalism the more successfully, and some of the bishops, at least, have declared their intention not to ordain any candidate who is infected with the neological views. This rise of Rationalism may have contributed somewhat to an abatement of the controversy between the Evangelical party and the High Churchmen. In the diocese of London, it is true, the irritation of the Tractarian clergy and their friends against the bishop for his vigorous opposition to their Romanizing innovations has not abated, and the bishop has even been threatened with legal proceedings. But in other places a reconciliation seems to be aimed at, and the High Church party have had the satisfaction to see two of their friends, (Revs. Messrs. Cheyne and Neal,) who by their advanced Tractarian principles had drawn upon themselves the disfavor and the censure of their diocesans, restored to their ecclesiastical functions. The ranks of the High Churchmen themselves, however, are divided by a split which is daily widening. The organ of the extreme Romanizing portion, the Union, has become so openly and defiantly Popish, that the better elements recoil from what it advocates as the ultimate end of High Churchism.

While the Church of England is rent within by this Rationalistic controversy, a struggle no less fierce awaits her on the political arena. The Dissenters are not discouraged by the defeats which the motions for an abolition of the Church rate has hitherto met with in one or both houses of the English Parliament, but have been making more energetical efforts than ever before for obtaining from Parliament at least a first installment of their abolition. Many liberal Churchmen are fighting in this question by the side of the Dissenters against the great prerogative of the state Church; although, to the great regret and astonishment of the friends of ecclesiastical independence, the *Record*, the leading organ of the Evangelical party in the Established Church, uses its great influence for the preservation of the rate. The support of Mr. Disraeli, who has tacked the unconditional advocacy of the existing Church rates to the platform of the Tory party, promises to be of less, if of any, service to the cause, as it will tend to enlist the sympathies of the Liberal party, to an even larger extent than before, in favor of abolition. It is even believed

that Mr. Disraeli's plan will give a new impetus to the endeavors of those who demand the abolition not only of Church rates, but of all official connection between the established Church and the State. Thus, for example, the Spectator remarks: "Let Mr. Disraeli induce the clergy to back his scheme, and he and they will probably see a liberal reaction, which will not stop short at Church rates if once aroused by the spectacle of a body of ministers of Christ working day and night to secure the continued existence of a compulsory Church rate." The sympathy of public opinion with the abolitionists has even induced a zealous High Churchman, Mr. Hubbard, to prepare for the session of Parliament, which commenced on February 4, a compromise measure. He warns the clergy not to believe that which they are now so forward to declare, that there is any such change of public feeling as will enable the Church to resist all attacks upon these rates. And the *Guardian*, a High Church organ, thinks that if no such compromise is now adopted, the opportunity of saving part of the rate for the Church may pass away forever.

Scotland is kept in a lively agitation by the progress of the Cardross case, the nature and history of which have been fully recorded in former numbers of our Review. The dissenting denominations of Scotland support, as it appears, with entire unanimity, the right of the Free Church of Scotland to execute against its ministers the ecclesiastical decrees of the General Assembly. The course of the government, on the other hand, has the approval of the Congregationalists of England, and as the London *Patriot* says, of quite a number of the provincial press of Scotland.

A third series of commemoration services in honor of the Scotch Reformation took place on December 20, the three hundredth anniversary of the meeting of the first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. This meeting may be said to have completed the "First Reformation" of Scotland, and it was natural that the three hundreth anniversary of the day should be selected as the most fitting occasion for a grand, united demonstration. Throughout the length and breadth of the land the day was observed as a half holiday. The magistrates of Edinburgh, Ayr, Greenock, Perth, and other considerable towns, recommended the citizens to close their places of business, so as to enable themselves and their employes to attend divine service in their respective places of worship during the day, and to join in the union meetings in the evening. In Glasgow, and some other towns, where the magistrates declined to make a similar recommendation, the chief object of the holiday was secured by agreement of the leading citizens to close their places of business at an early hour. In the union meetings in the evening, representatives of the following denominations took part: Established Church, Free Church, United Presbyterian Church, English Episcopal Church, Congregationalists, Wesleyans, Baptists, Reformed Presbyterian Church, Original Secession Church, and the Evangelical Union.

The Roman Catholic Church.—The statistics of the Roman Church in England and Scotland, published in the Almanac for 1861, show an extraordinary increase in the number of priests, churches, and convents. A comparison, however, with other statistical documents, such as the official registers of marriages, leaves no doubt that the membership has failed to keep pace with this increase, if it has not actually decreased. In Ireland the number of Roman Catholics is believed by the best authorities to be steadily on the decrease, and amounts at present, according to a calculation of the *Irish Times*, to 3,450,000 souls in a total population of 5,950,000. On the other hand, it is believed that Dr. Cullen, the ultramontane Archbishop of Dublin, has succeeded in bringing the priesthood of Ireland generally into a subserviency to the Pope and the hierarchy, such as would have been ridiculed as impossible in the early part of this century. The success of the Papal tribute, and the thousands who were secretly drafted off for service in the Papal brigade, are regarded as significant signs of a revived vitality in Irish Romanism, and so are the vast numbers of chapels, convents, nunneries, orders of lay brethren, and the remarkable and universal hostility to missions.

GERMANY.

The Protestant Churches.—The new year has opened in Germany with a considerable increase in the influence of Rationalism on the government of several state Churches. In Baden, where, for several years, the learned

Dr. Ullmann, so well known throughout the theological world as the able editor of the *Studien und Kritiken*, the best theological quarterly of Germany, has been at the head of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council, the reins of Church government have been taken out the hands of the Evangelical party and placed in those of Rationalists. In the adjoining Palatinate, a province of Bavaria, the Rationalists are likewise looking up, as the government has granted several of their petitions, and even encouraged them to put themselves in open opposition to the clergy, the great majority of whom are firmly attached to evangelical principles. These two successes of the Rationalistic party have greatly strengthened their hopes in the other German states. They regard their prospects as the more bright, since it is a well-known fact that most of the leaders of the liberal political parties throughout Germany sympathize with, and favor and promote the movement.

It is, however, highly probable that the temporary victory of the Rationalists will eventually lead to many good consequences. It cannot be denied that in Germany the Rationalists have, on the whole, been more favorable to the cause of religious liberty than the Lutheran and the Evangelical parties. In fact, they have been looked upon by the people at large as the only defenders of the principle, although they are by far less liberal than the evangelical free Churches, (Methodists and Baptists,) which, during the last years, have sprung up under the influence of English and American views. The struggle in Baden was even nominally more fought on the ground of reforms in the Church constitution than on doctrinal ground, and had therefore the sympathy of many divines, as, for example, Dr. Schenkel, who are not supposed to sympathize with the doctrines of the party. The same decree, which inaugurates the new *regime* in Baden, gives to the Church a greater independence of the State, and limits within the Church the hitherto prevailing hierarchical and absolutistic principle of administration by important democratic innovations.

But although the Rationalists are generally believed to have taken the lead in this movement for the reconstruction of the Protestant State Church, the other parties are at least making some advances in the same direction. In Prussia, the Minister of Worship, notwithstanding the opposition of the retrograde party, continues to establish parochial councils, which will give to the laity an active participation in the affairs of the Church. The organization and convocation of a General Synod of the Prussian Church is expected soon to take place. Even in the kingdom of Saxony a new Church constitution has been proposed by the government and discussed by the legislature, which, while re-enforcing again the belief in all the standards of old Lutheranism, yet provides for the regular meeting of a General Synod, with enlarged powers. Nearly all the important German states will now soon be in possession of a representative constitution, a change which greatly strengthens the hope for a brilliant future of the German Evangelical Churches.

The Roman Catholic Church.—The attachment of the Roman Catholics of Germany to their Church shows itself in some districts stronger and more general than in most other countries. The regular collection of the Peter's pence (one penny a week) is organized throughout the land, and several instances are recorded of congregations where every adult member is enrolled as a member of the association. Nowhere does the society make a greater show than in the archdiocese of Cologne, where the Mayors of Cologne, Bonn, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Dusseldorf, have accepted a place in the Provincial Committee of the Association.

FRANCE.

The Protestant Churches.—The great contest in the Reformed State Church, between the Orthodox and the Rationalistic parties, has been carried on during the past three months with more than usual vigor. The lines of distinction become more marked, and the opinion is gaining ground that there will not much longer be room in the same Church for parties so divergent in their tendencies. A warm discussion has, in particular, been called forth by the publication of two letters of Mr. Poulain, formerly a "Liberal," and pastor at Havre, now pastor at Lausanne, Switzerland, who protests against the stay in the Church of men "who yield no more authority to the Bible than to

the writings of Plato and Aristotle." Other impressive declarations on the Orthodox side have been made by the newly appointed Professor Bois, at the Theological School of Montauban, who undertook the defense of miracles against the neologists, and the editor of the *Espérance*, the chief organ of the Evangelical party, who demands the re-establishment of the presbyterian system, with its local Synods and its General Assembly, in order to watch over the enforcement of Church discipline, and the purity of doctrine. The Rationalists, on the other hand, are even widening the breach, as some of the most talented among their writers, especially among the younger clergy, are abandoning the standard of old-fashioned Rationalism for openly avowed Pantheism. This portion of the party has found powerful allies in some of the leading periodicals of France, which openly reject the papal system, proclaim the superiority of the Protestant form of Christianity, and acknowledge the great influence of the Bible on the progress of civilization, while they, on the other hand, view the modern German systems of speculative philosophy as the truest and highest exposition of the essence of Christianity. Even that most important of all French periodicals, the *Revue des deux Mondes*, has opened its columns to Mr. Ernest Renan, the distinguished French orientalist, for the advocacy of these doctrines. It is worthy of note, however, that not only the Rationalistic literature, but also the chief works of orthodox French Protestantism, are favorably reviewed by not a few of the best literary papers, an indisputable sign that the literary classes of France intend to remain emancipated from the rule of Rome.

The Roman Catholic Church.—The indignation of the Roman Catholic press against the emperor is intense—stronger than even against Victor Emanuel. He is commonly spoken of as a traitor, and is charged with the intention of following the example of Henry VIII., and severing all connection of the French Church with Rome, in order to make himself her head. A pamphlet, advocating such views, was maintained to have received its inspiration from the Tuileries, and a rumor even obtained wide currency through ultramontane journals that among the papers of the late Bishop Coeur, of Troyes, of known Gallican tendencies, there was found one conferring on him the Patriarchate of France in case of a separation with Rome. The Diocesan Chapter of Troyes, however, declared this rumor to be a vile calumny, and the *Moniteur* emphatically denied any sympathy on the part of the emperor with the schemes of the above-named pamphlet. Nevertheless, the hostility of the clergy and the "Church" party in France against the emperor seems not to have abated, and even the extraordinary service recently rendered by French diplomacy to the Roman Catholic Church in China and in Turkey, have not been able to produce a better feeling.

ITALY.

The Protestant Churches.—The progress of Protestantism in all parts of Italy continues to be satisfactory. The former kingdom of Naples, in particular, distinguishes itself before other provinces by the willingness with which it receives the Bible. While in Tuscany and Piedmont the demand for Bibles, on the part of the native booksellers, has been very small, those of the city of Naples have bought up whole cases at a time, and they employ agents with barrows to hawk them through the streets. In the villages round the city the colporteurs have also met with great success. In Umbria, formerly a part of the papal territory, the sale of Bibles has been tolerably good, though the colporteurs did not escape abuse, and were interrupted in some places by the police. Besides the Bible, a number of able Protestant works have had a good sale. The pamphlets of Dr. De Sanctis, in particular, are eagerly read, and so are the works of several other Italian converts, and it is greatly regretted that the native Protestant literature is not yet more copious. Among the translations from the English and other languages, M'Crie's *History of the Reformation in Italy* has, in particular, awakened a great interest, and found a large circulation. The number of missionaries and colporteurs, natives and foreigners, is steadily increasing. Among other associations, the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews will take an active part in the work of evangelization, and arrangements for immediate missionary work have been made in Leghorn, Ancona, Bologna, and other places. Thus the prospects of Protestantism may be said

to be bright indeed, especially as no fear need be entertained that the religious liberty now enjoyed by Protestants throughout the peninsula will be curtailed. The two greatest Italian statesmen, Cavour and Garibaldi, rival with each other in the decided advocacy of the principle of religious liberty, and Garibaldi has even denounced in a public speech the papacy itself as antichristian, and such a declaration from the most popular man of the country cannot fail to prove a heavy blow to the Roman Church.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.—It is difficult to obtain reliable information on the position of the Roman Catholic priesthood with regard to the extraordinary political changes of the two last years. It cannot be doubted that quite a number of them warmly sympathize with the cause of the union. The pope himself not long ago publicly expressed his regret that a Neapolitan bishop had written to him in favor of Garibaldi. In the city of Naples an association of priests has been formed to labor for the confirmation of the Union, and their committee has issued a pamphlet, in which they solicit the co-operation of the entire clergy of the kingdom. The colporteurs also report from various parts of Italy that they occasionally meet with priests who gladly buy the Bible, and approve of the objects of the Bible Societies. But only a few have as yet been found willing to shake off openly the belief in the spiritual supremacy of the pope, and to embrace the principles of evangelical Christianity.

The reduction of the number of convents is likely to take place on a grand scale. With regard to the Jesuits, we learn from a letter addressed by the general of the order to Victor Emanuel, that that order has lost three colleges in Lombardy, six in Modena, eleven in the pontifical states, nineteen in the kingdom of Naples, and fifteen in Sicily.

SPAIN.

PROTESTANTISM.—It has been well known for some time in the Protestant world, that the work of evangelization, so auspiciously begun in Spain a few years ago, during the short period of liberal government, had not been extinguished, but was smouldering on, ready to burst forth with increased power as soon as the oppressive weight was removed. Protestant associations were known to have been organized in different parts of the country, and to be in secret correspondence with each other, though no details could be published, as they would have exposed the converts to the rigor of the Spanish law, which does not authorize the profession of Protestantism. Toward the end of August, 1860, the flight of a young student from the clerical seminary in Granada led to the arrest of Mr. Alhama, a hatmaker of Granada, who has been for several years presiding over the Protestant society in that city. A search in his house led to the discovery of the names and addresses of nearly all the Spanish Protestants in Granada. At first eighteen persons were arrested, but it seemed as if the government was afraid openly to admit how widely Protestant ideas have spread, and all of them, except Alhama, have since been discharged, either entirely or on bail. In Malaga and Seville no arrests were made; but in Barcelona, on October 8, another leading man among the Spanish Protestants, Manuel Matamoros, was arrested, and more information on the Protestant associations fell, on that occasion, into the hands of the police. Matamoros was sent, toward the close of December, to Granada, where he is to be tried, together with Alhama and others. Both the prisoners astonished the judge by frankly acknowledging that they no longer believed in the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, but only in the word of God. Matamoros says that the work in Barcelona has not suffered in the slightest degree; that in Andalusia (of which Seville is the capital) they have received a fearful blow; but time will obliterate their panic, and all go on as before. According to another report, six Protestants have fled to Gibraltar, to avoid captivity. The English branch of the Evangelical Association has solicited the government to exert itself in behalf of the prisoners; and Lord John Russell has assured the committee who waited on him that he cordially sympathizes with the object of their petition, though it may not be in the power of the government to give to it an official support.

TURKEY.

THE GREEK CHURCH.—The election of a new patriarch of Constantinople, to the

importance of which, under the present circumstances, we called attention in the October number of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, (p. 674.) took place on October 16. It was the first time that the representatives of the laity took part in this important act, and the innovation had awakened in the Protestant Churches of Europe and America many hopes for the beginning of a thorough reformation in the Greek Church. The result of the experiment, however, does not confirm such hopes. The proceedings of the election bear a comparison with the most disgraceful events in Church History. According to the right conferred on them by the new constitution, the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops of Turkey had nominated for the vacant see, by writing, the candidates who to them seemed most worthy to occupy it. The National Assembly, consisting of about forty clergymen and eighty laymen, was convened in September, and selected from the names nominated by the bishops eleven names which were handed over to the Porte, to see if the government would object to any of them. The Porte in this case did not make use of the right of veto, and the National Assembly chose three candidates, from which the clerical members had to elect the patriarch. Before the election took place, a portion of the assembly insisted that those clerical members who had been convicted before the Porte of having been guilty of bribery and other scandalous crimes, should not vote. This gave rise to a most disgraceful quarrel, in which ecclesiastics and laymen, high and low, mingled in a general and uproarious fight. One of the bishops was nearly strangled by an archdeacon, who, it is said, in his turn lost three fourths of his beard by the unsanctified hands of a layman who came to the rescue of the bishop. The result of the whole was that a man has been chosen to the office of patriarch who has always shown himself a decided opponent of any reform, and is even now in favor of overthrowing the entire new constitution. The election has been confirmed by the Sultan, but a large and respectable body of the Greeks have strongly protested against it. The Bulgarians, who had been treated with entire neglect when the new rules were being framed, utterly refused to be represented in the assembly for electing the patriarch, either by laymen or ecclesiastics, saying that it was a matter in which they had no concern, as they were not going henceforth to acknowledge the Greek patriarch. They have, in fact, so far as it is in their power, severed all connection with the patriarchate of Constantinople. They had long been threatening that if the Porte would not concede to them a national Bulgarian patriarchate the whole nation would go over to Rome, and place itself under the protectorate of France. As the Porte refused to comply with their demand, all the preliminaries for a union with Rome were taken, and Roman Catholic papers in Europe and this country even prematurely announced the consummation of the union. According to the last advices, however, only a limited number, including the editor of a Bulgarian paper in Constantinople, have been found willing to take the final step. The bulk of the nation are still hesitating, and waiting for further developments, and many are said to prefer to enroll themselves *civilly* as Protestants, as this step would not require of them a sudden change in their religious profession, which they may feel not to be warranted by political causes.

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH.—We referred in the January number of the *Methodist Quarterly Review* (p. 142) to the efforts made by the High Church Episcopalians in England for establishing a closer union between the Church of England and the eastern Churches. Intelligence has since been received from Turkey that the Armenian press, which has risen to considerable importance since the establishment of the American missions in Turkey, has taken up the subject, and seems to regard it with favor. A pamphlet has been issued whose object is to show how nearly the Armenian Church is like that of England. The pamphlet, to this end, quotes from the prayer-book the whole of the twenty-fifth Article of Religion, but so cunningly shapes the translation as to make it appear that the Church of England, as well as the Armenian, believes in *seven* sacraments, though five of them, the pamphlet says, are received only, *as they are by the Armenian Church*, as secondary sacraments. Several Armenian theologians are quoted in support of this theory. As this is the very same scheme by means of which Henry Newman and other Oxford Tractarians endeavored to prove the possibility of harmonizing the thirty-nine articles with the decrees of the Council of Trent, it is believed that

English Puseyites aided in the compilation of the pamphlet, which has the *imprimatur* of the patriarch on the title-page.

Information is also given by Armenian journals of an interview which Rev. G. Williams, of Cambridge, had with the Armenian Archbishop of Tiflis, in Georgia, relative to the scheme of a union between the English and Armenian Churches. Mr. Williams was the bearer of letters from the Bishops of Oxford and Lincoln, who, it appears, assumed to speak in the name of the Church of England to "the catholicos, patriarch, bishops, etc., of the orthodox Eastern Church." He was to see "the holy catholicos," the head of the entire Armenian Church at Echmiadzin, but being somewhat unwell, and his time of absence having almost expired, he abandoned his journey to Echmiadzin, and spent ten days in Tiflis to confer with the archbishop of that city. He expressed, *in the name of the Church of England*, his acknowledgement of the Armenian Church as a true, orthodox, and apostolic Church, and kissed "the sacred hand of his holiness." The archbishop in return granted to him his episcopal blessing, and expressed a thousand good wishes for himself and his people. To the proposition of Mr. Williams to send a few young Armenians to Cambridge for an education no definite answer was given.

Art. XI.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

The Life and Times of Aonio Paleario, or, a History of the Italian Reformers of the Sixteenth Century, by M. Young, (London, 1860, 2 vols.,) is a work on a subject which just now commands a more than common interest. The "Second Reformation," which for some years has so auspiciously begun in the Apennine peninsula, has naturally drawn back the attention of the Protestant world to the glorious history of the first reformation, and to the many good and great men who were the leaders of the evangelical movement. Antonio, or as, in accordance with the predilection of his times for classic names, he later used to call himself, Aonio Paleario, has established, by his work *On the Benefit of Christ's Death*, (noticed, p. 340,) a just claim to be counted among them.

Among the most important recent English works on Church history belongs the "*Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*," (London, vol. 1, 1860.) by Dr. Hook, the well known High Church dean of Chichester. The work contains much more than what the title would indicate, for it not only gives the biographies of the incumbents of the See of Canterbury, of many of whom nothing is known except their names, but it makes the life of every prelate who is under review the center around which we see the ecclesiastical world revolve; and thus the work receives in fact the character of a history of the Church of England. The work will be completed in five volumes, the first of which contains the Anglo-Saxon period. The *Christian Observer*, of London, the monthly organ of the evangelical school in the Church of England, devotes a long article to the work. It justly censures the prejudices and fanaticism of the author, "whose intellect is at once disturbed when the specter of a Methodist or a Puritan crosses his path," but at the conclusion of its article it acknowledges the partial merits of the book in the following terms: "As the historian of a period of our history which has had some charms for ourselves, we admire his diligence, and admit not only his accuracy and research, but the skill with which he has disentangled obscure and complicated events, and the interest which he has thrown over those portions of the story which in other hands might have been dry and barren."

The same number of the *Christian Observer* reviews Dr. Hessey's Bampton Lectures on "*Sunday: its Origin, History, and present Obligation.*" (London, 1860.) The Bampton Lectures have of late regained their ancient celebrity. In 1858 Mr. Mansel exerted his logical mind against the German Rationalism now making its advances in England. In 1859 Mr. Rawlinson brought modern discovery to bear on the history of the

ancient world, and on the defense of the Bible from critics of the same school. Dr. Hessey followed, in 1860, with the lectures above mentioned. The *Observer* thinks we may thank Dr. Hessey "for a clear historical account of the Sunday from the apostles' time to our own," and expresses its agreement with much that he says; but strongly dissents from some of his views, as smacking of neology.

On the history of the celebrated Jansenist Convent of Port Royal, on which we already have excellent works in German by Reuchlin, and in French by St. Beuve, the first thorough English work has been recently published by Beard, *Port Royal: a Contribution to the History of Religion and Literature in France*, (London, 1861.)

On the atonement, which has been for several years the subject of an animated theological discussion in England, as neological views concerning it have found many advocates both in the Church of England, and among Dissenters, a new extensive work has been published by Robert S. Candlish, (*The Atonement: its Reality, Completeness, and Extent*, pp. 400, London, 1861.) The *Christian Observer* recommends two small treatises, published on the subject in 1860, by Wilson, (*The True Doctrine of the Atonement Asserted and Vindicated*,) and Bagot, (*The Atonement: an Argument*,) as containing more of the results of patient thought upon this great doctrine than has been lately given within so small a compass.

Of Alford's Greek Testament, vol. 4, part ii, is announced, which completes the work.

Among other new publications are the following: Maurice's *Lectures on the Apocalypse*; Hugh Miller, *The Headship of Christ, and the Rights of the Christian People;* Foulkes, *A Synopsis of Hindu Systems and Sects;* Palmer, *Egyptian Chronicles, with a Harmony of Sacred and Egyptian Chronology.*

Among the important works which are announced as forthcoming, are a new and improved edition of Kitto's *Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature*, by W. Lindsay Alexander, D.D.; a *History of the Church of England*, (from the death of Elizabeth to the present time, in 3 vols.,) by Rev. J. J. Perry; *The Latitudinarians*, by Rev. E. Churton, Archdeacon of Cleveland; *Historical Memoirs of the Archbishop of Armagh*, by E. H. Todd, D.D.; *The Churches of the East*, by Rev. G. Williams, D.D., of whose recent travels in the East we have spoken in our department of Foreign Religious Intelligence.

GERMANY.

An important contribution to the biblical literature of Germany is a new manual of "Introduction to the Holy Scriptures," by the late Professor Bleek, of Bonn. (*Einleitung in die heil. Schrift.* Berlin, 1860.) It was left nearly ready for publication by the deceased author, and only the necessary references to the literature published since the death of Bleek (1859) had to be added by the editors, T. F. Bleek and A. Kamphausen. The first volume contains the introduction to the Old Testament; the second volume, the New Testament, is to be issued during the present year. The work is introduced by a preface of the venerable Dr. Nitzsch. The great reputation of the distinguished author is a sufficient guaranty that this new manual will rank among the best of its kind.

"The Life and the Doctrines of John Scotus Erigena in their Relation to the Preceding and to Modern Philosophy and Theology, (*Leben und Lehre des Joh. Scotus Erigena*, Gotha, 1860,) is the title of a new work, by Rev. Th. Christlieb, the pastor of a German congregation in England. The work is introduced by a preface of Professor Landerer, of Tübingen, and is certainly a very seasonable one, for there is hardly one among the prominent theologians of the middle ages whose doctrines offer a better field for new investigation and elucidation, than Scotus Erigena. Simultaneously with the above work, another has been published by Dr. Kaulich on the speculative system of Scotus Erigena, (*Das Speculative System des J. S. E.* Prague, 1860.)

A collective work of great excellence was commenced a few years ago by a number of distinguished divines of the Reformed Church, (among them are Hagenbach, Baum, Schmidt, Sudhoff, and others,) under the title, "Lives and Writings of the Fathers and Founders of the Reformed Church." All the volumes hitherto published have met in the theological world with great applause, and are classed among the best works

of religious biography. Among them are the lives of Bucer, Bullinger, Myconius, and others. The last published volume contains the "Life and Select Writings of Calvin," by Stähelin. (*Calvin's Leben und ausgewählte Schriften*, Elberf., 1860.)

It is undoubtedly a merit of the Rationalistic Tübingen School to have given a new impetus to the study of the apostolic age. There is no section of history, sacred or profane, which has been of late explored in all its minutest details, with greater zeal than the history of the primitive Church. The literature on the subject is almost innumerable and most valuable, and has considerably increased our knowledge of that period. Hitherto nearly all the important works have been furnished by Protestant authors. Recently Dr. Döllinger, well known as one of the most learned and thorough historians the Roman Church has ever had, has published an able work on Christianity and the Church at the time of their foundation. (*Christenthum und Kirche*, etc. Regensb., 1860.)

Among other Roman Catholic publications in the department of Church history, is a work by Werner on Suarez and Scholasticism, (*Suarez und die Scholastic*, vol. i, Regensb., 1860,) and by Suing, on the Doctrine of Original Sin, (*Das Dogma von der Erbsünde*, Regensb., 1860.)

The recent exegetical literature comprises new volumes of the Bible Works of Bunsen and Lange; the second volume of the Commentary of Delitzsch on the Psalms, new editions of Tholuck's *The Old Testament in the New Testament*, (*Das Alte Testament im N. T.*, 5th ed., Gotha, 1860,) and *The Prophets and their Prophecies*, (*Die Propheten*, etc., 2d ed., Gotha, 1860.) J. Volckmar, one of the few surviving representatives of the Tübingen School, has commenced an introduction to the Apocrypha, (*Einleitung in die Apocryphen*, vol. i, part i, Tub., 1860.) The recent Roman Catholic literature comprises a work on the Messianic prophecies in Isaiah, by J. K. Mayer, and the fourth volume of Commentary to the Gospels, by Schegg.

Among the new volumes of sermons we mention those by Brückner, Professor at Leipsic, Dr. Liebner, of Dresden, and a second edition of those of Thomasius, Professor at Erlangen. Of an extensive (Roman Catholic) Homiletic Dictionary, by Dr. Wiser, (*Prediger Lexicon*,) vol. xvii, part ii, has been recently published.

It is an important fact, though not generally known, that among the many journals of Germany devoted to scientific theology, Rationalism has only a single avowed representative, the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, edited by Professor Hilgenfeld, of Jena. All the others are under the control of men connected with either the Evangelical or Lutheran parties. The principal organs of the former are: 1. The *Studien und Kritiken*, a quarterly, edited by Dr. Ullmann and Dr. Rothe; 2. The *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, published by Dr. Liebner, Dr. Dorner, and others, also a quarterly; 3. *Zeitschrift für histor. Theologie*, quarterly, published by Dr. Niedner; 4. *Repertorium für theologische Literatur*, a monthly, published by Reuter; 5. *Allgemeine Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, by Dr. Schenkel, ten numbers a year; 6. *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Christliche Wissenschaft*, a weekly, by Dr. Hollenberg; 7. *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, a weekly. The Lutherans have the following important literary organs: 1. *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Luther. Kirche*, a quarterly, edited by Dr. Rudelbach and Dr. Guericke, (Old Lutheran;) 2. *Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*, a monthly, published by the Professors of Theology at Erlangen, (High Lutheran;) 3. *Theologische Zeitschrift*, published by Dr. Kliefoth and Dr. Dieckhoff, also a monthly, (High Lutheran.) There are besides two journals of Lutheran theology in the German provinces of Russia, a quarterly published by the Professors of Theology at Dorpat, and a bi-monthly published at Riga.

FRANCE.

Our religious intelligence department of this number refers to the acknowledgment of the progress of Protestant literature on the part of the secular press. The number of new Protestant works, as well as their circulation, is steadily on the increase, and it is especially gratifying to see that among the new publications there are not a few which are sure to be recognized as standard works, and will remain of permanent value.

Of the valuable History of the French Reformation, by Pastor Puaux, (*Histoire de la Reformation Française*,) vols. iii, iv. have been published. A fifth volume is

to complete the work, which the author intends soon to bring out in an English translation also.

On the reformatory movements in the Church of Rome, before the Reformation of the sixteenth century, France produced some years ago one of the best works on the subject, namely, Bonnechose, *Reformers before the Reformation: Huss, Gerson and the Council of Constance.* This work has now reached its third edition. Another Protestant book on this subject, recently issued, is Peyrat, The Reformers of France and Italy in the Twelfth Century. (*Les Reformateurs de la France*, etc., Paris, 1860.)

Among other important Protestant publications are the following:

Gaussen, *Le Canon des Saintes écritures au double point de vue de la science et de la foi.* (Lausanne, 1860, 2 vols.) An English translation of this work has already been announced.

Vinet, *Histoire de la Predication parmi les reformés de France au xvii siecle.* (Paris, 1860.)

Scherer, *Mélanges de critique religieuse.* (Paris, 1860.)

Of a French translation of the Church History of Hase, the first volume has appeared. (Paris, 1860.)

Among the last published volumes of Abbé Migne's *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*, are the works of Johannes Damascenus, Johannes Scholasticus, Anastasius Sinaita, and others.

Abbé Bautain, who in point of talents has not many equals among the writers of the Roman Church, has published a new extensive work on Conscience as the Rule of Human Actions. (*La Conscience*, Paris, 1860.)

A new edition of the celebrated work of Hippolytus, which has now been for some ten years, and still is, the subject of so brisk a controversy in theological literature, has been issued by Abbé Cruice, (*Philosophæmena*, etc., Paris, 1860,) with an introduction which reviews the progress of the controversy up to 1860.

Art. XII. — SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

Southern Presbyterian Review, January, 1861.—1. National Sins: A Fast Day Sermon. 2. Vital Force. 3. The Manner of Altering our Doctrinal Standards. 4. The Princeton Review and Presbyterianism. 5. Presbyterian Authorities on Theories of the Eldership. 6. The State of the Country.

Presbyterian Quarterly Review, January, 1861.—1. Paganism a Demon Worship. 2. Laurentius Valla. 3. The Inward Light. 4. The Hebrew Language and Literature. 5. Evangelism of the Eighteenth Century.

New Englander, January, 1861.—1. China and the West. 2. The Maronites and the Druses. 3. Solar Phenomena. 4. The Design and Nature of Punishment under the Divine Government. 5. Does Science Tend to Materialism? 6. Latin Pronunciation. 7. Puritan History. 8. The Pulpit and the Crisis.

Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, January, 1861.—1. Education for the Ministry. 2. Recent Anglican Philology. 3. Philosophic Import and Value of the First Chapter of Genesis in its Applications to Organic Nature. 4. Cleveland's Text-Books. 5. Philosophy of Representation. 6. Introduction of Children into the Church. 7. Apparitions of the Dead. 8. The Rev. Littleton Fowler.

Mercersburg Review, January, 1861.—1. The Epistle to the Galatians Translated and Explained. 2. The Marvelous in Modern Times. 3. English Versions of the Heidelberg Catechism. 4. Our Alumni Association.

Universalist Quarterly and General Review, January, 1861.—1. The Religion of Zoroaster. 2. Limitations of Human Nature as an Authority in Religious Doctrine. 3. A Preacher on Preaching. 4. Jephthah and his Daughter. 5. What shall we be? 6. Rawlinson's Herodotus—The Ancient Empires. 7. God's Presence, Psalm lxxxix.

Brownson's Quarterly Review, January, 1861.—1. Ward's Philosophic Introduction. 2. Catholic Education in the United States. 3. Separation of Church and State. 4. Seminaries and Seminarians. 5. Harmony of Faith and Reason.

Theological and Literary Journal, January, 1861.—1. Mr. Gascoyne's Theory of the Apocalypse. 2. Dr. Barth's Travels and Discoveries in Africa. 3. Reply to the Errors and Misrepresentations of J. R. Blake. 4. The Golden Image, Daniel iii. Nebuchadnezzar's Vision of the Tree, Daniel iv. 5. Designation and Exposition of the Figures in Isaiah, chapters lxi, lxii, lxiii.

United Presbyterian Quarterly Review, January, 1861.—1. Philosophical Theology. 2. Forbearance. 3. The Ruling Elder. 4. Tractarianism Traced to its Sources. 5. The Theology of Art. 6. The Settlement of the Reformed Churches in Western Pennsylvania. 7. Individual Effort. 8. The Second Assembly.

American Quarterly Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register, January, 1861.—1. Limits of Thought. 2. George S. Yerger. 3. Lord Macaulay and Bishop Burnet. 4. Spurgeon and his Sermons. 5. R. T. S. Lowell's Poems. 6. Laymen's Rights—Layman's Letter to the Editor. 7. The Position of Romanism in America. American Ecclesiastical History: Early Journals of General Conventions.

Evangelical Review, January, 1861.—1. The Laborer, the Artisan, and the Artist. 2. Chiliasm Critically Examined, etc. 3. The Ministerium. 4. Baccalaureate Address. 5. The Master's Call to His Church.

Christian Review, January, 1861.—1. Macaulay's Essays. 2. Infant Baptism: its Origin traceable to the Doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. 3. The Sensibilities. 4. The Inspiration of the Apostles. 5. Conant's Matthew. 6. Roman Orthoepy. 7. Study of International Law.

North American Review, January, 1861.—1. Cotton and the Cotton Trade. 2. Giuseppe Garibaldi. 3. The Temporal Power of the Church. 4. Sir William Hamilton's Metaphysics. 5. Charles Robert Leslie. 6. Illuminating Gas. 7. Trübner's Guide to American Literature. 8. Hallam as a Historian. 9. The Oxford Clergymen's Attack on Christianity. 10. Recent French Literature. 11. Hunting in the Himalaya. 12. Tischendorf's Discoveries in the East.

University Quarterly, January 1861.—1. The Dangers of the Student. 2. Scottish Song Writing. 3. The Life of Feeling. 4. Cambridge University, England. 5. The Library of Columbia College. 6. Skepticism in American Colleges. 7. Observations on Greenland, No. II.

8. Philosophy of Common Sense. 9. Mrs. Stowe and her Critics. 10. The Use of Books. 11. Music in College. News Articles: Amherst College, Bowdoin College, Columbia College Law School, Hamilton College, Harvard University, Marietta College, Oberlin College, Troy University, Union College, University of the City of New York, University of Vermont, Williams College, Yale College, Beloit College, Kenyon College, The University Quarterly Association.

Bibliotheca Sacra and Biblical Repository, January, 1861.—1. Theodore Parker. 2. The Theology of Sophocles. 3. The Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, and its recent Theological Applications. 4. The Christian Law of Self-sacrifice. 5. Review of Palfrey's History of New England.

Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, January, 1861.—1. The State of the Country. 2. Antiquity of the Book of Genesis. 3. The New Oxford School; or, Broad Church Liberalism. 4. The Fulfillment of Prophecy. 5. Liverpool Missionary Conference of 1860; or, Results of Missionary Experience. 6. The Alexandrine and Sinaitic Manuscripts.

The article on the State of the Country, attributed to the editor, Dr. Hodge, is remarkable not only for ability, but for an advance of an unexpected degree on the subject of American slavery. It is a cheering token that truth and freedom are invading the strongholds of pseudo-conservatism. Yet far ahead as the avowals are of Dr. Hodge's former utterances on the subject, the article is but a faint response to the voice of Christendom at the present crisis. But—*quod faustum felixque sit*—the world moves, and a few more of its revolutions may wheel even venerable Princeton into sympathy with the advancing feeling of the age.

American Theological Review, January, 1861.—1. Julian the Apostate. 2. The English Tongue a New Speech. 3. New England Theology: The Edwardean Period. 4. Isaac La Peyrere and his Book, the Preadamites. 5. Jourdain's Philosophy of Aquinas. 6. Olshausen on a New Probation after death. 7. Sir William Hamilton's Theory of Knowledge. 8. The Ante-Nicene Trinitarianism.

The American Theological Review exhibits manifest signs not only of permanence, but prosperity. It appears in an enlarged and improved form. The article by the editor on Sir William Hamilton is marked by a very complete mastery of the subject, and takes a very discriminating measurement of that eminent man.

Somewhat curious is the exhumation of Isaac La Peyrere in the fourth article; a random thinker in theology, who blundered into some notions that modern research has rather verified. He was born at Bourdeaux in 1594; was educated as a Calvinistic Protestant; became a Romanist of no very earnest type, and died in 1676. He first advocated on Scripture grounds the doctrines that the deluge

was not universal, and that human races existed previous to the time of Adam. Of his Preadamite theory and its grounds an account is given in the following paragraphs:

"In the first Epistle to the Corinthians, where Adam is named the first man, the language is figurative and has its counterpart in the designation of Christ as the 'second man.' Adam and Christ are here set as landmarks in the judicial history of the race—opposite termini of imputation—and as, by the one, sin, which is the transgression of the law, entered into the world, and through sin death; so, by the other, deliverance from sin came into the world, and by that deliverance life. As Christ was not the last man in time, so Adam was not the first man, but each stands in a definite relation to all men who have existed, or are yet to be.

"Peyrere founds his theory on that passage of the Scriptures which has in all ages furnished matter for theological speculation, the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. The words of the thirteenth verse, 'for until the law sin was in the world: but sin is not imputed when there was no law," is made the keystone of the argument. 'The law,' in this passage, he contends, cannot mean the law given to Moses, but the law given to Adam. For the apostle is speaking of the great transgression which brought sin and death into the world; and the law mentioned in the context is obviously related to that transgression. Law and transgression are correlative terms, so that the conditions which fix the one must determine also the other. The transgression of which the apostle speaks was committed by Adam; but the law of Moses was given to the Jews and transgressed by the Jews alone. Hence the law is not that which was given to Moses, but that which was given to Adam; and it was by the transgression of this law that all men were made sinners and death passed upon the race. And this the apostle directly confirms by the words: 'Sin is not imputed where there is no law.' 'For,' says Peyrere, 'I cannot understand, by the most careful thinking, how it can be proved that sin was not imputed during the time which elapsed from Adam to Moses. Every event in that period shows that there was imputation of sin. Why did Cain fear when he had slain his brother, saying: "My iniquity is too great for pardon." Why should pardon be refused if iniquity was not to be imputed to him? Why was Judah unwilling to stain his hands with the blood of his brother Joseph, or what was the stain which he feared if it was not imputation? Abraham's faith was not imputed to him for righteousness, and the imputation of faith presupposes the imputation of sin.' In this way the sacred history is made to afford proof that sin was imputed to man from Adam to Moses. But if sin was not imputed until the law, it follows that the law referred to by the apostle is the law revealed to Adam. And this law, the grand primal law, or law of laws, is called, *per excellentiam, the* law.

"Having settled this question of interpretation, Peyrere is prepared to define the periods of time which the language of the passage clearly implies: the first, before the law: the second, after the law. The first is described in the words, 'for until the law, sin was in the world,' etc.; but the law here mentioned is the law given to Adam, and consequently the time referred to is a period prior to the creation of Adam. During this period, according to the testimony of the apostle, there was sin in the world; for there was sin even to the law, though there was no imputation of sin. It must be admitted, therefore, that men existed before Adam, who indeed sinned, '*sed qui non peccavissent imputative*,' because sin was not imputed before the law.

"Peyrere anticipated the horror with which many would receive it; but he claims that just as the succession of day and night has not been affected by the Copernican theory of astronomy, so the doctrine that there were men before Adam practically changes nothing in the Christian faith. The fundamental fact of this faith is that men are counted guilty in Adam, but righteous in Christ. As it was not necessary that Christ should be the last of the race in order to rescue it from sin, so it was not requisite that Adam should be the first member of the series of beings on which he brought condemnation."

English Reviews.

Edinburgh Review, January, 1861.—1. Church Expansion and Liturgical Revision. 2. Japan and the Japanese. 3. The Victoria Bridge. 4. Political Ballads of England and Scotland. 5. Ocean Telegraphy. 6. Autobiography of Dr. A. Carlyle. 7. Motley's History of the United Netherlands. 8. Forbes and Tyndall on the Alps and their Glaciers. 9. The Kingdom of Italy. 10. Naval Organization.

Westminster Review, January, 1861.—1. Ancient Danish Ballads. 2. Alcohol: What becomes of it in the Living Body. 3. Canada. 4. Bible Infallibility: "Evangelical Defenders of the Faith." 5. The Neapolitan and Roman Questions. 6. American Slavery: the Impending Crisis. 7. Cavour and Garibaldi. 8. Dante and his English Translators.

North British Review, February, 1861.—1. India Convalescent. 2. Shelley and his Recent Biographers. 3. Large Farms and the Peasantry of the Scottish Lowlands. 4. Lord Dundonald. 5. Modern Necromancy. 6. Engineering and Engineers. 7. The Political Press—French, British, and German. 8. Home Ballads and Poems. 9. Hessey's Bampton Lecture. 10. Dr. Carlyle's Autobiography. 11. Lord Palmerston and our Foreign Policy.

London Quarterly Review, January, 1861.—1. Canada and the Northwest. 2. The Welsh and their Literature. 3. The United Netherlands. 4. The Iron Manufacture. 5. Italy. 6. The Dogs of History and Romance. 7. The Income-Tax and its Rivals.

Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record, October, 1860.—1. Elijah at the Brook Cherith, and at Zarephath. 2. Düsterdieck and others on the Apocalypse. 3. The Morality of Religious Controversy. 4. Exegesis of Difficult Texts. 5. The Genealogies of our Lord. 6. Epiphanius on the Day of the Crucifixion Passover. 7. Preaching to the Spirits in Prison, etc. 8. On the Parables of the New Testament. 9. The Genesis of the Earth and of Man. 10. The Atonement.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, January, 1861.—1. The Political Year. 2. The Purist Prayer-Book. 3. Uncivilized Man. 4. English Embassies to China. 5. Horror: a True Tale. 6. What's a Grilse? 7. Norman Sinclair: an Autobiography—Part XII. 8. A Merry Christmas. 9. The Indian Civil Service—Its Rise and Fall.

February, 1861.—1. School and College Life: its Romance and Reality. 2. Carthage and its Remains. 3. Spontaneous Generation. 4. The Transatlantic Telegraph—Iceland Route. 5. Norman Sinclair: An Autobiography—Part XIII. 6. Biographia Dramatica. 7. Judicial Puzzles—Eliza Fenning. 8. The Foreign Secretary.

French Reviews.

Revue des Deux Mondes, Octobre 15, 1860.—1. De L'Avenir Religieux des Sociétés Modernes. 2. La Centralisation en France. 3. Mademoiselle du Plessé. Seconde et Dernière Partie. 4. L'Angleterre et la Vie Anglaise.—X.—L'Armée et les Volontaires—II. Institutions et Mœurs

Militaires des Anglais, le Camp D'Aldershott. 5. Les Peintres Flamands et Hollandais en Flandre et en Hollande—I. Les Peintres Flamands Primitifs. 6. Economie Politique—Du Rachat des Chemins de fer par l'Etat. 7. Une Fantasie Esthétique Genevoise.

Novembre 1, 1860.—1. Trois Ministres de l'Empire Romain sous les Fils de Théodose—I. Rufin. 2. Beaux-Arts—Du Principe des Expositions, le Concours en Grèce et de nos Jours. 3. Miss Tempête. 4. Etudes d'Economie Forestière—Les Praduits Forestiers de la France et Les Essais d'Acclimation. 5. Le Salarie et le Travail des Femmes—III. Les Femmes dans la Petite Industrie. 6. Le Cardinal Alberoni et une Expédition en Sicile au XVIII^e^ Siècle. 7. De l'Allemagne en 1860, Les Gouvernemens et les Partis Au-Dela du Rhin.

Novembre, 15, 1860.—1. Une Parque, Scènes de la Vie Anglaise, Première Partie. 2. Nouvelle Exégèse de Shakspeare D'Après une Théorie Anglaise sur la Question des Races. 3. La Chute de l'Empire d'Occident (*Récits du V^e^ Siècle*, de M. Amédée Thierry.) 4. La Lombardie et la Société Milanaise Depuis la Dernière Guerre de l'Independance. 5. Controverse sur la Question d'Orient a Propos d'Ecrits Récens. 6. Sciences —La Génération Spontanée et les Travaux de M. Pouchet. 7. Pierre Landais et la Nationalité Bretonne, Première Partie.

Décembre 1, 1860.—1. L'Angleterre et la Vie Anglaise—XI. Les Volontaires de l'Armée Britannique et l'Ecole de Hythe. 2. Quinze Jours au Désert, Souvenirs d'un Voyage en Amérique, Papiers Posthumes. 3. Une Parque, Scènes de la Vie Anglaise, Dernière Partie. 4. La Nouvelle Election Présidentielle et les Partis Aux Etats-Unis en 1860. 5. Pierre Landis et la Nationalité Bretonne, Seconde Partie. 6. Economie Rurale de la Belgique—Les Flandres.

Décembre 15, 1860.—1. L'Irelande en 1860, ses Griefs et sa Nationalité. 2. Histoire Naturelle de l'Homme—Unité de l'Espèce Humaine, le Règne Human, Première Partie. 3. L'Italie depuis la Paix de Villafranca—I. La Révolution Italienne et la Papauté. 4. De l'Esclavage aux Etats-Unis—I. Le Code Noir et les Esclaves. 5. Les Finances et les Travaux Publics de l'Espagne. 6. La Lande-aux-Jagueliers, Scènes et Récit du Bas-Anjou. 7. Leibnitz et Hegel, D'Après de Nouveaux Documens. 8. Portraits Poétiques—Madame Desbordes-Valmore et ses Poésies Posthumes.

Janvier 1, 1861.—1. Le Roi Louis-Phillippe et l'Empereur Nicholas (1841-1843.) 2. Les Mineurs du Harz, Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans l'Allemagne du Nord. 3. De la Statistique en France et des Progrès de la Richesse Public. 4. Conquête de la Mer. 5. L'Esclavage aux Etats-Unis—II. Les Planteurs et les Abolitionistes. 6. Histoire Naturelle de l'Homme—Unité de l'Espèce Humaine—II. L'Espèce, la Variété et la Race. 7. Deux Jours de Sport a Java, Scènes de la Vie Indo-Hollandaise. 8. Des Derniers Budgets de la France et de l'Accroissement des Dépenses.

Janvier 15, 1861.—1. La Comptesse d'Albany—I. Louise de Stolberg et Charles-Edouard. 2. L'Empoissonnement des Eaux Douces—Les Poissons Sédentaires et les Poissons Voyageurs, Mœurs, Production, Elève et Acclimatation des Diverses Espèces. 3. Le Général Sir Robert Wilson au Camp Russe en 1812, Souvenirs de Guerre et de Diplomatie. 4. Leibniz et Bossuet d'Après leur Correspondance Inédite. 5. Histoire Naturelle de l'Homme—Unité de l'Espèce Humaine—III. Races Végétales

et Animales. 6. Deux Episodes Diplomatiques—I. Dernières Négociations de l'Empire, Ouvertures de Francfort et Conférences de Chatillon. 7. Les Voyageurs en Orient—VI. De la Moralité des Finances Turques.

Février 1, 1861.—1. L'Italie Depuis Villafranca—II. Le Roi François II. et la Révolution de Naples. 2. Joseph de Maistre et Lamennais—Les Tendances Communes et les Résultats Définitifs de leur Philosophie. 3. La Comtesse d'Albany—II. La Reine d'Angleterre et Victor Alfieri. 4. Histoire Naturelle de l'Homme—Unité de l'Espèce Humaine—IV. Des Variations dans les Etres Organisés. 5. Les Finances de l'Empire. 6. La Fauvette Bleue, Récit des Bords de la Loire. 7. Les Fantaisies d'Histoire Naturelle de M. Michelet.

Revue Chretienne, Octobre 15, 1860.—1. Madame de Maintenon. 2. Une Excursion dans l'Italia du nord dans l'Automner 1860. 3. Le Temple de Jerusalem. 4. Ch.-Victor de Bonstetten.

Novembre 15, 1861.—1. Quelques Réflexions sur l'Avenir de la Religion—Réponse à M. Renan. 2. Port-Royal (2e article.) 3. Un Aperçu sur Goethe. 4. Un Nouveau Système de Traduction des Evangeles.

Art. XIII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Codex Alexandrinus. Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum Græce ex Antiquissimo Codice Alexandrino a C. G. Woide. Olim Descriptum: Ad Yidem Ipsius Codicis Denuo Accuratius. Edidit B. H. Cowper. Londini: Venumdant Williams and Norgate et D. Nutt. Edinburgæ: Williams and Norgate. New York: B. Westermann & Loe. 1860.

In the year 1638 Cyril Lucar, at one time Patriarch of Alexandria, afterward of Constantinople, was by the arbitrary decree of the Emperor of Turkey put to death. There had been in his possession a Greek manuscript of the Old and New Testament, brought probably by him from Alexandria, written in a fair hand in a large and beautiful uncial letter. This manuscript, nine years before his death, Cyril had sent by the hand of Sir Thomas Roe as a present to Charles the First, King of England, by whose order it was placed in the British Museum. Accompanying the manuscript was a Latin letter by Cyril stating that it was some thirteen hundred years old, and was written by the hand of Thecla, a noble Egyptian lady. With regard to this Thecla nothing is clearly known; but the Egyptian origin of the manuscript has formerly been held credible on good evidence, and has lately received some curious confirmation from a coincidence of some of its ornamentation with certain figures upon the Egyptian monuments. The portion containing the New Testament is a volume about ten inches wide and

fourteen high. The material is thin, fine, beautiful vellum, often discolored at the edges, which have been marred by time, and too closely cut by the culpable carelessness of the modern binder. The age of this manuscript has been variously estimated, but the opinion of the best judges places it about the middle of the fifth century. It has been heretofore held as scarcely inferior in antiquity to the Vatican manuscript. The late discovery of Tischendorf sinks it to a lower relative rank.

But one edition of this manuscript of the New Testament has hitherto been published. In 1786, under the patronage of the authorities of the British Museum, a fac-simile edition was issued under the editorship of C. G. Woide. This work was in folio, with excellent prolegomena and notes, but it has long since become scarce and expensive. Modern students are mostly indebted for their knowledge of its readings to the labors of collators. Hence, it is a great favor to the scholars of our day that a handsome edition has now been published, under the care of Mr. Cowper, in a handsome form, accessible to them at a comparatively cheap rate. It is a beautiful octavo, on fine solid paper, in a large, clear, stately type. It is kept on sale by Westermann, of whom it may be ordered.

A Text-Book of the History of Doctrines. By Dr. K. R. Hagenbach, Professor of Theology at Halle. The Edinburgh Translation of C. W. Buch, revised, with large Additions, from the Fourth German Edition, and other Sources. By Henry B. Smith, D.D., Professor in the Union Theological Seminary of the City of New York. Volume 1. 8vo., pp. 478. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1861.

Christian students will welcome with great pleasure an American edition of Hagenbach. That so accomplished a scholar as Professor Smith has undertaken the work will be a matter of additional gratification; and we may add that it has not been permitted to pass through his hands without receiving valuable and permanent traces of his ability and research.

Hagenbach's work first appeared in Germany in 1841; Mr. Buch's Edinburgh translation in 1846. Successive editions, both in German and English, have attested the public estimation of the work. Dr. Smith has revised the translation, and made important additions from a variety of sources from the theological literature of Germany, England, and America.

The History of Doctrines, Dr. Smith remarks, has been of all the branches of theological study the most neglected in our theological courses. Perhaps a supply of this omission will be

important in its effects. A comprehensive view of the various theological opinions that have occupied the mind of Christendom through her whole history, cannot fail of producing, in most cases, a liberalizing and yet regulative effect upon the mind.

"The theological position of the author," Dr. Smith remarks, "is on the middle ground between the destructive criticism of the school of Tübingen, and the literal orthodoxy of the extreme Lutherans, while he also sympathizes with the Reformed rather than with the Lutheran type of theology." We commend the publication to our Christian scholars, and especially to our theological professors.

Prospectus of Nichol's Series of Standard Divines. Puritan section, consisting of the complete works of Goodwin, Manton, Sibbes, Charnock, Reynolds, Clarkson, Brooks, and Adams's Practical Works. 12mo., pp. 26. Edinburgh: James Nichol. 1861.

The project of publishing a series of the old Puritan divines has been started in England, designed to render them accessible to the students and clergymen who are scholarly in taste though scanty in pocket. It has, of course, received the hearty support of the leading Calvinistic divines of England, and to a slightly qualified approval we find appended the names of a catalogue of Wesleyan divines, including those of Mr. Arthur and Dr. M'Clintock. We have not felt quite willing to add our own names to any recommendation to our ministry of a series from which evangelical Arminian divines are formally excluded. Such an exclusion draws a strict sectarian line which we must promptly and frankly recognize. To our ministry we say, here is a body of old divinity, evangelical, but strictly Calvinistic in character. We think it might just as well remain, valuable from scarceness, on the shelves of the large old libraries; for the simple reason that there is an ample body of extant divinity in our language just as evangelical and less unsound.

The Character of Jesus, forbidding the Possible Classification with Men. By Horace Bushnell. 24mo., pp. 173. New York: Charles Scribner. 1861.

The argument for Christianity from the character of Jesus possesses a peculiar force, and is here developed by Dr. Bushnell with his peculiar originality and power. It is an argument specially calculated to impress reflective minds, and into such it enters with an intuitive clearness difficult to resist. Ullmann's work on the Sinlessness of Jesus belongs to the same class of argument. The latter has been published by Gould & Lincoln.

The Benefit of Christ's Death; or, the Glorious Riches of God's Free Grace, which every true Believer receives by Jesus Christ and him crucified. Originally written in Italian by AONIO PALEARIO, and now reprinted from an ancient English translation. With an Introduction by Rev. JOHN AYER, M. A., Chaplain to the Earl of Roden. 18mo., pp. 160. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860.

Aonio Paleario was an Italian martyr for the principles of the Reformation, whose death is narrated with much interest in the introduction. Of his work the following notice is given by Macaulay:

> It was not on moral influence alone that the Catholic Church relied. In Spain and Italy the civil sword was unsparingly employed in her support. The Inquisition was armed with new powers, and inspired with a new energy. If Protestantism, or the semblance of Protestantism, showed itself in any quarter, it was instantly met, not by party-teasing persecution, but by persecution of that sort which bows down and crushes all but a very few select spirits. Whoever was suspected of heresy, whatever his rank, his learning, or his reputation, was to purge himself to the satisfaction of a severe and vigilant tribunal, or to die by fire. Heretical books were sought out and destroyed with unsparing rigor. Works which were once in every house were so effectually suppressed, that no copy of them is now to be found in the most extensive libraries. One book in particular, entitled "Of the Benefit of the Death of Christ," had this fate. It was written in Tuscan, was many times reprinted, and was eagerly read in every part of Italy. But the inquisitors detected in it the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone. *They proscribed it; and it is now as utterly lost as the second decade of Livy.*

The work, however, had been previously translated into Spanish and French, and the present translation was made from the French by A. G. (Arthur Golding) in the reign of Elizabeth. It is a work of much evangelical power and simplicity, slightly predestinarian in its views.

Notes on New Testament Literature and Ecclesiastical History. By JOSEPH ADDISON ALEXANDER, D.D. 12mo., pp. 319. New York: Charles Scribner. 1861.

Thoughts on Preaching; being Contributions to Homiletics. By JAMES W. ALEXANDER, D.D. 12mo., pp. 514. New York: Charles Scribner. 1861.

The Gospel according to Matthew explained. By JOSEPH ADDISON ALEXANDER. 12mo., pp. 456. New York: Charles Scribner. 1861.

These posthumous publications abound with the practical wisdom and rich scholarship characteristic of the authors. The notes on preaching are simply the record of self-study; the memoranda of the author's various experiments in attaining the method for himself most suitable and effective. Herein the record is of itself a lesson. It admonishes the young preacher to be ever on the alert, not merely for general rules that are stiffly laid down for all, but for those specialties of method which are most adapted for the success of one.

Hints on the Formation of Religious Opinions. Addressed especially to young Men and Women of Christian Education. By Rev. Ray Palmer, D. D. 12mo., pp. 324. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860.

Dr. Palmer's book embraces discussions of a valuable series of most important topics, which only need to be brought in contact with the proper minds to produce an impressive and beneficent effect. The mental injury produced by a permanent state of skepticism, the laws of moral reasoning, the importance of and responsibility for opinions, are topics that prepare the way. Then comes a number of arguments, bearing the stamp of productive ability, upon the proofs, the needs, and the benefits of revelation and of a faith in the high truths of Christianity.

Law and Penalty; or, Eternal Punishment consistent with the Fatherhood of God. By Joseph P. Thompson, D. D., Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church. 12mo., pp. 358. New York: Sheldon & Co.

Dr. Thompson has, in this little volume, discussed in a fresh and original style an ancient and momentous topic, namely, the doctrine of eternal punishment. He first confronts in clear and categorical issue the dicta of those oracles of modern humanitarianism, Theodore Parker and Charles Kingley, with the utterance of the true oracle of divine humanity, Jesus Christ, and shows on which side lies the balance of benevolence and authority. He next interrogates the providential history of the world, and finds visible in its administration the signature of retribution. He next examines the nature of sin, of free agency, and of penalty, to show that after present probation terminates restoration is impossible. Finally, he meets the argument of annihilationism. It is an able and eloquent discussion of this awful subject.

Reason and the Bible; or, the Truth of Religion. By Miles P. Squier, D. D., Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, Beloit College. 12mo., pp. 340. New York: Charles Scribner. 1860.

Dr. Squier is an able and independent thinker, and a clear, attractive writer on moral and intellectual topics, somewhat transcendental in philosophy, theologically an advocate of the Arminianized Calvinism, which maintains "the power of contrary choice," and renders predestination into *a decree to permit* or non-prevent the free act. The present is a well elaborated essay to show *a priori* that the religion of the Bible is *necessarily true.* His trains of thought will meet the demands of certain classes of mind, and are well worthy to be traced by lovers of unique pathways.

Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount. By Dr. A. Tholuck. Translated from the fourth revised and enlarged edition, by the Rev. R. Lundin Brown, M.A., Translator of "The Sinlessness of Jesus; an Evidence for Christianity." 8vo., pp. 443. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. New York: Sheldon & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860.

This commentary on the great sermon is one of the masterpieces of the distinguished author. He who reads it after being accustomed only to the general run of our common English commentators, will find it pour a volume of light over the whole area of that discourse. It is a great mistake to suppose that that passage of the sacred word is a simple essay, made up of the platitudes of an elementary morality; it abounds in difficulties that need the hand of a master to solve, and such a master in the main Tholuck proves himself.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Guesses at Truth. By two Brothers. From the Fifth London Edition. 12mo., pp. 545. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

The "two brothers" alluded to were Augustus William and Julius Charles Hare. The work seems mainly done by the latter. It is preluded with a dedication by Julius Charles to Wordsworth, in which he makes most pathetic allusion to his deceased brother, as well as to Coleridge, the acknowledged leader in inaugurating a result from the materializing philosophy of what he styles "a hard age."

Julius Charles, though a prosy preacher, was a nervous writer; and such was his personal influence that he was held by some as the leader of the Broad Church party of the Anglican Church. The "Guesses at Truth" was published in 1827. A second edition, with posthumous additions, was issued in 1828. The present volume, from the press of Ticknor and Fields, is in handsome style, and will be very acceptable to our American thinkers and readers, but it should have been furnished with a biography of the authors.

The Coleridgian school of which Hare was so distinguished a scholar did not work the overthrow of the Lockian philosophy, with its train of ultraisms and consequences, so much by a solution of its logic as by aiming to apply an alterative to the spirit of the day in which its logic was based. They entered a vigorous protest rather than produced a thorough refutation. Borrowing much of their philosophy from the then unknown Germany, they prosecuted a guerilla warfare, and harassed the foe with irregular arrowy showers. It was a battle of sharp and salient intuitions against heavy and formal syllologism. Of this war, Coleridge's "Aids to

Reflection," and other works, and these "Guesses," are relics. These writers did not construct any elaborate counter-system. Coleridge, indeed, imagined that his intuitional eye could descry the outlines of a grand synthesis, the structure of which he would in time place before the world. He failed, as his friends thought, from procrastination, etc., to accomplish the work. He failed, as we venture to imagine, from want of constructive capacity to set his building up.

There is something attractive in the refined, classical, subtle, elegant, intuitional spirit of Hare. He belonged to that class of mind whom the semi-sensationalism of Locke, the necessitarianism of Hobbes, and the denial of our moral nature taught by Paley, would have forced into infidelity. He fought his way to what of a spiritual religion he attained. Its sincerity he attested by a zealous performance, colleger though he was, of the humble duties of a rustic pastorate. The engraving prefixed to the present volume meets our beau ideal of the thorough-bred Oxonian.

Coins, Medals, and Seals, Ancient and Modern, illustrated and described. With a Sketch of the History of Coins and Coinage, Instructions for Young Collectors, Tables of Comparative Rarity, Price Lists of English and American Coins, Medals, and Tokens, etc., etc. Edited by W. C. PRIME, Author of "Boat Life in Egypt and Nubia," "Tent Life in the Holy Land," etc., etc. Small 4to. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Prime has here made a fine effort to popularize an interesting and valuable branch of investigation. One of his purposes has been to supersede the present puerile love for strange coin by a legitimate understanding and appreciation of the historical uses of numismatic science. The work is copiously illustrated, as it should be, with engraved specimens. The treatise is itself in chronological order. But revolving its pages backward, beginning with the end, trace with your eye the records of receding antiquity. First, are the coins and medals of our own country running back to a period of the Revolution and colonization. Next come the coins and medals of England, mounting up to William the Conqueror, and through the Saxon times. Then come Greece and Rome; and then the Hebrew ages, ascending even to the Abrahamic age, with a sidelong limb branching into Egypt. Through all these periods do these voluble little pocket monuments commemorate the events, present the pictures of the distinguished men, and illustrate the history, of past ages. Some of the most striking illustrations and confirmations of sacred writ are derived from coins and medals, all the more striking and convincing from their minuteness and the accidental character of the evidence.

The Recreations of a Country Parson. 12mo., pp. 442. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1861.

There is something soothing and genial in the "country parson." He is a sort of Vicar of Wakefield turned philosopher; his philosophizing being of the diffusive, amplifying, ruminating style, rather than of the deep and sententious. He discourses in no hurry, but takes his time; and if you have not time, you can go and leave room for those that have. His pages are sunny. He writes in periods mellifluous, such as cannot be done with a steel pen. Read and be wiser, be quieter, be happier, be better.

The New American Cyclopedia. A Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. Edited by GEORGE RIPLEY and CHARLES A. DANA. Volumes X and XI, Jerusalem—Moxa. Pp. 800, 800. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861.

The American Cyclopedia marches into completed existence with a very stately and inevitable progress. With an able corps of contributors, upon a large and liberal foundation, the work has already passed the ordeal of general criticism, and secured a permanent and commanding position as the completest work of the kind in our language. As a work of reference it will be invaluable to every literary man.

The Romance of Natural History. By PHILIP HENRY GOSSE, F.R.S., Author of "Aquarium," etc., etc., with elegant Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 368. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1861.

In this volume, as in his previous productions, Mr. Gosse has displayed his extraordinary power at exhibiting the picturesque aspects of the natural world, the wonderful romance of reality. A main point of the book is a brave effort to secure for the sea serpent a respectable position in the classifications of science. The work is externally finished in a suitable style.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Memorials of Thomas Hood. Collected, Arranged, and Edited by his Daughter. With a Preface and Notes by his Son. Illustrated with Copies from his own Sketches. Two vols. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

The name of Thomas Hood stirs the founts of smiles and tears more quickly than that of any other *litterateur* of this century. For many years he was the leading comic genius in English literature. He may be said to have created the modern type of the ridiculous in literature. Lamb was as great a wit, probably,

and a greater humorist; but Lamb confined his wit to the unpublished form of his tea-table and his correspondence. His Essays of Elia and poems have but little of the sparkle that the letters and jokes, published since his death, disclose. A genial, quiet, rich humorist is all his own revelations of himself revealed. Hood commenced his career as a joker and punster with word and pen, and was without question ahead of all his cotemporaries in these gifts. Jerrold never equaled him in the use of words, nor in that funniest of gifts, the power of punning with the pen, or making little pictures utter the most laughable jests. Cruikshanks has no such gift, rare as his qualities in comic drawing are; nor Hogarth, nor Wilkie. Thackeray alone approaches him in this talent, but Thackeray is more scholarly and finished, and hence not so broad, nor so instantly and universally appreciable as Hood. Punch, with all its varied wealth, is but a feeble successor of Hood's "Comic Annual," Hood's own, and other serials got up almost exclusively by him. Nothing in the line of pictorial wit surpasses many of those tiny sketches. How admirably the geographical passion of his day, the discovery of the pole, is set off in the frightened boy suddenly overtaken by the pole of a coach. The other geographical passion, the discovery of the source of the Niger, is hit off with equal wit in the picture of the black stream issuing from the overturned ink-stand. The republication of these funny scraps of poetry and prose without their funnier linear attendants, so common among us, is as absurd as it would be to publish the pieces themselves with every pun carefully picked out.

He did not shine alone in this sphere. In his earlier literary history other qualities showed themselves. Sometimes the comic mask would suddenly drop and reveal features of most tragic power. The Dream of Eugene Aram is one of the most quiet yet most intense tragedies in the English language. The Ancient Mariner and Christabel are not more frightful, while they use a sort of supernaturalism to increase their terror. The dream is one of the plainest and most straightforward stories. Other pieces, like the Haunted House, etc., have a like element of the horrible. He had, also, a vein of quiet, pleasant fancy which shows itself in The Plea of the Midsummer Fairies, and many bits of song that gleam among his pages like his Ruth among the reapers. It was not till late in life that he showed how great was his power over the pathetic. In two or three of these later poems his genius seemed to have flowered in verses of rarest sympathy and sweetness. The Song of the Shirt and The Bridge of Sighs are the crowning

efforts of his life, those by which he has won his widest and most enduring fame. He wrote but little after them. Sickness soon after wrought its perfect work, which it had been laboring so many years to accomplish.

These memorials consist chiefly of letters written between the years 1835 and 1844. They are genial, and at times witty; but have not the careful, elaborate wit of his publications. His life was too happy to make his private correspondence peculiarly brilliant. A few of them are carefully prepared, and are, of course, exceedingly rich in fun; but most of them are only the rollicking overflowings of a jovial nature resting in the perfect blessedness of home content.

These letters show him cheerful and brave in his constant battle with sickness and poverty. We wish they showed him pious. He, however, had a great dread of that grace, and the bitterest letter in the volume is a savage retort on a good lady who "labored" with him, because of the irreligious or non-religious tendency of his writings. He had the reputation of being a skeptic, but this his daughter vehemently denies. He was undoubtedly of the school of light scoffers who have not yet quite died out in England, and are just beginning to buzz their brief day in America. His last words show that the early teachings and general influence of the Church finally, though feebly, encompassed and rescued him. In a whisper, he said: "O Lord, say, 'Arise, take up thy cross and follow me!'" H.

Our Excellent Women of the Methodist Church, in England and America. Illustrated with fourteen engravings on steel. 8vo., pp. 286. New York: J. C. Buttre.

This superb volume was projected by G. P. Disosway, Esq.; the articles are contributed by a variety of hands, and the engravings are executed by Buttre. Among the writers are Dr. Stevens, Dr. Peck, Mrs. Olin, Mrs. Freeborn Garrettson, Dr. M'Clintock, and Dr. D. W. Clark. The list of characters is appropriately headed by the mother of the Wesley brothers. It is a noble memorial volume; being one of the sparkling gems of the season, and a suitable souvenir for any season.

We are not sure whether the selection of American ladies could have been improved. Certain it is we could count up a goodly number of living Methodist ladies whose names would grace a handsome volume. Our Ladies' Repository is indeed conducted with great success by a masculine hand; but there are several ladies we could name, amply qualified to conduct it, we do not

say *as* ably, but ably. We have feminine talent in and about New York enough both to edit and to fill with taste and ability the pages of a spirited monthly. This we say, not to provoke the enterprise; but to suggest attention to the amount of feminine talent extant among us at the present time. Mrs. Olin, Mrs. Holdich, Mrs. Stevens, Mrs. Phebe Palmer, Miss Imogen Mercein, with other kindred names, are clustered over a narrow area of our country. We name but one who has not appeared either as contributor or author in our Quarterly.

Travels in the Regions of the Upper and Lower Amoor, and the Russian Acquisitions on the Confines of India and China. With Adventures among the Mountain Kirghis, and the Manjours, Manyargs, Toungous, Towzemts, Goldi, and Gelyaks; the Hunting and Pastoral Tribes. By THOMAS WITLAM ATKINSON, F.G.S., F.R.G.S., Author of "Oriental and Western Siberia." With a Map and numerous Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 448. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

Mr. Atkinson possesses rare qualifications for his "mission" as an explorer and recorder. The northern half of Asia is like Africa, though in a different way, a land of the future; and his records are hardly less interesting than those of Livingstone himself. His graphic descriptions are well illustrated by drawings done by his own hand fresh from nature, presenting the strange sceneries and objects of that land of rocks and frosts.

History of the United Netherlands, from the Death of William the Silent to the Synod of Dort; with a full view of the English-Dutch Struggle against Spain, and of the Origin and Destruction of the Spanish Armada. By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, LL.D., D.C.L., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France; Author of "The Rise of the Dutch Republic." 2 volumes 8vo., pp. 532, 563.

The concurrent voice of contemporary criticism pronounces that the present volumes will confirm the reputation of its author as a standard historian. We hope to furnish our readers a full review of the work.

Odd People. Being a Popular Description of Singular Races of Man. By Captain MAYNE REID, Author of "The Desert Home," etc. With Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 461. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1860.

We have many "odd" neighbors in the world. There are people who indulge in habits decidedly uncleanly; others whose persons have very peculiar formations and features; and others still who actually cultivate the foible of eating human flesh. Their acquaintance is much less pleasant in real life than in Mr. Reid's book.

Plants of the Holy Land, with their Fruits and Flowers. Beautifully Illustrated by Original Drawings, colored from nature. By Rev. HENRY S. OSBORN, Author of "Palestine, Past and Present." Small 4to., pale green and gilt, pp. 174. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1861.

Mr. Osborn's "Palestine," which was noticed in a former number of our Quarterly, introduced him to the acquaintance of the public as an accomplished scholar, an acute observer, and a pleasant writer. The present volume, suggested by the topics treated in that, is the result of valuable and competent personal investigation, with the best living aids. A thorough use of the older works of Bochart and others, corrected by the light of the latest investigations, renders the work authoritative in its department. All this erudition is presented in a graceful style of language, and with an exterior finish of the volume appropriate to the beautiful subject, rendering it one of the most pleasing, as well as most useful books of the season. The illustrations are done with much brilliancy of coloring, and their perfectly authentic character renders them objects of special interest.

The Life of Trust. Being a Narrative of the Lord's Dealings with GEORGE MÜLLER, written by himself. Edited and Condensed by Rev. H. LINCOLN WAYLAND, Pastor of the Third Baptist Church, Worcester, Mass. With an Introduction by FRANCIS WAYLAND. 12mo., pp. 475. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1861.

Of this work we are expecting a full review.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

Abridgement of the Debates of Congress, from 1789–1856. From GALES & SEATON'S Annals of Congress, from their Register of Debates, and from the Official Reported Debates by JOHN C. RIVES. By the Author of the Thirty Years' View. Vols. xv, xvi. 8vo., pp. 631, 631. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861.

The present volumes of this great work bring our Congressional History down to September 1850. They present the details of the celebrated compromise of that year.

Educational.

Education; Intellectual, Moral, and Physical. By HERBERT SPENCER. Author of "Social Statistics," etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 283. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861.

Mr. Herbert Spencer is a leading writer in the British Reviews, especially the Westminster, and is an able exponent of principles

belonging to the general school of John Stuart Mill. The Appleton's have issued a prospectus of an extensive scheme of volumes from his pen upon subjects of great theoretical and practical importance. They propose to embrace a scheme of philosophy in its various departments, founded upon carefully elaborated first principles. Biology, psychology, sociology, and morality are to be presented in their newest light under the power of a fresh and original investigation. Much is already written. Upon the subscription list we find some of the most eminent American names, such as Everett, Charles Sumner, Bancroft, Dr. Storrs, Seward, and G. P. Marsh.

The present volume is written with a fair but not commanding ability. The writer forcibly urges the importance of imparting to every pupil the knowledge of those branches most practically adapted to his uses in life. He speaks slightingly of classical attainment except as a specialty, and endeavors to point out specifically the parts and methods of knowledge and instruction to be preferred.

Rudiments of Public Speaking and Debate; or, Hints on the Applications of Logic. By G. J. Holyoake. With an Essay on Sacred Eloquence, by Henry Rogers. Revised, with Introduction and Notes by L. D. Barrows, D.D. 12mo., pp. 230. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1861.

For all aspirants to excellence in public speaking this is a valuable and interesting practical manual. The principal Essay, by Mr. Holyoake, of England, is a fresh, piquant, suggestive production; full of illustrative anecdotes, striking apothegms, intuitive glances into men and things, shaped into a symmetrical but by no means exhaustive treatise. The Essay by Henry Rogers, the brilliant and profound author of the Eclipse of Faith, was first published in the Edinburgh Review, where it received the marked attention of the thoughtful world, as filled with suggestions of practical value. We think it not overrated. The only fault we find with it is its apparent purpose of running all pulpit eloquence into the same mould. It assumes to say, a little too peremptorily, This is *the* way and *the only* way. We object to so much strait-jacket. This may be *a* way, a most excellent way; but neither the genius of the preacher nor the idiosyncracies of the hearer are to be fastened to the one mode that suits Mr. Rogers and his class. To the first Essay Mr. Barrows has affixed a series of notes, which are eminently observations taken fresh from life and practice by a live and practical preacher. Let our young ministry study this work and we think they will acknowledge a high obligation for its benefits.

The Elements of Logic; adapted to the Capacity of Younger Students. By CHARLES K. TRUE, D.D. Revised Edition. 12mo., pp. 176. New York: Carlton & Porter; Ivison, Phinney, & Co. 1861.

Dr. True's manual is remarkable for its clearness and simplicity. It develops the established principles of the science by a lucid statement of the principles illustrated, with a copious list of examples. For the purpose of inducting the pupil into the elementary principles it has perhaps no superior; and to render it suitable for the advanced collegiate classes it only wants additions and enlargements in the same style and spirit. Logic is practically a disciplinary rather than an enriching science. Its practical value, like that of grammar, is not so much in the knowledge it bestows as the habits it creates. The logical drill, completely performed, affects our reasoning operations and gives them more or less a different method, leaving its effects on the action even after the rules are forgotten. For general practical purposes, therefore, it is not so much the amount of knowledge acquired, as the thoroughness of the praxis, which produces the modifying result. The present volume, well reduced to practice, would to a great extent accomplish this end.

Belles Lettres and Classical.

Moral and Religious Quotations from the Poets, Topically Arranged. Comprising Choice Selections from Six Hundred Authors. Compiled by Rev. WILLIAM RICE, A.M. 8vo., pp. 338. New York: Carlton & Porter, 200 Mulberry-st.

In the day when we were ambitious for all knowledge, we often wished, as we surveyed some magnificent library, that its contents could be concentrated to a few select ingots of thought, and received into the mind. So far as poetry is concerned, Mr. Rice has here achieved about the best that can be done in this way with a library of "six hundred" poets. From a wide range of English and American authors, and from a choice few of German, French, Greek, and Latin, he has, with vast reading and unusual taste and skill, made a most complete selection of choicest passages upon a circle of topics most desirable to a moral and intellectual thinker. However much one may often prefer for perusal an entire production to a fragment, there is a great interest in tracing the different modes in which different men of genius can treat the same subject, by selecting different traits, or approaching by different access. Take the theme Immortality, and see with what varying phrases, what different lights and shades, the most brilliant minds that ever thought on earth have touched it. It is amusing as well as

interesting to see how each candidate steps successively forward to show with what magic of thought and word he can enchant you. Great is your privilege in thus calling before your umpirage the proudest sons of song to contend for the crown of mastery at your hand. (We may remark by the way that the twelfth passage on Immortality was written, not by "Anonymous," but by Lord Byron.)

In the whole work, perhaps, there is no passage to which we are more inclined to assign the prize than to the sonnet, under the head of Darkness, by a poet hardly known as a poet, J. Blanco White. For beauty and sublimity, whether of imagery, language, or thought, what sonnet is its superior?

Mysterious night! when our first parent knew
Thee from report divine, and heard thy name,
Did he not tremble for this lovely frame,
This glorious canopy of light and blue?
Yet 'neath a curtain of translucent dew,
Bathed in the rays of the great setting flame,
Hesperus, with the host of heaven, came,
And lo! creation widened in man's view.
Who could have thought such darkness lay concealed
Within thy beams, O sun? or who could find
Whilst fly, and leaf, and insect stood revealed,
That to such countless orbs thou mad'st us blind?
Why do we, then, shun death with anxious strife?
If light can thus deceive, wherefore not life?

The volume is externally finished in various styles. In its best style it is one of the finest annuals for any year of any century of future time. The book is one of the multiplying proofs that when Carlton & Porter lay out for the business, their workmanship is unsurpassed.

Critical and Miscellaneous Essays and Poems. By T. Babington Macaulay. New Edition. 12mo., pp. 358. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860.

These pieces embrace the fugitive productions of Macaulay from his boyhood, through his college days, until his maturity of manhood. They exhibit a striking picture of this wonderful man, with all the versatility of his varied erudition and varied talents. The following memoranda in the brief preface furnish a summary of his active life:

He was born on 25th October, 1800; commenced residence at Trinity College, Cambridge, in October, 1818; was elected Craven University Scholar in 1821; graduated as B. A. in 1822; was elected fellow of the college in October, 1824;

was called to the bar in February, 1826, when he joined the Northern Circuit; and was elected member for Calne in 1830. After this last event, he did not long continue to practice at the bar. He went to India in 1834, whence he returned in June, 1838. He was elected member for Edinburgh in 1839, and lost this seat in July, 1847; and this (though he was afterward again elected for that city in July, 1852, without being a candidate) may be considered as the last instance of his taking an active part in the contests of public life.

Herodotus. Recensuit JOSEPHUS WILLIAMS BLAKESLEY, S.T.B. Colb., ss., apud Cantabr., quondam Socius. 2 vols. 24mo., pp. 362, 364. New York. Harper & Brothers. 1861.

Euripides, ex recensione FREDERICI A. PALEY, accessit valorum et nominum index. 2 vols., pp. 304, 310. New York: Harper & Bros. 1861.

These pocket editions of the classics, of which the Harpers are prosecuting a fine series, will be acceptable to the scholars of our country.

Pamphlets.

National Fast: A Fast-day Sermon, delivered in the City of Flint, Jan. 4, 1861. By Rev. JAMES S. SMART, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Flint, Mich. 18mo., pp. 22. William Levenson. 1861.

The free, outspoken, eloquent sentiments of Mr. Smart illustrate the folly of the Southern fantasy that New England is specially ultra, and may be allowed to drift away by herself. The great northwest responds to the northeast

> As Jura answers from her misty shroud
> Back to the joyous Alps that call to her aloud.

Nor least distinct is the voice of the central peninsular state.

The Duties of Christian Patriotism: A Discourse preached in the Methodist Episcopal Church, Warren-street, Roxbury, Mass., on the occasion of the National Fast. By Rev. FALES HENRY NEWHALL. 8vo., pp. 16. Boston: John M. Hewes, No. 81 Cornhill. 1861.

Mr. Buchanan seemed to have had a presentiment that his cabinet and administration belonged to that "kind" that "goeth not out but by prayer and fasting," and so appointed a day for those exercises. One good result was the preaching and publication of Mr. Newhall's sermon.

A SERMON delivered on the late national FAST-DAY, by Rev. GILBERT HAVEN, has been received, but mislaid. As our memory serves us, it was marked by Mr. Haven's usual nervous thought and free speech. Of course he felt "irrepressibly" bound to reiterate his pet heresy in favor of John Brown as a true martyr hero. For this view he quotes Victor Hugo, of whose fame we have heard as a rather brilliant poet of the pyrotechnic school, but not

as a moral philosopher. He adduces, also, the precedent of Garibaldi to justify John Brown, which seems to us rather contrast than parallel. We had supposed it an elementary principle, found in our horn-books of moral philosophy, that the man who proposes to revolutionize even the most unjust government must be able to show some presumptive prospect of success; otherwise he is a bootless disturber, leading his followers to ruin, and confirming the despotism he exasperates. Garibaldi could and did furnish this showing. But the project of liberating the half-civilized, scattered, unarmed, subdued negro slaves of this country, against the then united power of this nation, was evidently the hallucination of a man whom great injuries had rendered cerebrally monomaniac. It was conceived in insanity and could only turn out a *ludibrium flebile*. On the whole, much more is made of the entire matter than it is worth. His raid was not equivalent to the hundredth part of the forays and outrages of the proslavery hordes upon Kansas, supported by all the power of an unscrupulous administration. Had he committed an equal assault not against slavery, but in favor of it, the narration would hardly have filled a newspaper paragraph. Its truth would have been unscrupulously denied by the proslavery party, and the hero would have been rewarded with a government office. As it is, being a single case of the kind, the propagandists have felt bound to make the most of it. They have thence shown their extraordinary powers of creating a sensation, fully corroborating the sentiment attributed to Governor Houston, that "one slaveholder in a place can raise such a howl that you will imagine that he is a hundred."

The Omnipotence of Charity: a Missionary Sermon, preached before the West Wisconsin Conference. By C. E. Weirich. Published by request. 12mo., pp. 35. New York: Carlton and Porter. 1861.

Mr. Weirich's sermon was published by request of the Conference and the presiding bishop. It is marked by a bold, exuberant eloquence, which was doubtless very impressive in the delivery. Making due allowances for its oratorical purpose, it is impressive in the reading.

Miscellaneous.

The Doomsday Book of the State of New York. Founded 1860. Wells & Gillette, 20 Cooper Institute, New York.

Borrowing a name from William the Conqueror, this company has established, on the principle of republican voluntaryism, an in-

stitution of some interest to most minds. The object is to furnish a safe depository through all future time for family records. Blanks are furnished for every person who orders them, presenting the points to be supplied of a brief biography. Pedigrees may be recorded, and in process of time investigations will be instituted of family histories. Apart from the natural interest belonging to descent, the permanent existence of such an institution may be of great legal value in the settlement of titles to estates. The deposit will be made in the library of the Historical Society of the City of New York. The enterprise is sanctioned by a long array of the most eminent names of our country.

The following works our space does not allow us to notice in full:

First Greek Book. Comprising an outline of the Forms and Inflections of the Language. A complete Analytical Syntax and an Introductory Greek Reader, with Notes and Vocabularies by ALBERT HARKNESS, Ph. D. 16mo., pp. 276. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861.

Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character. By E. B. RAMSAY, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.E. 12mo., pp. 297. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1861.

The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments. Translated and Arranged, with Notes, by LEICESTER AMBROSE SAWYER. Vol. II. The Later Prophets. 12mo., pp. 384. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co.

Hymns of the Ages. Second Series. Being Selections from WITTIER, CRASHAW, SOUTHWELL, HABINGTON, and other sources. 12mo., pp. 336. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1861.

Christian Songs. Translations and other Poems by the Rev. JAMES GILBORNE LYONS, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 157. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. 1861.

Selections from the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, for Families and Schools. By the Rev. DAVID GREENE HASKINS. 12mo., pp. 436. Boston: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1861.

The Life of Faith Exemplified; or, Extracts from the Journal of HESTER ANN ROGERS. 18mo., pp. 276. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1861.

The Odyssey of Homer, with the Hymns, Epigrams, and Battle of the Frogs and Mice. Literally Translated, with Explanatory Notes, by THOMAS ALOIS BUCKLEY, B. A. of Christ Church. 12mo., pp. 432. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

Handbook of Universal Literature. From the best and latest authorities. Designed for popular Reading and as a Text Book for Schools and Colleges. By ANNA C. LYNCH BOTTA. 12mo., pp. 567. New York: Sheldon & Co.

The Housekeeper's Encyclopedia of Useful Information for the Housekeeper in all branches of Cooking and Domestic Economy. Containing the first Scientific and Reliable Rules for putting up all kinds of Hermetically Sealed Fruits, with or without Sugar, in Tin Cans or Common Bottles. Rules for Preserving Fruits in American and French styles. With Tried

Receipts for making Domestic Wines, Catsups, Syrups, Cordials, etc. And Practical Directions for the Cultivation of Vegetables, Fruits, and Flowers, Destruction of Insects, etc., etc. By Mrs. E. F. Haskell. 12mo., pp. 445. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861.

Tom Brown at Oxford. A Sequel to School Days at Rugby. By the Author of "School Days at Rugby," etc., etc. Part First. 12mo., pp. 360. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

Faithful Forever. By Coventry Patmore, Author of "The Angel in the House." 12mo., pp. 231. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1861.

One of Them. By Charles Lever, Author of "Charles O'Malley," "Gerald Fitzgerald," etc., etc. 8vo., pp. 187. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

Kormak. An Icelandic Romance of the Tenth Century, in six cantos. 12mo., pp. 110. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1861.

Lake House. By Fanny Jerrald. Translated from the German by Nathaniel Greene. 12mo., pp. 304. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861.

Struggle for Life. By the Author of "Seven Stormy Days," "The Queen of the Red Chessmen," etc., etc. Second thousand. 12mo., pp. 311. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1861.

The Dutch Dominie of the Catskills; or, The Time of Bloody Brandt." By Rev. David Murdoch, D.D. 12mo., pp. 471. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1861.

Juvenile.

Primary History of the United States. Made Easy and Interesting for Beginners. By George B. Quackenbos, A.M., Principal of the Collegiate School, N. Y. Author of "Illustrated History of the United States," etc., etc. Square 12mo., pp. 192. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860.

Our Year. A Child's Book in Prose and Verse. By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." Illustrated by Clarence Dobell. 16mo., pp. 297. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

The Children's Bible Picture Book. Illustrated with 80 Engravings. 16mo., pp. 321. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

American History. By Jacob Abbott. Illustrated with numerous Maps and Engravings. Vol. iii. The Southern Colonies. 16mo., pp. 286. New York: Sheldon & Co. Boston: Gould and Lincoln.

The Children's Picture Book of Birds. Illustrated with 61 Engravings. By W. Harvey. Small 4to., pp. 276. New York: Harper & Brothers.

History of Genghis Khan. By Jacob Abbott. With Engravings. 18mo., pp. 335. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

Bruin; The Grand Bear Hunt. By Capt. Mayne Reid. Author of "The Boy Hunters," "The Young Voyageurs," "Odd People," etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 371. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1861.

The Children's Picture Book of Quadrupeds, and other Mammalia. Illustrated with 61 Engravings by W. Harvey. Small 4to., pp. 276. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

Stories of Rainbow and Luckey. By JACOB ABBOTT. Author of "Up the River." 16mo., pp. 192. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

The Heroes of Europe. A Biographical Outline of European History, from A.D. 200 to 1700. By HENRY G. HEWLETT. 12mo., pp. 370. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1861.

The Children's Picture Fable Book. Containing 160 Fables, with 60 Illustrations. By HARRISON WEIR. Small 4to., pp. 278. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

Pictures and Flowers for Child-Lovers. 24mo., pp. 211. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co.

The Florence Stories. By JACOB ABBOTT. Excursion to the Orkney Islands. 16mo., pp. 252. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1861.

My Holiday Gift. A book of Pretty Poems, Stories, and Sketches, for boys and girls, by various Authors. A gift for all seasons of the year. 13 Illustrations. Small 4to., pp. 218. New York: Carlton & Porter.

The following are late issues from the METHODIST BOOK ROOMS, Carlton & Porter, New York:

May Coverley: the Story of God's Dealings with a poor Fatherless Girl. Five Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 262.

Andy O'Hara; or, The Child of Providence. Three Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 198.

Parson Hubert's School; or, Harry Kingsley's Trial. Three Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 252.

Abel Grey: the Story of a Singing Boy. Five Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 242.

Nellie Morris and her Cousin. A Story for Girls. Four Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 192.

A Waif from the River Side; or, Stories, Sketches, Letters, and Poems. Selected from a Manuscript Newspaper. Three Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 172.

The Story of a Scripture Text; or, What Four Little Girls did with a Text about Pleasant Words. Three Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 202.

Notice of the following is postponed to the July number:

Autobiography of Dr. Carlyle. Ticknor & Co.

Evenings with the Doctrines. By Dr. N. Adams. Gould & Lincoln.

Human Destiny. A Critique on Universalism. By C. F. Hudson. James Munroe & Co.

Personal History of Lord Bacon. By Dixon. Ticknor & Co.

The Pulpit of the American Revolution; or, the Political Sermons of the Period of 1776, with a Historical Introduction, Notes, and Illustrations. By JOHN WINGATE THORNTON, A. M. 12mo., pp. 537. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1861.

Art. I.—THE TEMPORAL GOVERNMENT OF THE PONTIFICAL STATES.

Of all the governments now existing in Europe, that of the pope is the most anomalous. Nearly every other state has introduced important modifications into its system within the past half century. The British Constitution, in which Parliament is said to be omnipotent, has evinced more than once the possession of that power of adaptation which has enabled it to weather the greatest storms of the past, and to brace itself for the encounter of still greater tempests, if need be, in the future. Nor have the despotisms of the old world remained unchanged. Russia has, of the free-will of her autocrat, provided for the abolition of the system of serfdom, which prevented her from entering into fair competition with her western neighbors in the arts of life. Austria, too, the most retrograde of powers, begins to discern the necessity of some concessions to the popular will, confessing, by a partial relaxation of her rigorous rule, that however adapted her institutions may have been to the past, they are not fully applicable to the exigencies of the times.

But the papal court claims infallibility; and this infallibility covers not merely symbols of faith and ecclesiastical forms, but extends equally to the administration of civil government within the dominions of the Church. Innovation has consequently come to be regarded as an acknowledgment of error, whether it pertain to matters of Church or State. In consistency with

this belief, we behold a singular retention of even the most antiquated forms. Not only do the officials that surround the pontiff remain such as they were ages ago, with powers and prerogatives defined with the utmost precision by inflexible tradition; but their very costumes have in no wise altered, though the fashions of the world around them have been modified a hundred times.* Even the Swiss guards who take their station at the door of the Sistine Chapel, or at the entrance of the papal audience chamber, exhibit the same motley dress, whose invention a current tradition (it is to be hoped, for his credit, a false one) attributes to the great Michael Angelo, who died three hundred years before this age of rifled muskets and Armstrong guns.

A government so inflexible as that of the Papal States, it might have been supposed, could scarcely have subsisted for so long a period, unless it possessed remarkable excellences, and answered, to an unusual extent, the desires of its subjects. And such, in fact, is the claim advanced by the adherents and warm admirers of the popes. It is thus asserted by the Rev. John Miley, D. D., in his "History of the Papal States:"

> The sovereigns [the popes] who, in the face of so many disadvantages and obstacles, have succeeded in raising the States of Central Italy from the lowest abyss of ruin to a "*condition of unexampled prosperity*;" to a condition in which "some evidence of improvement is to be met at every step;" a condition in which "the people are well fed and prosperous," and in every way so well off as to draw from an English traveler who loves his country the wish that "our peasantry at home were as well dressed, as well fed, or *half as happy* as they appear to be;" the sovereigns who have secured the *common weal* in such an eminent degree as this, and that, too, in the teeth of the unceasing and baleful resistance they had to contend against, (albeit, their diurnal habiliments are not cut in conformity with the latest bulletin of fashion either from London or from Paris, but rather resemble those worn by dictators and censors during the pristine ages of the Roman Republic,) even on the ground of superior capacity and efficiency, have nobly vindicated their right to that scepter which, placed in their hands by Providence, their dynasty has wielded to the incalculable

* The dress of the priesthood, which at first was precisely similar to that of the laity, began to differ from the latter in the sixth century, when the Roman *toga* yielded its place, in common life, to the shorter and more convenient *sagum*. The council that met at Macon in A.D. 583 by its fifth canon forbids the use of the *sagum* and of all worldly clothing to the clergy. (Kurtz, Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte, Vol. 1, sec. 263, pp. 354–6.)

advantage of religion, of liberty, of the arts, of letters, and of whatever else is most essential to Christian civilization, for now considerably more than a thousand years.—Vol. iii. pp. 641, 642. London. 1850.

This fulsome panegyric of the papal government has even been surpassed by the extraordinary statements recently attributed (with how much truth we know not) to an American literary gentleman who has traveled more extensively, perhaps, than any other of our countrymen. The substance of his plea is condensed in the following sentence: "The government is an elective monarchy; it has a liberal Constitution, light taxation, very little pauperism, an economical administration, a cheap and free education for all classes, abundant institutions of charity for the needy and suffering." Some of the more specific assertions are these:

For many years there is a smaller proportion of clergymen holding office in the Roman States, than in some of the states of the Union. The salaries of the higher officers of state do not exceed $3,000 a year, and the whole civil list costs about $600,000. The Papal States, with a population of less than 3,000,000, have seven universities, and the city of Rome has more free public schools than New York, in proportion to her population, and what is better, a larger proportion of children attend them. Holland, France, and other free and enlightened countries, have from three to ten times as much pauperism in proportion to the population. The city of New York supports more paupers, has more uneducated children, and suffers from more crime, year by year, than the whole nearly 3,000,000 of people of the States of the Church.

We do not intend to enter into any minute examination of the particulars of this broad and bold defense of the pontifical government. The very circumstance that statements so paradoxical are advanced, may serve as a sufficient excuse for an investigation of the character and practical operation of that much lauded system. For the present let the revolt of the Romagnoli and the inhabitants of the Marches, comprehending about two thirds of the entire number of the pope's subjects, and the subsequent annexation to Sardinia, confirmed by an almost unanimous vote, be regarded as a sufficient rejoinder. The popular voice, with which that of posterity will accord, has already pronounced upon the character of an administration that has had a thousand years in which to develop its true nature.

In the "liberal, constitutional, elective monarchy" of the Roman States, the supreme authority, legislative, judicial, and executive, is vested in the single person of the pope. In all these three departments, although he may seek the counsel of his subordinates, his decision is unrestricted and final. He is neither checked nor assisted by any representative body chosen, directly or indirectly, by the people or by any select portion of the people. In the temporal affairs of his kingdom the pope claims to be as absolute, as in the spiritual concerns of the world he is infallible. There is no such bill of rights as to deserve the name of a constitution; still less are there deputies chosen by the people, and sworn to watch over its execution. Nor does the pope owe his election to the people, or any body representing the people. He is chosen by the "Sacred College" of cardinals, who themselves were designated to this office by the sole appointment of previous popes. The pontifical monarchy can consequently be termed *elective* only in the sense that it is not hereditary, but that the new pope is created by electors who are themselves the creation of preceding popes. In this respect, as in many others, it is notorious that the Romans of our day are deprived of privileges which their ancestors possessed. It was an incontestable right of the people to participate in the election of the bishop of the city, and this prerogative was constantly exercised throughout long ages. "The Roman primate was elected," says Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who wrote in the latter part of the ninth century, "a cunctis sacerdotibus seu proceribus, et omni clero nec non et optimatibus, vel populo cuncto Romano." When the German empire became powerful, the pope was constrained, previous to consecration, to await the imperial sanction, and Otho I. prescribed that he should swear solemnly to preserve intact the rights of the clergy, the people, and the emperor. It was not until A.D. 1059 that an edict was issued empowering the conclave of cardinals to elect the Pope out of their own number.

Uniting in his own person such extensive and absolute powers, the pontiff could not find the requisite time, even if he possessed the administrative ability, to discharge the multifarious duties attaching to his office. His jurisdiction must necessarily be delegated. Both in ecclesiastical and in civil matters

he must have his advisers, whose authority emanates from him alone, but is virtually ultimate in all except the most important cases. In conformity with the idea of an ecclesiastical state, these assistants are drawn from the subordinate officers of the Church. The body of cardinals, which supplies the early felt want of a privy council, to assist the monarch in the consideration of all questions requiring deliberation, was originally composed of the chief priests of the several parish churches of the Roman metropolis. Their name, in the earlier part of the middle ages not appropriated exclusively by them, but applied as well to the principal ecclesiastics of other great capitals, undoubtedly arose from their connection with a Church upon which all Christendom was supposed in a certain measure to *hinge*;* and their induction into office, as also that of clergymen into other important charges, was expressed by the Italian term *incardinare*.

The number of the cardinals, which of course fluctuated with the number of the great parishes within the Roman walls, was not definitely fixed until Sixtus V., in 1586, limited it to seventy. Its members are not, however, precisely equal in point of dignity, for the college when full consists of six cardinal bishops, fifty cardinal priests, and fourteen cardinal deacons. The first class contains the bishops of six dioceses in the immediate vicinity of Rome, and in a special manner dependent upon it: Ostia, Porto, Sabina, Frascati, Albano, and Palestrina. The second class is composed of the titular rectors of the urban parish churches. The cardinal deacons, constituting the third class, correspond in number to the fourteen regions into which the city is divided, and likewise derive their titles from some of the more influential churches. The terms bishop, priest, and deacon do not, however, accurately describe the ecclesiastical rank of the cardinals, for many of the cardinal priests are in reality bishops of other sees, and most of the cardinal deacons belong to the higher orders of the Church. An established law or usage, on the other hand, makes it "obli-

* Or because, as said Eugenius IV., "like as the door of the house turns on its *hinges*, so the Apostolic See, and the door of the whole Church, rest upon them." The same derivation is given in the Corpus Juris, and in the decrees of the Council of Basle. In 1569 Pius V. forbade the canons at Ravenna, Compostella, Milan, etc., from assuming the name of cardinals. (Abbé de Valette in the *Ami de la Religion*, Oct. 1850, quoted in the Dict. des Cardinaux of the Abbé Migne.)

gatory upon a cardinal to receive the holy order befitting his rank, within twelve months from the date of his appointment, under pain of rendering his nomination void." But the pope occasionally dispenses with the execution of this law, and even laymen have been admitted into the college of cardinals when they have been found well qualified for the discharge of the office of secretary of state.* Thus at the present moment Cardinal Antonelli, who, in the capacity of prime minister, has been the evil genius of the administration of Pope Pius IX., is a layman, having never received ordination. Cardinals Mezzofanti and Mai—the one celebrated for his unexampled success in mastering an almost incredible number of languages and dialects, the other for his literary researches in the domain of palimpsests hidden in the Ambrosian and Vatican libraries—were both members of this division of the Sacred College. The latter, we have heard it stated, was never ordained. In respect to nationality, a cardinal may belong to any country. It has been asserted that a rule now obtains that the number of foreigners shall not exceed ten, so that in a full college at least sixty of the cardinals must be native Italians;† but from the *Dictionnaire des Cardinaux* we learn that this is a mistake. Of sixty-six cardinals recently constituting the Sacred College, only forty-five are Italians, and twenty-one are strangers to Italy. Thirty are natives of the pontifical states; nine of these were born at Rome. France and Naples claim nine each, Austria six, Sardinia four, Tuscany and Germany two each; while Spain, Belgium, England, and Portugal, are respectively represented by a single cardinal.‡ None but an Italian can now aspire to be chosen pope, although the history of the papacy, in times past, furnishes a number of pontiffs of French, Spanish, German, and even English origin. Between citizens of Rome and cardinals from other portions of the peninsula no distinction is made. The full number of cardinals is rarely reached, for the Pope always reserves a certain number of vacancies, which he destines for candidates whose names he keeps for the present *in petto*.§

* Bishop England, Ceremonies of Holy Week, (Rome, 1854,) p. 11.

† The Roman Exile, by Prof. Guglielmo Gajani, (Boston, 1856,) p. 311.

‡ Dict. des Cardinaux. Quoted from the Bilancia of Milan. Paris, 1857.

§ In 1858 the actual number of cardinals belonging to their several classes was six cardinal bishops, forty-eight cardinal priests, and twelve cardinal deacons.

The entire body of cardinals constitutes, as was long since discovered, too numerous an assembly to be available for all the purposes for which a privy council is indispensable to the ruler of the States of the Church. It was accordingly divided into *congregations*, that is to say, boards or standing committees, to whom are referred for consideration, and practically for final decision, almost all matters relating to the triple domain of the pope in his offices of universal pontiff, bishop of Rome, and temporal monarch of Central Italy. In the number of these boards there has been a considerable fluctuation. They are at present somewhat more numerous than they were in the time of Sixtus V., who in 1587 fixed their number at fifteen.* A few years ago there were twenty-two congregations. Many bear names which to the uninitiated convey no definite idea of their proper functions; for instance, the *Fabrica di San Pietro* has jurisdiction over all those cases where fraud is suspected in matters relating to legacies bequeathed to the Church. Among the more famous congregations whose deliberations relate to spiritual matters are that *de propagandâ fide* commonly called "the propaganda," connected with which is the well-known missionary college of the same name; that on sacred rites, etc. Others are purely secular in their provinces, such as those on the public health, waters, finances, the *buon governo*, etc.

It must here be noticed that these boards, to whose control so much of the civil government of the pontifical states is confided, do not, for the most part, consist exclusively of cardinals, or nominally, indeed, of clergymen. Under the presidency of a cardinal are frequently associated a number of *prelates*, who join in the consideration of all questions with their superior, and have a certain weight in the decision. Now this matter of the *prelatura* is one which by many is not fully understood, and of which much has been made by those apologists of the Roman government who maintain that the pope has actually, as he recently asserted, given a considerable influence in public affairs to the laity. The *prelatura* is a dignity peculiar to the Roman States. The requisite qualifications for its attainment

There were consequently four vacancies. (cf. History of the Church of Christ, in Chronological Tables, by Prof. H. B. Smith, D. D. 1860. P. 66.)

* Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, III, 82, *note*.

are, first, the possession of a title of nobility, either inherited or purchased; secondly, the degree of doctor of laws of the University; and thirdly, an income of at least five hundred *scudi* or dollars a year.* Ordination is not indispensable for the prelate, although in point of fact a very large proportion of these dignitaries become ecclesiastics previous to their elevation, and all must receive orders before entering upon any sacred functions. The prelate receives at once the title of "Monsignore," (all others are but "Signori,") dons a peculiar costume to denote his rank, with violet-colored stockings and a small silk cloak over a black robe, and submits to tonsure. He can now be admitted to any office in the papal dominions, from a subordinate station in the pope's household, to those of delegate, nuncio, and cardinal. Meanwhile celibacy is imposed upon him, with this single difference from that of the priesthood, that if he be not a clergyman as well as a prelate, he is at liberty to resign his office and marry whenever he pleases. How far this class can be said to belong to the laity, will be considered presently.

In the complicated structure of the Roman court we shall find it difficult to discriminate accurately between the executive, legislative, and judicial departments. The cardinals, so far as the pope delegates his powers to them, participate in all these. For the execution of the laws, however, as well as for the purposes of diplomacy, the pope has his council of ministers, of whom three are especially important. The cardinal chamberlain, who is the head of the state during the conclave,† and until the election of the new pope, is nominally the highest minister; but in reality the cardinal secretary of state has become almost absolute. The present incumbent, James Antonelli, at first a pretended friend of reform, but at heart, as he afterward proved by his actions, the most retrograde of his class, is the soul of the administration. The unlimited influence he exerts over the timidity of Pius IX., and the pecuniary advan-

* Forster, Notices Statistiques et Géographiques sur les Etats de l'Eglise, page 78, *note.*

† Cardinal Wiseman, in his "Recollections of the last Four Popes," draws attention to the mistake of the popular writers who apply the term "*conclave*" instead of "*consistory*" to the ordinary sessions of the Sacred College. The name "conclave" is properly given to the body of cardinals only when they are locked up together for the purpose of electing a successor to the deceased pontiff.

tages he has derived from it, are well known from the caustic biography written by that witty Frenchman, M. About, in his "Question Romaine."* Scarcely less important in the disordered state of the public finances is the office of the cardinal treasurer, whose duties respect the public domain, and the imposition and levy of taxes.

The twenty districts into which the pontifical states are, or were lately, subdivided, are comprised in five provinces. The first province—the "Commarca di Roma"—includes the Roman territory and the three delegations of Viterbo, Civita Vecchia, and Orvieto. The other four provinces are styled "Legations." They are *Romagna*, with the four delegations of Bologna, Ferrara, Forli, and Ravenna; the *Marches*, with the six delegations of Ancona, Urbino and Pesaro, Macerata, Fermo, Ascoli, and Camerino; *Umbria*, with the three delegations of Perugia, Spoleto, and Rieti; and *Campagna di Roma* and *Maritima*, with the three delegations of Velletri, Frosinone and Benevento. Each province has a cardinal for president; in the last four he has the title of legate. The individual delegations have governors taken from the ranks of the prelates.† This division of the Papal States is but of recent date, having been inaugurated by an edict of Pius IX., November 22, 1850. Formerly the twenty districts consisted of the Commarca, with a cardinal president, six legations under the government of cardinal legates, and thirteen delegations entrusted to prelates. It will be seen that the more recent arrangement *extends* the clerical influence more completely over districts previously governed by prelates, who might be regarded as laymen. Strange to say, neither the learned compiler of the article on the "Papal States," in the last edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, nor any other of the more recent authorities on geographical questions whom we have consulted, make any allusion to this important change.

Under the sway of the pontifical government, the municipal authority has been much abridged. The large cities and towns, which during the Middle Ages were the conservators of public

* Chapter xi.

† *Pierer, Universal Lexicon*, (1860,) art. *Kirchenstaat.* The substance of the edict is also given, but with less accuracy, in the *Dictionnaire de la Conversation et de la Lecture*, (Paris, 1854,) art. *Etats de l'Eglise.*

liberty to so eminent a degree, are now deprived of most of those privileges to which they owed their former prosperity. Their local magistrates are almost wholly dependent upon the governors of the provinces, by whom they are appointed; and their decisions are never final. The Roman senator, the official representative of the municipality, has been studiously abased.* It was with great difficulty, and only after persistent refusals, that the government a few years ago prevailed upon the scion of a prominent noble family to accept the post, with its paltry salary of two thousand scudi,† and an obligation to appear in costume at every pompous ceremonial. Still more unmeaning is the rank of the "Conservators of the Capitol," three nobles without power, and holding office for the brief term of three months.‡

Into the judicial system of the Roman States our limits do not allow us to enter with any detail. Every province possesses its own court of first instance, from whose decision appeals may be taken to superior or review courts at Rome, Macerata, and Bologna. Above all these stands the "Segnatura," holding its sessions at Rome itself, and constituting, like the French "Cour de Cassation," a tribunal whose authority is final. In all matters relating to marriages, religious vows, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and Church property, the court known as the "Sacra Romana Rota" (deriving its name from the round table at which its twelve judges are seated) is supreme.§ Its members are styled *auditors*, because they act as substitutes for the pope, who at first listened to the pleadings in person. The method of conducting business in this court may give some notion of that employed in other courts of justice. Mr. Gajani, who was himself a practicing lawyer in the Rota, gives us an account. The twelve judges are all prelates, holding the rank of chaplains to the pope. Four are appointed by the pope; four elected by the cities of Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, and Perugia; and the remaining four are sent by France, Spain, and Austria, the latter naming two, as holding the right once belonging to the republic of Venice. The judges begin their official duties by attending mass in the private chapel of

* Rome, Ancienne et Moderne, par M. M. Lafon, (Paris, 1856,) p. 667.

† Lyman's Political State of Italy, (Boston,) p. 21.

‡ Lafon, p. 668.

§ Gajani, p. 364.

the pope, and going in a body to ask the power of judging—a form observed without exception every day they sit. The room in which they meet is locked, and no one can enter or depart until the session is concluded. No public and verbal discussion is held. The lawyers of the opposing parties must beforehand agree upon a short formula or *dubium*, which may be decided by an affirmative or negative answer, according to the opinion which the judges have formed from reading the documents at home. They give no reasons for their decision; on the contrary, they are sworn to conceal their individual opinions and votes, both before and after the decision. But a lawyer attached to the office of the presiding prelate draws up a statement of the grounds, taking them from the allegations of the successful party. "If the other party submit to the decision, all is over; if not, the point is discussed again in the same manner once, twice, thrice, etc., should the judges think proper; otherwise, they answer with the word *expediatur*, which has the effect of a sentence."*

The conduct of criminal cases, especially those of a political character, (tried by the *Consulta*, a secret court of prelates over whom a cardinal presides,) is still more repugnant to the principles of justice prevalent in the rest of Europe. Mr. Lafon states that in criminal, and particularly in political trials, the accused are not permitted to be confronted with the witnesses. Examined before the entire tribunal, they cannot be present at the discussion. No appeal is open, save in capital causes alone, to any other than the judges that have already condemned them. Finally, they must accept an official advocate to speak in their behalf. "Is not this what Rossi, in his 'Droit pénal,' designates as usurping all the rights of man and murdering the human race?"†

The view that has been taken of the principal features of the government of the Papal States has sufficiently established the truth of the assertion that the power is almost exclusively in the hands of the clergy, and that the influence of the laity is comparatively insignificant. To the office of supreme ruler, inseparable as it is, under the present Constitution, from the pontificate, no layman can aspire. Barely two or three individuals can be admitted into the body of cardinals without re-

* Gajani, pp. 363–5. † Lafon, p. 669.

ceiving ordination, and those only by special dispensation of the pope. The chief places in the cabinet, and the administration of the provinces until of late subject to the holy see, are intrusted to cardinals. A Roman Catholic historian, who has given special attention to this subject, asserts that notwithstanding the memorandum of May 10, 1831, no considerable influence is accorded to laymen.* It is true that of late years it has been declared that all the inferior, and even many of the highest offices of state may be held by laymen; but in point of fact almost all the important appointments are engrossed by the clergy.

Who, it may be asked, are the laymen to whom any portion of the civil stations are open? The answer is, Only those who are invested with the *prelatura.* Now a Roman prelate is to all intents a clergyman. His interests are all identified with the hierarchy. He has been trained with priests, he is bound to celibacy equally with them, and he receives the same tonsure. The only distinction between them is that the prelate may marry, if he be willing to resign his office, while the priest cannot. Most of the prelates, however, we know, receive priestly ordination, either previously or subsequently to their admission. Least of all can the laymen in the pope's employ be said to represent the *people* of his dominions. The three prerequisites for admission to the prelacy—a title of nobility, an income of five hundred scudi per annum, and a complete education, of which the doctorate of laws is taken as evidence—are sufficient effectually to exclude any man from the *people.* To this it must be added, that there are only two modes of entrance into the *prelatura:* by decree of the papal court of *Segnatura,* at which a cardinal presides, or by the appointment of the pope, as a matter of favor.†

It is the hierarchical form under which the civil government is administered that has excited in a great degree the deep-seated discontent which had long been waiting for an appropriate occasion for expression before the proper time came. But what rendered that discontent almost irrepressible was the gross abuse of the powers committed for safe keeping to the

* Lafon, p. 667.

† Abbé de Valette, cited in the Dictionnaire des Cardinaux. Introduction. (Paris, 1857.)

charge of the priesthood. It is true that the apologists for the Holy See have given an emphatic denial of the truth of the assertion that the states of central Italy were exposed to an oppressive system, and that any considerable portion of the pope's subjects regarded the government with an unfriendly eye. Any labored discussion of the latter point is happily rendered quite superfluous by the incontestible result of their free and universal suffrage. It only remains for them to justify their action by proofs of its necessity. The most impartial observers, whether Protestants or enlightened Roman Catholics, with remarkable unanimity, pronounce against the fidelity of the papacy to the temporal dominions intrusted to its care. "If under this theocracy," says Lord Broughton, "there were a tolerably impartial administration of justice, if the lives, the persons, and the properties of the citizens were secured by any contrivance, it would be no great hardship to submit to the anomaly of receiving laws from the altar instead of the throne. But the reverse is notoriously the case; and there is scarcely a single principle of wise regulation acted upon or recognized in the Papal States."*

No grievance is more intolerable than the uncertainties and inconsistencies of the law. Rome possesses no code. With the restoration of Pius VII. came the abolition of the Code Napoleon, so admirable in most of its features. From this clear and simple system the courts of justice were forced to turn away, in order to bury themselves in a chaos of conflicting decrees and decisions, in choosing between which the judges must necessarily be guided chiefly by their own individual preferences. That judges appointed and removable at pleasure by the executive will prove no very strenuous upholders of popular rights, may be easily inferred, and is justified by the facts of recent Roman history. A current proverb in the Eternal City attributes only three days' force to any new law.† Certainly with laws and a judiciary both so pliable, it can be no difficult task to obtain verdicts and sentences agreeable to the party in power, in a country where no trial by jury is known.

"The first principles of criminal jurisprudence seem as much forgotten or unknown as if the French code had never been

* Lord Broughton's Italy, from 1816–54, (London, 1859,) vol. ii, p. 361.

† Lafon.

the law of the land; a secret process, a trial by one judge and a sentence by another, protracted imprisonment, disproportioned judgments, deferred and disgusting punishments, all tend to defeat the ends of justice, and to create a sympathy with the culprit rather than a reverence for the law."* Among the instances cited in proof of these allegations is that of one of the reputed Carbonari, sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment for shooting a police officer. Yet the edict itself asserts that "the crime has *not* been proven on account of the spirit of party prevalent in that province."†

If the defective and corrupt administration, both of government and justice, under which the pontifical states have been suffering, had been even of recent date, its burden might properly have appeared intolerable. But their discontent is the more justifiable, if we find the best authority for concluding that the same crushing weight has rested on the unfortunate sufferers with but little alleviation during entire centuries. The historian Rankè traces with impartial pen the condition of the States of the Church just two hundred years ago. The supreme court of the Rota abounded with the grossest abuses. An advocate, who had practiced in it for twenty-eight years, reckoned that there was not one of the auditors (judges) who did not receive five hundred scudi in presents every Christmas. "No less pernicious were the effects wrought by the recommendation of the court or of the great. There were even instances of the judge apologizing to the parties themselves for the unjust judgments he pronounced against them, declaring that justice was constrained by force." Judgment was inordinately procrastinated, and yet finally displayed every mark of precipitation. Appeals would have been all in vain. These and similar abuses arising in the supreme tribunal spread to all other and inferior courts, not only in the city but in the rest of the ecclesiastical states.

In a paper which has been preserved to our times, Cardinal Sacchetti represented in the most urgent manner to Pope Alexander VII. (in 1663) the oppression of the poor, who had none to help them, by the powerful; the perversion of justice through the intrigues of cardinals, princes, and retainers of the palace, the procrastination for years and tens of years of causes that might be dispatched in two days; the tyranny practiced against those who

* Lord Broughton's Italy, vol. ii, p. 362. † Ibid.

ventured to appeal from an inferior functionary to a superior; the impoundings and executions employed in exacting the taxes; cruel expedients, the only use of which was to make the sovereign hated, and his servants wealthy: "Sufferings, most holy father," he exclaims, "worse than those of the Israelites in Egypt. People not conquered by the sword, but which have become subject to the Roman see, either through the donations of princes, or of their own free accord, are more inhumanly treated than the slaves in Syria or in Africa. Who can behold this without tears?"*

Another cotemporary writer adds the statement that "the people having no longer silver or copper, or linen or bedding, to satisfy the recklessness of the commissaries, will be obliged to sell themselves as slaves to pay the imposts laid by the Camera."† Arbitrary as are said to have been the exactions of the provisional republican government instituted by the French in 1798, at a period of general commotion, when all the foundations of civil government were undermined,‡ they were apparently but little more ruinous to industry and honest trade than the ordinary administration of the hoary government of the pretended successor of St. Peter in times of domestic tranquillity and peace.

Another grievance, perhaps no less effective in producing a universal discontent with the temporal government of these states, is the chronic disorder of the public finances. Long ago a cardinal compared the financial system of the popes to a wearied steed, constantly driven forward to new exertions by the application of the spur, until he falls down at last utterly exhausted.§ Unable to bring their expenditures within the resources at their command, the popes accumulated a debt, amounting, at the time of the first French occupation, to seventy millions of scudi, or dollars.‖ This indebtedness was assumed by the French government, and in 1811 discharged by means of the moneys obtained from the sale of the clerical possessions.** Not profiting by its dearly purchased experience, the papal government was no sooner restored than it began again to contract a new debt, which is now increased annually by about half a million dollars. Of the revenue, which in 1857

* Rankè, History of the Popes in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Book viii, sec. 11. † Ibid.

‡ See Duppa's Subversion of the Papal Government in 1798, (London, 1807,) *passim.* § Lafon, p. 669. ‖ Lyman, p. 60. ** Lafon, p. 670.

was $14,566,000, the net proceeds were only $9,716,638, and of this $5,076,018 went to pay the interest on the national debt.*

The civil list, it has often been said, is small. The higher officials receive only very moderate salaries. Nor does a revenue of fourteen million dollars appear an insupportable grievance in a kingdom of 3,124,758 inhabitants. It must, however, be considered, that much more money is expended in support of the government than would appear from the statistics. The cardinals, for instance, derive their salaries in great part from benefices and fees, which do not come into the public account, but are paid directly to them. Every cardinal must have an income of at least $4,000 from his benefices, and those who do not reach this sum receive $100 a month from the public treasury, commonly known as "the cardinal's pittance."† The very large landed estates of the clergy, of religious corporations, and of monastic fraternities, themselves exempted from the burden of taxation, largely augment the proportion which is borne by the remainder of the lands. If commerce were active and profitable, if manufactures flourished, the Roman States with their former extent might sustain even the double of the imposts of four years ago. But trade is fettered with so many injurious restrictions that it is quite insignificant. The imports of 1853 rose only to about $12,000,000, and the exports were a third less. Yet the customs and excises in 1857 were about $8,000,000, of which more than one quarter was consumed in the collection.‡

By no means is the healthy development of the resources of the Papal States more restrained than by the objectionable methods employed for the raising of the revenue. Many of the most essential articles of food are farmed out as monopolies, and enrich private capitalists more than the state. Still more objectionable are the lotteries managed by government, and bringing in three or four hundred thousand dollars as clear gain into the public coffers.

No wonder need then be felt that a large portion of the central states of Italy have with alacrity renounced their allegiance to a government that has testified so little regard for the main-

* Encyclopedia Britannica, 8th edition; *art.*, Papal States.

† Dictionnaire des Cardinaux, Intr. ‡ Encyclopedia Britannica, ibid.

tenance of their civil and religious rights, and for the advancement of their material and intellectual interests. The same conviction of the infidelity of the papacy to its trust moved the inhabitants of Bologna, in 1830, to make an ineffectual attempt to shake off the temporal sway of the newly elected pope, Gregory XVI. Long ages had proved the want of adaptation of a theocracy such as that claimed by the pope to answer the just demands of the people. Education was neglected. Common schools existed for the most part on paper only; though it was claimed by the friends of the government that they were established in every commune able to support them. The eight universities—two of them, those of Bologna and of the Sapienza at Rome, among the very oldest in Europe—were shorn of their ancient independence; and the attempt was made to place them as effectually under priestly control as were already the inferior schools. The laymen saw their small territory burdened with heavy imposts in order to support a host of ecclesiastics,* who, without contributing anything to its support, claimed the exclusive management of the government; while at the same time another class of the population, the Jews, were subjected to studied indignity, and were even refused a place in the census of their native country.

The philanthropist may well be allowed to pray that the extraordinary privileges enjoyed by the inhabitants of the provinces lately annexed to the kingdom of Victor Emanuel may soon be extended to every Italian community, and that the Protestant world may recognize in the present time the most fitting opportunity for giving to Italy the pure word of God which has so long been denied to her.

* 21,415 regular clergy, 16,905 secular clergy—that is, 38,320, or one to every 80 inhabitants; not including 8,000 nuns.

Art. II.—ATMOSPHERIC AND OCEANIC CURRENTS.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

Currents and Changes of the Atmosphere and the Sea. By M. Felix Julien, Lieutenant in the Navy, and formerly a Pupil of the Polytechnic School. One volume, 8vo. Paris: Lacroix & Baudry. 1860.

Where do the fragile nautili go? What directing hand guides them from one sea to the other? What breeze fills the violet-colored sails of their frail shell, that plows the waves of the sea, and braves their fury? What mysterious compass directs the flotilla of these slight and graceful Argonauts, which sail in consort toward Cape Horn, and arriving there separate, the one part for the Pacific, the other for the Atlantic Ocean. Too soon, alas! the ephemeral life that animates these tiny navigators will be extinct, and the light shell, borne to distant seas by force of lower currents, like the leaf carried through the air by the wind, will descend from depth to depth by an insensible fall, even to the bottom of the deep. Some day science will sound the depth to which it has fallen, and this little shell will give the solution of a problem for a long time unsolved, in revealing the existence of the submarine currents that have carried it so far from its natal sea. For as the atmospheric ocean, so the ocean of waters, has its two kinds of currents—surface and submarine. They are both, as yet, but imperfectly understood. The first was noticed early. Captain Duperry, of the French Institute, was the first to make a chart, which Lieutenant Maury has since perfected.

The existence of submarine currents was suspected twenty-five years ago by the penetrating genius of Arago, and has since been established without doubt by scientific reasoning, and above all by the observation of certain facts, the most important and striking of which we will state. Does not the identity of the constituent principles of water from all latitudes prove that invisible currents are charged with the task of continually re-establishing its equilibrium?

As in the case of the winds, solar heat is the principal agent

recognized in the formation of oceanic currents, and the intertropical zone is still the grand laboratory. When the vertical sun of the torrid regions heats the water, a double phenomenon is produced: first, the surface water is evaporated and the oceanic mass is diminished; secondly, the salts, disengaged by the evaporated water, owing to their specific gravity, are precipitated to the bottom, and carry with them the water that they saturate and make heavier; consequently two currents are formed—the one a surface current, bringing from the north and the south the colder and lighter waters, to supply the place of that which was evaporated; the second submarine, which carries to the north and south the heavy equatorial waters until they are equal in weight and saltness with the surrounding waters.*

It is thus that science has solved the problem of the utility of the salts of the sea, so long unexplained, by recognizing in them the most powerful agents in promoting the currents. This is not all; by a recent and curious experiment Professor Champman has proved that evaporation is greater in fresh than in salt water; the difference is about half per cent., (0.54.) The salts of the sea are not then only necessary in the formation of currents; they have also been destined by Providence to interpose as a protecting screen between the sun and the ocean, in order to modify the evaporating power of the former, and to prevent such an abundant precipitation as to deluge the earth with rains.

What is the origin of the saltness of the sea? Opinion is divided: one party believing that the water-courses wash out the salts from the land and convey them to the ocean; the other, and Maury with them, relying on geological facts, believe that the sea has always been salty. Maury thinks that if the salts of the sea were separated from the water that contains them, and collected together, they would form a gigantic cube of seventy-six yards in height, whose base would be equal to the superficies of North America. Could such a colossal mass be taken with impunity from the solid earth by the water-courses? Would not its displacement disturb the center of gravity of our planet? Maury thinks it would.

All the seas are not equally salty. The Mediterranean, for

* Lieut. Maury: Physical Geography of the Sea.

example, is less so than the ocean. The Black and Baltic are half as much as the Mediterranean. Lake Baikal, formerly salty, as proved by the seals, sponges, and other marine animals which live in these waters, has ceased to be so. The saltness of water differs according to the evaporation and precipitation.

What then becomes of the calcareous matters, and the salts that rivers and streams carry unceasingly into the ocean? Here again wonders press upon us so that we do not know which to admire the most.

Who has sent forth the innumerable army of microscopic architects, that by means of the powerful organism with which they are provided assimilate the salts held in suspension by the sea water, and, using them for materials, construct the wonderful palaces of coral, and raise future continents by degrees from the depths of the ocean?*

Each drop of water furnishes its contingent of material, and becomes, in its turn, the workshop in which these gigantic constructions are formed. While the solid particles which it contains have been extracted and transformed by some one of these invisible world-builders, the liquid molecule being lightened, mounts to the surface and is replaced by a heavier drop, which, in its turn, carries new material to the indefatigable workman. If we consider that the number of imperceptible workmen is incalculable, as well as the drops of water thus incessantly displaced, we must recognize here one cause of the disturbance of the waters of the ocean, an insignificant one if we regard the effect produced by each one of these animalcules, but relatively powerful if we regard the work of the entire species.

Such is the wonderful profusion of existences with which the lavish liberality of the Creator has peopled the seas, that Alexander Humbolt has said that the waters are entirely composed of living beings. In the glacial seas, where life would seem to be extinct, there is an extent of from twenty to thirty thousand square miles, where the animalcules are so abundant that

* To mention only one instance of such facts—the Strait of Torres witnesses the ceaseless increase of these madipore islands; in two hundred and fifty years the number has increased from twenty-six to one hundred and fifty, and the day is not far distant when the army of zoophytes will succeed in stopping up its passage.

Scoresby estimates that it would take not less than 5,000 years for 20,000 persons to count the number contained in two thousand five hundred yards. How does it happen that a vessel sometimes for many days traverses a brilliant sea, and that at night the waves from the keel glitter with the shining light? These shining waves, this milk-white sea is nothing but a mass of phosphorescent animalcules, that the submarine disturbances have caused to mount from the lower strata, where they live, and offer themselves as prey for the whales.*

By means of the ingenious apparatus recently invented by the aspiring American, Brooke,† we can sound the depths of the ocean.

A chart of the depth of most of the northern Atlantic has been made by Maury. Of the valleys which it covers, the deepest have been found to the south of the Banks of Newfoundland. They are not less than four thousand fathoms deep. The substances brought up from the bottom of the sea by Brooke's sounding apparatus all belong to the animal kingdom; these are the foraminiferous shells, of which the microscope reveals the spotless purity, the well-defined outlines, and the delicate chiseling in all their original freshness—a new and brilliant proof that at the bottom of the zones which are agitated by the currents and the storms there exists in the ocean a region of absolute calm, of eternal repose, the mysterious regions of the *blue waters*. This offers to us a new occasion to proclaim the marvelous wisdom of Him who created and arranged the world. This bed of water, the constant repose of which the most frightful storms never disturb, what is it, in truth, but a barrier interposed between the motion of the higher strata of water and the solid crust of the globe, in order to pre-

* Let us remark here that animal life does not exist at all depths of the sea; as we leave the surface the variety of kinds and the numbers decrease. Mr. Ed. Forbes has counted eight zones of life in a depth of two hundred and thirty fathoms. The extreme point of animal life in the Mediterranean does not reach a greater depth than three hundred fathoms.

† Since the invention of Brooke's sounding apparatus, Russell has discovered the means of computing the depth of any sea, on the principle that the deeper the water the more rapid the waves. The calculations of this savant have resulted in assigning a medium depth of about thirty fathoms to the British Channel, two thousand four hundred to the Atlantic, and three thousand two hundred to the Pacific. In the deep seas the tide advances at the rate of about three hundred and sixty miles per hour.

vent the submarine currents from washing and destroying the latter? As the summits of mountains, so the bottom of the ocean is free from storms. And again, as the mountains, so the depths of the waters are covered with an eternal snow; a shower of white shells—the remains of life as ephemeral as innumerable—falls there without cessation from the superincumbent waters in which they have lived, and every day adds to the shining mantle, from which Brooke's sounding apparatus brings us specimens, and with which the depths seem everywhere to be covered.*

It is thus that the microscopic inhabitants of the ocean affect the great meteorological law: While the currents carry the materials of their edifices to the bottom of the ocean, they contribute on their part to maintain constantly the equilibrium of the water, whether in creating the circulation or in purifying them of the various salts that they contain.

We will pursue the study of the currents. The Atlantic, whose length is such that it stretches from one pole to the other, and whose breadth is comparatively narrow, receives by the streams and the rains much more water than it loses by evaporation. Nearly all the streams of the Old and New World are tributary to it. The Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, the Rio de la Plata, and the Amazon are of themselves more than sufficient to supply the evaporation. And when we think that, in addition to the rain and water-courses, the two great polar currents, Arctic and Antartic, are continually pouring their enormous quantities of water into the bosom of this

* Ehrenberg, in analyzing with the microscope a cubic inch of the rotten-stone of Bilia, discovered in it an entire fossil world, composed of the callapash of infusoria, which he estimated at the prodigious number of forty thousand millions! that is to say, in an infinitesimal world having an inch of extent, prodigal nature had inclosed a number of beings greater than that of men and large animals upon the surface of the earth. What then must be the miraculous multitude of these animalcules if we suppose the bottom of the ocean to be carpeted with their debris, and that the continents are for the most part formed of them. And yet the infusoria are far from occupying the last degree in the scale of being. Herschell once examined a drop of water with his solar microscope, and in this molecule, which, enlarged by the wonderful instrument, had acquired a size of about twelve feet in diameter, the celebrated astronomer discovered with astonishment such a quantity of animalcules of all forms and every species, that in the space of twelve feet it was impossible to place the point of a needle upon any unoccupied spot! Man's reason becomes bewildered under the effect of such wonders.

ocean, like two immense rivers, we ask what becomes of the superabundance of water resulting from all these sources? How does it happen that the Atlantic, which receives such a great quantity of sweet, and consequently lighter water, maintains its equilibrium of weight and saltness with the Pacific, whose immense width offers such a vast surface for evaporation, and consequently whose waters must be heavier and more salty? Scientific reasoning answers without hesitation, *a priori*, by means of submarine currents. Observation confirms the hypothesis of science. There is a species of whale called spermaceti, whose habits show a preference for the temperate zones very different from the right whale, which never passes the frontiers of the frozen regions. In observing the migrations of the spermaceti whale, we follow them from the eastern even to the western shores of America, around Cape Horn, which they double notwithstanding the cold polar current whose rigor they could not brave were it not for a submarine current, drawing the warm waters of the Atlantic toward the south pole, and thence into the Pacific Ocean.

The proof of an inferior counter-current, which carries the water of the Atlantic into the Arctic Seas, is more striking still. The spectacle which these seas sometimes offer to the navigator is strange. Masses of ice drift from the north to the south from Baffin's Bay, carried by a surface current; while these mountains of accumulated ice, whose top emerges to a great height above the waters, and whose base sinks into the sea to a depth seven times as great, go back again from the south to the north, drawn by the submarine counter current that carries the warm waters of the Atlantic to the pole. Why, both at the north and south, are the currents coming from the Atlantic inferior? and why do they sink under the counter surface currents? The reason is simple: the waters which form them arriving in the intertropical regions are charged with the salts left by evaporation, and consequently become heavier as well as warmer. Here, still, the divine foresight is marvelous. Suppose that the hot waters destined to carry the heat of the torrid regions to the poles should course over the surface of of the sea, they would never arrive at the end of their voyage, since they would lose on the way by constant radiation the caloric with which they were charged. The low conducting

power of the cold strata that serve as their bed, on the contrary, is wonderfully proper to preserve uninjured the treasures of heat which they go to distribute in the frozen regions.

Where does this mysterious submarine current, which thus goes, with its shroud of ice, to carry to the north pole the warm waters of the tropics, stop? Where does the change begin which makes the inferior a surface current, to give back to the Atlantic the waters which it has taken from it, after having been deprived of all the caloric with which it was charged, to the advantage of the frozen polar regions? What phenomena does the sudden disengagement of caloric produce in the bosom of a temperature whose rigors surpass the imagination. Where go the flocks of sea fowl, that set out every year in spring from the northern shores of America, and make their way toward the mysterious solitudes of the north? Where the troops of whales that, fleeing from the harpoon of the fisherman, disappear under the ice, and interpose between themselves and their enemies an impassable barrier for the purpose of placing their offspring in inaccessible regions? For a long time all these questions have been offered to science as enigmas not to be solved.

However, in 1852 and 1853 Inglefield, Belcher, and Perry, sent to search for the unfortunate Franklin, caught a glimpse of a sea without ice beyond 79° of north latitude. Filled with the noble ambition of resolving this magnificent problem, Dr. Kane set out from New York in 1854, and pushed resolutely into the hitherto unexplored Smith's Strait, even beyond 82° of latitude. For two years blocked in by the ice, the intrepid voyager braved the formidable temperature of these desolate regions—the somber and melancholy kingdom of chaos, night, and death.

Once, profiting by a favorable opportunity offered in summer, Kane went in advance, but soon a formidable barrier of accumulated ice rose before him. It was the last rampart that jealous nature had opposed to the bold man who had come thus even to the pole to snatch from it the secret of its mysteries. A narrow channel presents itself; it is open. Wonderful sight! As far as the eye could reach a sea free from ice opened to the view, whose limpid waves, obedient to the breath of a gentle breeze, came mildly to caress the feet of the ravished traveler.

Innumerable flocks of birds, and troops of seals and sea-wolves, sported on the water and the shore, presenting the wonderful spectacle of movement and life in the midst of quiet and death.

Behold then here the mysterious basin suspected by science and discovered by the instinct of animals more infallible than itself, in which the warm waters of the Atlantic, after having melted their covering of ice, empty themselves. The influence of this current is such that it suddenly elevates the temperature 20°. Thus the phenomenon of evaporation is renewed here, consequently this polar basin is covered with a canopy of fog and vapor, which covers it as with a thick vail, and which, often seen afar by sailors, propose to their minds a new problem. What is the comparative temperature of the two hemispheres? It seems to be about the same to 50° of latitude north and south, but beyond this it becomes sensibly colder in the southern hemisphere. In order to explain this M. Julien borrows from M. Adhémar his ingenious theory of periodical deluges, a new theory that calls to its aid both astronomy and geology, and of which, *en passant*, we cannot refrain from a rapid notice.

By virtue of an astronomical law, based upon the principle of universal attraction, and on the constant parallelism of the axis of the earth, the globe travels over that part of the orbit near the sun quicker than it does the aphelion. And we find that it is during the autumn and winter of our northern hemisphere that the earth traverses the shortest distance of its annual journey. Our winter then is shorter than that of the southern hemisphere. The difference in our epoch is about one hundred and sixty-eight hours, or seven days. Thus, according to M. Adhémar, the difference of temperature between the two poles is explained. This philosopher goes further. Relying upon the astronomical phenomenon called precession of the equinox, he thinks that, owing to the periodic change of the seasons, the ice is accumulated successively at each pole, and consequently, displacing the center of gravity of the earth, the two hemispheres have been and ought to be in turn submerged.*

* The precession of the equinoxes amount to about 50″, as every one knows, (about 61″ if we take into consideration planetary attraction,) which is remarked in the periodic return of each season. As a consequence, the years are not of an exact duration from one spring to another, and the seasons, by a slight and cou-

In the present state of the globe, the ice of the southern pole accumulating through so many ages, during a longer and colder winter, has inclined the center of attraction toward the south, and submerged the southern hemisphere. The period of this geological revolution, according to M. Adhémar, will be about 10,500 years. The year 1248 of our era, the epoch in which the earth was at its perihelion, is assigned by him as the commencement of the new period which, by the insensible change of the seasons, and progressive accumulation of ice at the north pole, ought to submerge in its turn the northern hemisphere, and gradually elevate the southern hemisphere above the waters. Thus in a little less than ten thousand years this change will be accomplished.

Many facts agree with this theory. According to M. Adhémar, the actual center of gravity of our globe inclines toward the south about 1,800 yards. In its abrupt shores, its deep waters, its prominent capes, the southern hemisphere presents all the marks of submerged continents; its numerous islands appear to be but the peaks of the higher mountains which are engulfed. On the other hand, the northern hemisphere, with its numberless lakes, its isthmuses, its interior seas, its lagunes, appears to have recently arisen from the bosom of the waters. It is worthy of remark that the land, compared to the water, from north to south follows a decreasing progression with mathematical regularity.

stant change, correspond successively to each one of the constellations of the zodiac. It is on this account that, at the commencement of the modern era, the spring commenced in the constellation of Aries, and now this season, retrograding, begins when the sun enters the constellation Pisces. It is thus that the year is some seconds shorter than it was in the year 2000, and a century of this age has become about a quarter of an hour shorter than a century then.

Hipparchus (150 years before Christ) first established these celestial phenomena. Newton found the cause of it in his grand law of attraction; but d'Alembert has the glory of first giving it a scientific solution. (See Babinet, de l'Application des Mathématiques.)

The duration assigned by MM. Babinet and Adhémar to this great astronomical cycle, in which each season ought to return to the constellation from which it departed, presents a notable difference, which we will here notice. According to the first, this revolution through all the constellations will take place in 26,000 years, and according to the second in 21,000. Cannot this difference be accounted for by supposing that the one has taken for the base of his calculations an annual change of 61″, regarding the planetary attraction, and that the other, neglecting this influence, has calculated the celestial revolution at the rate of 50″?

The erratic blocks of stone observed on the surface of the earth invariably follow a course from north to south, and seem to have been drawn by the last breaking up of the polar ice. If you ask the mountains, they will answer that the slope by which their summits are inclined in the same direction was impressed upon them by a deluge coming from the north. The study of the geological constitution of the environs of Paris argues the existence of three successive deluges. Certain other facts, such as the invasion by ice of certain Arctic regions formerly habitable, the slow progress of the glaciers of the Alps, as established by the paleontologist Agassiz, etc., appear, moreover, to prove that our hemisphere is growing colder.

Let us add that the theory of M. Adhémar agrees in an essential point with the recital in Genesis. If the last geological revolution began about 11,000 years ago, that is to say, 10,500 years before the year 1248, the equilibrium between the two poles ought to be effected in about 6,000 years, and this would bring it to the epoch in which the northern hemisphere, the cradle of the human race, emerged from the bosom of the waters and became habitable.

Such is in substance this ingenious theory. Following the example of M. Julien, we will leave to the author the right of pronouncing upon its scientific value. The ocean, like the atmosphere, is but an immense body, whose currents and counter-currents, like arteries and veins crossing each other by incessant circulation, in turn carry from the center to the extremities, the molecules vivified by the solar heat, and return the impoverished molecules from the extremities to the center—that is, to the heart, the seat of life.

Where goes, for example, that immense ocean river called the* Gulf Stream, whose breadth is fourteen leagues, depth a thousand feet, initial force five miles an hour, and whose banks and bed are strata of cold water, carrying off every day from the torrid regions a sufficient amount of heat, according to Maury, to melt mountains of iron, and in urgent billows rolling its tepid and blue waters across the Atlantic? Heated

* The Gulf Stream was observed for the first time in 1770 by Folger, the captain of an American whaler, who informed Franklin of it, and drew from memory a chart of its course, the correctness of which has since been recognized.

by the vertical rays of the tropical sun, it escapes from the Gulf of Mexico by the narrow passage that separates Florida from Cuba, runs up toward the northern seas, overcoming an ascending slope estimated at five feet per mile, and meets the great polar current off the banks of Newfoundland. There it divides into two branches, one of which, as we have already said, plunges under the ice and carries its tropical heats even to the northern pole, in the bosom of the mysterious Polynia of Kane; the other branch, deflected by the polar current at the entrance of Davis's Strait, turns to the east, drawn no doubt by the same force that seems to direct to the right the movable bodies on the earth's surface, and which we have already noticed in reference to the deviation of the Mississippi.

After having traversed the North Atlantic, the Gulf Stream, arriving in the northern seas of Europe, divides again into two streams, one of which goes toward the north pole, and the other, inclining to the south, coasts along the western shores of the British Isles, France, and Spain, to which it gives off the remainder of the caloric with which it was charged, and descends with an equatorial current, with which it mingles, to return to the point of its departure, in order to commence again its providential journey, and to continue its assistance in establishing the equilibrium of the terrestrial heat to the end of time.

The Gulf Stream, called by navigators *the wonder of the sea*, is charged with a galvanic fluid, and seems consequently to belong to the domain of the universal force of which we have spoken. This powerful oceanic stream exhibits on its route some very curious hydro-meteorological phenomena. The storms of the northern hemisphere appear to incline to it by preference, drawn, it may be, by its electro-magnetic properties, or perhaps by the sudden disengagements of caloric, which it gives off in passing. We can follow one of these formidable storms by the trace of the shipwrecks strewn along its route, and have counted not less than sixty-six disasters.

The Banks of Newfoundland are but the recent product of the meeting together of the Gulf Stream and the great polar current; which latter, at the shock, deposits continually on the bottom of the sea the organic and inorganic solid matter which it carries. It is the same with the Banks of Lagullas, created

by the shock of the two currents, the one coming from the Atlantic, the other from the Indian Ocean.

A curious experiment, oftentimes renewed, demonstrates with invincible proof the communications that unite all the currents of the Atlantic: bottles cast into the sea from the shores of Africa, Europe, or America, it matters not in what latitude, are found again in the Gulf of Mexico, or in the Gulf Stream. Like the Atlantic, the Pacific has its Gulf Stream, which, charged with the tropical heat, sets out from the Indian Ocean, goes northward along the Philippines and Japan, bends to the right, like the great current of the Atlantic, coasts along the polar regions, and redescends along the western shores of America, which it warms, until it meets the equatorial current, with which it mingles.

The southern hemisphere also has its currents of warm waters, charged with carrying to the cold regions the excessive caloric of the equatorial zones; but soon driven back by the stronger currents of the south pole, they do not penetrate very far, and exercise upon the temperature a much less influence than those of the other hemisphere; so the southern hemisphere is sensibly colder, as we have already seen.

The Mediterranean and Red Seas have also their currents: a surface current, by which, as we have already said, they repair the incessant losses that they suffer by evaporation; and a submarine current, by means of which they maintain themselves in equilibrium of saltness and weight with the ocean. Meteorologists estimate that without this latter current each of these seas would become a gigantic mass of salt, under the influence of continued evaporation. Doctor Buist has proved, by exact calculation, that three thousand years would be sufficient for effecting the entire crystalization of the Red Sea. It is also to this cause, purely hypothetical here, that the state of extreme saltness of certain inclosed seas, such as the Dead Sea, the Lakes of Urumiyeh and Eltousk, and the Great Salt Lake of Utah, is accounted for. These lakes and seas cannot get rid of the excess of salt, of which the streams continue to increase the quantity.

The currents of the ocean are the regulators of the climates. We may compare, says M. Julien, the whole of their system to a vast steam generator, of which the torrid zone acts as the

boiler in ceaseless activity, and the surface and submarine currents as the pipes, the one carrying the heated waters of the tropics into the frozen regions, the other bringing back into the tropics the cold waters of the polar zones.

The presence or absence of the cold or warm currents explains the difference which we remark in the same latitude in the temperature of different countries of the earth. In general the climate of islands is milder than that of continents, and the western coasts of continents are warmer than the eastern. North America, in particular, presents this double phenomenon, the reason being in the difference of currents that wash its shores. The eastern shore, separated from the Gulf Stream by a branch of the polar currents, has a much colder temperature than the western, which is washed by the Gulf Stream of the Pacific.

It is to the influence of the great Gulf Stream of the Atlantic, which, we have seen, coasts along the western shores of Europe, that the inhabitants of those shores enjoy a climate more mild than those of the interior, or of the eastern corresponding regions of the two worlds.

Alexander Humboldt has made a thermometric chart of the globe from the mean temperature of the principal localities. He has connected by lines called isothermal all the places in which the temperature is the same. Now the isothermal lines do not by any means follow regularly the direction of the degrees of latitude. Taking as a starting point the mean temperature of 50°, we have the cities of New York, Dublin, and Sebastopol in the same isothermal line, although Sebastopol is situated on the 44th parallel, say 2°. north of New York, and 9° south of Dublin. Think that Ireland and Scotland are situated nearly under the same latitude with Siberia, and then compare them! The maximum heating and cooling of the earth takes place in the months of August and February, and the maximum heating and cooling of the sea is a month later, in September and March. This difference arises from the different conducting powers of the two.

The configuration of the shores of America influence powerfully the climate of our countries, in forcing to the north and east the equatorial current—an extensive sheet of warm and shallow water, that the trades drive from Africa to America,

and which, increased by the tribute of the Amazon and Orinoco, enters the sea of the Antilles and Gulf of Mexico to start again soon by the northern current of the Gulf Stream, and the eastern current of the middle Atlantic.

The Gulf of Guinea exercises on the climate of South America an analogous influence, and one not less worthy of notice. The warm waters of the southern latitudes accumulated in this immense reservoir are continually driven from the east to the west, to the shores of La Plata and Patagonia, where, on this account, the winter is so mild and pleasant.

Thus, without tiring, these currents and counter-currents go; they are the wonderful agents in establishing the equilibrium of the world, whether they course over the surface, or dive to the mysterious depths; whether they carry to the poles the vivifying rays of the tropical sun, or bring back to the tropics the refreshing waters of the poles. The same powerful hand that has thrown forth worlds, and created the invisible infusoria, guides in their harmonious course these powerful ocean rivers, and preserves their periodical revolutions in unchangeable regularity.

The study of the winds and currents of the sea could not remain long in the elevated, but sterile domain of pure theory. Gifted with a practical genius peculiar to his race, Maury soon searches for the application of these discoveries, and then, thanks to the Wind and Current Charts, traced by this wise meteorologist, the passage between the two worlds becomes much shorter. The voyage from New York to the equator, for example, is shortened eight days; and the vessel that sets out from London for San Francisco will, in this long voyage, save about five weeks, if it follows faithfully the course marked out by the wise American. Is not the Gulf Stream, by its well-defined course and the deeper color of its waters, a constant guide to the navigator? Once it was feared in New York that a transatlantic steamer* was shipwrecked in the Gulf Stream. Maury being asked, points out, by the aid of his calculations, the precise place where the disabled vessel could be found. A steamer is sent out to the search and finds it at the indicated point. What a wide future opens itself to a science which now can give such astonishing results. It was

* The San Francisco, with a regiment of U. S. troops on board.

also by following the instructions of Maury that the recent expeditions sent for the search of Sir John Franklin have made such remarkable progress in the geography of the Arctic regions; and that Captain M'Clure, after having first of all made the tour of the north of America, from Behring's Straits even to the Straits of Melville, found again Baring Island, or Banks's Land—seen at a distance in 1820 by Parry—and discovered on the 26th of October, 1850, the famous northwest passage, such a long time and so vainly sought for.

The recent researches made in regard to the currents and the bottom of the Atlantic have also led to the laying down of an electric cable between the two worlds. The day, without doubt, is not far distant when, from acquired experience and more thorough study, a new trial will be crowned with success, and when this ubiquitous and wonderful agent will constantly carry instantaneous messages from one hemisphere to the other.

The air and water being better understood, will contribute more and more to make man the lord of creation, in allowing him to use as his vehicles and servants these powerful natural forces that the Creator has placed at his disposal, and which are still so imperfectly understood. It is thus that meteorological studies offer, both to the philosopher and poet, an inexhaustible source of discoveries and inspirations, and to the economist immediate and practical applications that are appreciated by numbers and dollars.

Such, in fine, is the *résumé* of this magnificent system of meteorology. Oceanic currents, aerial currents, waters, winds, atmosphere, land and sea, all are held together; our globe in its different parts appears as a harmonious whole.

Lieutenant Maury will be regarded as the most active promoter and the most illustrious representative of these beautiful discoveries, of which some perhaps are only grand hypotheses, foresights of a sagacious and elevated genius whose penetrating view pierces the vail and leads experiment. Meteorology is but the child of yesterday, and the discoveries which remain to be made in it exceed without doubt those already accomplished. What mysteries besides will it not yet give man to penetrate! Science will always find the grain of sand before it to arrest its progress, to which the fury of the ocean yields. When Maury finds in his path one of these barriers

that his genius, all strong and subtle as it is, cannot surmount, the wise mariner, less wise than religious, prostrates himself and adores. When, on the other hand, with bold hand he lifts a part of the vail of nature a cry of admiration escapes him, and his style, without effort, partakes of the most elevated poetry. Then the philosopher disappears and gives place to the poet, when the one often aids the other, and lends to it its wings; then science, laying aside its dryness and its prose, becomes poetry.

After having written his "Explanations and Sailing Directions" and his "Physical Geography of the Sea," Maury has a right to exclaim as Galien: "I have just chanted a hymn to the Creator." To which magnificent hymn, notwithstanding our incompetence, we have endeavored to add in these pages our prosaic and humble strophe.

M. Julien has shown himself to be the worthy interpreter of the director of the Meteorological Observatory of Washington. It belongs to an officer of the French navy to explain to us, with his gifted mind, the conceptions of a seaman that the Old World envies to the New. M. Julien has acquitted himself of this delicate task, and one often arduous, in worthy emulation of such a model, by bringing to science the tribute of his own observations; and his book is as full of interest as it is suitable to elevate the soul.

France was slow in joining America, England, and Germany, in the study of Meteorology. The recent works of MM. Jamin, Babinet, Hailly, etc., the work of M. Julien, as well as the new works on the practice of this science by Maury, the director of the Observatory, prove victoriously that we have at last aroused from our indifference, and that in the domain of meteorology, as well as that of all the other sciences, France has at heart, if not to seize, at least to dispute the palm.

Art. III.—A PLEA FOR THE PREACHER'S WIFE.

The Itinerant's Wife; her Qualifications, Duties, Trials, and Rewards. By Rev. H. M. Eaton. New York: Methodist Book Concern.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has many excellent devices for promoting the acceptability and usefulness of its ministers. From their entrance upon their work they are placed under a wholesome mental and theological training, and so long as they are standard-bearers in Emanuel's host, are subject to habitual and strict, though affectionate, supervision. The presiding elder visits each preacher periodically, surveys his work, and, giving him the benefit of a larger experience, encourages or counsels him. Yearly the minister meets his brethren, holds profitable converse with them, and listens to discourses specially applicable to his office and its responsibilities. The periodical and general literature of the Church richly supplies him with instruction. These aids are valuable and timely. He who would be a successful minister of the New Testament needs all these helps to faithfulness and usefulness, added to his own self-culture, prayer, and watchfulness.

But another than the preacher largely needs the aid and sympathies of the Church. The PREACHER'S WIFE holds a relation to the Church second only to that of her husband; not an official relation, it is true, in the same sense as his; nor may she be subjected to the same training and supervision. But the necessity that is laid upon her, for her husband's and the Gospel's sake, to walk circumspectly and in the fear of the Lord continually, constitutes a strong claim upon the affections and prayers of the people of God. If *she* errs in lip or life, if *she* is lacking in wisdom or meekness, in courage or prudence, upon her husband will the community too often visit her shortcomings. Her position is as delicate as it is responsible, and it is difficult to conceive of circumstances in which a pious woman can be placed where judicious counsels and tender sympathy are so much needed. If the preacher's wife does not meet the high requirements of her position, the measure of the preacher's comfort and usefulness will be small indeed.

Has the Church—its ecclesiastical tribunals, its lay officiary and membership, its general and periodical literature—done its duty to the wives of its ministers? We think not, and are quite sure that in every department of the Church more might have been done for these true "heroines of Methodism" than has been either accomplished or attempted. We are not aware that any publication, except the small volume whose title we have quoted, has especially addressed itself to this subject. The topic seems to be legitimately within the scope of the Methodist Quarterly Review, and we propose to discuss it with manly freedom. To do otherwise were to write to little purpose.

It is a trite remark that the choice of a wife is to any one an important matter. The man of ordinary prudence will bring to it all the best powers of his judgment and the gravest deliberation. The Christian man will add to these earnest prayer to God for counsel and providential guidance. But to the preacher of righteousness, the importance of a wise choice is beyond all estimate, and if he has just views of his high vocation, he will keenly feel his responsibility in the matter. He will fear to go where others less considerately rush. He will not think alone of himself, for he is no longer his own, having solemnly given himself to God and his Church. He must have regard to the honor of his Divine Master and to the interests of the Church over which the Holy Ghost has made him an overseer, and must have an eye to his ministerial usefulness as well as to his personal comfort. Even the promptings of affection must be secondary to the responsibilities of his high vocation. He has solemnly vowed unto God that his first business in life shall be the salvation of souls and the care of the Churches, wherefore God has counted him faithful, putting him into the ministry. He cannot be absolved from that obligation. It must be his standard of duty in *all* the affairs of life. And with this vow upon him it is not enough that she whom he takes into life-companionship shall be no hinderance to him in his ministerial work. She must be his helper. The minister would do an injustice to the woman he married, as well as to the Church and himself, who, for any personal or worldly consideration, should blind himself to her lack of those special qualifications necessary for the position in which he is about to place her. And here a grave question arises. Has

the duty of young ministers in this matter been dwelt upon with sufficient frequency, earnestness, and authority by those whose age or office entitles or requires them to counsel their younger brethren in *all* things pertaining to ministerial usefulness? For lack of such oversight have not some young preachers gone woefully and fatally astray? Or if the ecclesiastical system of the Church neither in theory nor in practice admits of *authority* in the premises, should not the bishops and presiding elders give line upon line and precept upon precept in the form of affectionate and earnest counsel? This is especially needed, as in very many cases young preachers are stationed alone, and have no father in the ministry constantly at hand with whom they may take counsel. Mr. Eaton's treatise enumerates the "qualifications" of an itinerant's wife. We think, however, that he does not lay sufficient stress upon its being the duty of an itinerant Methodist preacher to ascertain that such qualifications exist before he permits his affections to gain the mastery of his judgment, or awakens hers, or entangles himself with an engagement. It is true that our author says something on this important point by implication. But his counsel is addressed specially to the "itinerant's *wife*," and may be too late, for the qualifications he so forcibly insists upon come not with wifehood. They must exist before marriage, or their life and influence will be feeble indeed. Nor can the minister excuse himself before God and his people for the lack of these qualities in his wife, or blame her for their absence and his consequent loss of usefulness and happiness, if he did not before his engagement conscientiously seek to inform himself in the matter. It is rarely, indeed, that the itinerant's *wife* is to blame for stepping into a position she cannot worthily fill; the itinerant deserves censure for not taking counsel of a sanctified judgment before he gave the rein to his affections, and led her into a reciprocity of attachment.

In speaking more particularly of the qualifications of the preacher's wife, we shall pass over some of those she may be presumed to possess in common with all Christian wives, and note rather those which we deem essential to her happiness. Common sense and intelligent piety are to be supposed as among her possessions. As a rule, a thorough and practical

knowledge of domestic management is indispensable. The preacher's income necessitates skill and habits of economy in household management. Even where the minister's income from any source is liberal, it is still eminently desirable that his wife should be competent to relieve him entirely from the burden of all strictly domestic affairs, so that he may give himself wholly to the work of the ministry. In ordinary cases it will only be by the wife's carefulness in housekeeping that the preacher's mind can be kept free from temporal anxieties, for it is too true—and the fact is not honorable to the Church—that in many cases the actual payments to the pastor make only an income totally inadequate to the wants, to say nothing of the comforts, of his family. Habits of economical domestic management, industry, and high-toned principle, are essential qualities in the wife of an itinerant Methodist minister. The Rev. Jabez Bunting, so long honored and pre-eminently useful in the English Wesleyan ministry, whose judicious choice of a wife was to him an incalculable blessing, while deliberately and prayerfully weighing the arguments for and against an offer of his hand to Miss Maclardie, enumerated the following among the former: "She has been brought up under the care of one who has accustomed her to domestic habits, and fitted her by practice for performing the duties of a wife in domestic concerns. Since her mother's death she has had the management of her father's house, which must have further qualified her for the station in question." In the engrossing ministerial duties Dr. Bunting was early called to perform, this qualification in his most estimable wife proved of incalculable value.

But let it not for a moment be supposed that the preacher's wife is to rise no higher than her household concerns, for no man more than the minister of the Gospel needs intelligent companionship at home. Weary, indeed, will his work be if his wife's ears are not open to his converse about the great mission to which he is appointed; if she cannot share the hopes and fears, the joys and sorrows, of his holy embassy; if she cannot appreciate his labors in his study, and his commendable desire to be a workman that needeth not to be ashamed. She should, in fact, have such education and tastes that she can fully sympathize with his intellectual pursuits; such as, if

they do not qualify her for assisting him in his studies, shall yet make her jealous for his pulpit reputation, and prompt her to stimulate him to continuous mental progress. On this point also we may quote from Dr. Bunting, in the circumstances above referred to: "She has great good sense; has been suitably educated; is well informed, and very extraordinarily qualified to be a helpmeet to a minister in his studies and labors. Her manners are polished and agreeable, so that she would be fit for any of the various scenes into which the itinerant life might call her." The author of the "Itinerant's Wife" remarks that "the precise amount of learning necessary to qualify a person to be the wife of a Methodist minister cannot be certainly defined. The calling to which she is devoted when she becomes the wife of a Methodist minister is itself a school in which she will not speedily finish her education." But this is true of every calling to which either man or woman may be devoted, and the real question is not what a woman shall learn after she becomes an itinerant's wife, but what qualifications she shall bring to the position; and we incline to agree with Dr. Bunting, that from the commencement of her married life she should be "qualified to be a helpmeet to a minister in his studies and labors." With Mr. Eaton, however, we most heartily agree when he says:

> It is important that she have a correct and somewhat extensive knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity. She should be a student of the Bible, in which the religion of Christ is revealed. Not only should she read the word of God but study it, that she may be "sound in the faith," and not liable to "be carried about with every wind of doctrine," or blindly submit to the changing or changeless opinions of others. She should be able to form opinions for herself, and to maintain them by Scriptural authority.
>
> As a Methodist she should understand the views of her own Church upon the essential points of Christian theology, that she may be prepared to act in concert with the companion of her life, who is set for the defense of the truth. . . . Nor should she be ignorant of the history of that branch of the Church of God with which her own temporal and eternal destiny is so intimately associated, and for whose growth and purity she is engaged to labor. —Pp. 16, 17.

Our author adds, as one of the qualifications, "The itinerant's wife should *love the itinerancy*." We are not disposed to lay stress upon this. She must of necessity be an itinerant's

wife before she can really know what the itinerancy is, and it may well be doubted whether any wife can *love* the itinerancy after having tried it. It is surely enough to exact from her that she renders a cheerful obedience to the rule of the Church in the matter. Nothing more is demanded of her husband, and he suffers less than she does from the grave domestic inconveniences it involves. That the system of itinerancy is one great secret of the success of Methodism we most conscientiously believe, and we trust that it will never be abandoned. But to say that the wife of a Methodist preacher must *love* it "or she cannot be happy in her work, or useful in the Church," is to say that she cannot for Christ's sake take up her cross and deny herself and follow him, and gladly and usefully labor in his cause. And who that sees the preacher's wife willingly and cheerfully foregoing the comforts of a settled home for the sake of the Gospel and Methodism, would say this of her? Nay, who will not esteem her the more highly that she cheerfully does this for conscience' sake, and at the sacrifice of her own preferences, than if no self-denial were involved? But having a conviction that itinerancy is the more excellent way—and without such conviction she should never have become an itinerant's wife—it is incumbent upon her always, with an unwavering trust in Providence, to obey unhesitatingly and unmurmuringly its requirements; and we believe the exceptions to this cheerful obedience are very rare indeed. We may dismiss this branch of the subject by adding to the qualifications already dwelt upon, a strong and sound judgment, energy of character, strongly formed principles, delight in works of benevolence and mercy, and a native courtesy and kindness that shall win the respect and the affections of the people among whom she may sojourn. Happy is that minister of the glorious Gospel of the blessed God—that ambassador of Christ—who has found such a wife.

The duties of the preacher's wife have been closely hinted at in the preceding remarks. She is to be the sympathizing companion and friend of her husband, relieving him from secular cares, and, to the extent of her ability, aiding him in his ministerial duties, entering cheerfully into his plans of usefulness, encouraging him by her counsels, and holding up his hands by her unceasing prayer in his behalf. But we desire to correct

an error into which too many have fallen, which assumes that the wife of the minister, like her husband, is exclusively the servant of the Church, and that her husband and children have but a secondary claim upon her time and care and sympathies. Without meaning it, or perhaps ever thinking of it, many would rob the minister of his wife's society and of her efficient management of his domestic affairs, by which he is enabled to use his study advantageously, and to attend to his pastoral duties. It is often said of a minister, "He is an instructive preacher and an able divine. He studies much. He is a good pastor. His children are a pattern of neatness and good behavior. *But* his wife does not visit among the people so much as we wish." Substitute "*because*" for "*but*," and the true state of the case is at once made apparent. The preacher is an able divine and a good pastor, and his family are an example of neatness and good conduct, *because* his wife stays at home, makes the care of her household her first duty, and by herself carrying that burden brings honor to her husband, by securing him peaceful hours for study, and time for pastoral visitation. She makes for her husband a clear and open path to usefulness. The first duties of every wife are her wifely ones—those which she owes to her husband and her children. This is even more true of the minister's than of the layman's wife, because, as we have already intimated, any lack of due service here reflects directly upon the preacher himself. Untidy and ill-mannered children are discreditable to any mother, but if they are the minister's children the case is immeasurably worse. How can he insist upon the duties of parents to their children, when his own children give evidence of grave parental neglect? It is for the preacher's wife virtually to say to her husband, "Teach the whole counsel of God; the domestic duties as well as others, and cheerfully will I aid in enforcing your precepts by my example. You shall tell them from the pulpit what a wife and mother should be and do, and I will strive to illustrate your teachings in my house and family." Another reason why her first duty is to her own family, is alluded to by the author of the "Itinerant's Wife." The preacher is necessarily often absent from his family. His study, his pastoral visitations, the affairs of the Church, and the calls often made for his services elsewhere, consume much of the time that he might otherwise

spend in the bosom of his family. Much of the moral training, of the home education of his children, therefore, depends upon the mother, and this duty she cannot neglect with a clear conscience, or even with a wise regard to her future peace and comfort. We do not mean that even the ministerial calling releases the father from sharing these responsible duties with the mother, but that his vocation does somewhat abridge his opportunities of habitual watchfulness over his children, and increases the necessity of her carefulness and vigilance in their training; and that when conscious that his companion is cheerfully meeting this responsibility, he can better fulfill his line of duty and more unreservedly obey the promptings of ministerial zeal.

But although the care of her own household is the *first* duty of the preacher's wife, it is by no means her whole duty. Other things she must do, and not leave this undone. Her next duties are to the Church, for, having elected to become a minister's wife, she has voluntarily assumed also a prominence in the Church which has its special duties and responsibilities. What a private member may do or omit to do without censure, and almost without the observation of the membership, she may not. She ought to be a punctual and habitual attendant upon public worship, and those regular and special means of grace which are peculiar to Methodism, with such exceptions, of course, as a real necessity imposes. In these things she, as well as her husband, ought to set an example to the Church. Hers must be a living piety, not obstrusive, but never unwilling at all proper seasons to appear in public as well as in private. On this point we find a remark in Mr. Eaton's volume, the meaning of which we are unable to understand: "Her *piety*," he says, "must, as far as consistent with Christian duty, *accommodate itself to the tastes and expectations of the Church.*" He adds: "However much or little others may do, it is expected that the minister's wife will be foremost in every good work." Such an expectation in many, and perhaps the majority of cases, would be in the highest degree unreasonable. In many churches there are wives of laymen whose domestic cares are far less oppressive than those of their pastor's wife, who have more domestic help, more leisure time, and greater pecuniary means; and it is expecting altogether too much of the preacher's wife that she shall be in advance of these in every good work. Of

the same class is another expectation, namely: "that she will often accompany her husband on his pastoral visits, that she will go far and near, visit frequently and remain a long time." She cannot do these things and yet do her first duty to her husband and her children. She cannot be so much abroad, and at the same time govern well her own family. It is not expected of the layman's wife, and should not be required of the minister's. If by system and by economy of time she can make leisure for visits of Christian salutation and intercourse, and especially for visitation of the poor and afflicted, it is well. But why, except for the love she bears to the cause which jointly with her husband she has espoused, more of this should be expected from her than from the layman's wife is not so clear as some seem to suppose. Undeniably the members of many Churches are unreasonable in their exactions in this respect, laying burdens on the pastor's wife that they will not themselves touch. Many who, because of their own domestic duties, can find no time for visiting, or even for attending on all the means of grace, expect that she, with at least equal domestic cares, shall "accompany her husband on his pastoral visits, go far and near, visit often and remain a long time."

But enough on the subject of *duties*. Little danger is there that the preacher's wife will not be sufficiently instructed on that point. She has RIGHTS as sacred as those of the wife of the layman; and although love for her husband and for her husband's work may keep her silent when those rights are infringed, she feels the wrong no less keenly than other women. The reasonable privacy of her own house, and the unquestioned exercise of her own judgment in the management of her domestic affairs, are among these rights. It is neither reasonable nor just that the parsonage should be converted into a hotel, where no hours are unseemly for visitors, and where every one assumes the right to criticise its arrangements, and suggest changes in its administration. At least equal respect in these particulars should be shown to the pastor's wife that conventional usage accords to the wife of the humblest layman; for, as has been shown, time is even more valuable to her. She has, too, the same ambition to manage well her domestic affairs; while the knowledge that watchful, and not always the most friendly, eyes are upon her and hers

makes her intensely solicitous to have every thing done decently and in order. Unnecessary and unreasonable interruptions of her domestic employments are therefore to her real hardships, however thoughtlessly inflicted or however well-intentioned. "Many people seem to think," says the author of the "Itinerant's Wife," "that the minister's family is a kind of common property of the society, and that he has no right to govern his own children as he judges to be best for them." Of course such people, knowing that the wife must of necessity bear a large share of the burden of both domestic government and domestic education, seek to establish the same despotism over her. This is a wrong. It is more. It is an outrage upon her rights and her responsibilities as a mother, such as no woman ought to submit to. Where is the layman's wife of ordinary intelligence and self-reliant spirit, united with a just sense of her own duty and responsibility, that would endure it? And why should the pastor's wife be subjected to such interference in what of all human rights and prerogatives are the most sacred and inviolable?

The minister's wife has a right also to her own personal friendships, intimate associations, and sympathies. Every woman has her own tastes, habits of thought and feeling—her social, moral, and religious affinities—inwrought by the great Master-builder of our common humanity, for wise and beneficent purposes, for the promotion of personal and social happiness and of spiritual enjoyment and progress. These instincts are the sources of influence, the keys which, skillfully touched, evoke emotions and work reformations in mankind. Because of these subtle but distinctive characteristics, hearts that have been steeled against the impetuous utterances of a Boanerges have melted before the tenderness of an Apollos; and minds unmoved by the arguments of a Paul, have yielded readily to the terse plainness of a Peter. Hence the truth of the divine maxim, "How can two walk together except they be agreed?" Hence those wondrous friendships of record in both sacred and profane history that have outlived all adversity and all opposition, making self-denial the sweetest joy, and the heaviest toil an untold delight. The rational indulgence of these instincts is the common right of all, if not indeed the solemn duty of each. Yet too often is the demand made, in spirit if

not in the letter, of the preacher's wife, that she shall deny herself of the pure and holy delights of friendship and sympathy that spring spontaneously from similarity of natures, from reciprocity of views and feelings, intellectual, moral, or spiritual. How often is it that ninety-nine members of the Church take umbrage if she yields to this inward talisman and does not conceal that only in the one hundredth has she the congenial spirit with whom above the rest she can take sweet counsel and taste the pure pleasures of intimate friendship. It is a moral impossibility for her not to be in this particular a respecter of persons. She is but exercising one of the prerogatives of her nature, and instead of murmurings and complaints that one, or two, or more of her Christian sisters have more of her society, and are more in her confidence than others, there should be sincere gratification that the more delicate bonds of an intimate friendship, so often snapped by the necessities of the itinerancy, have been entwined around a new and worthy object. Nor should it be forgotten how frail and brief is her tenure of such a boon, and this should modify censure even were she too inconsiderate of others, and too devoted to those who meet her with responsive sympathy. It is enough if she be kind and courteous to all. The claims of the Church cannot justly go beyond this. She has the right to be the sole judge of her own intimacies and closer friendships.

The minister's wife is entitled to a kind and charitable interpretation of all her words and actions. Every person, and every woman especially, can claim this from all. But the pastor's wife is peculiarly entitled to it from God's people. Yet this undoubted right is not always conceded. There is a marked tendency to forget that the preacher's wife, after all, has the common imperfections and infirmities of fallen human nature. Mr. Eaton remarks that there is a class of persons among whom "it is more difficult for the minister's wife to give satisfaction than it is for the minister himself." "Her liberty in lawful things is invaded by these usurpers, and her heart lacerated by those who should comfort and support her." We know this to be true. If she is cheerful, her cheerfulness by some is misconstrued into levity; if she is sad, others denounce her as cold and uncongenial. If she is careful of the appearance of her children, their apparel, their habits, and es-

pecially their associations, she is accused of pride, and of an assumption of superiority; if she lowers her standard of duty in these respects she is misrepresented in the opposite direction. If she from principle is a keeper at home, she is misinterpreted; if from a desire to conciliate she goes much abroad, the motive thereof is misconstrued. This picture, unhappily, is not overdrawn, although it is by no means a portrait of every Church or congregation: far from it. If there be any woman who should receive charitable judgment from Christian people, it is the preacher's wife. As we said at the commencement of this article, her position is most difficult and delicate. She has responsibilities without power, and duties which reach to the very verge of contradictory obligations. Her sense of duty points in so many directions at the same time, that she is often sadly perplexed how to act, her very anxiety often giving a seeming uncertainty to her movements as she staggers beneath the burden of having to satisfy the expectations of a many-minded Church membership. Say we not truly that it is her right to have all her actions judged in a spirit of Christian love and charity?

She has an undoubted claim also to the fervent prayers and active sympathies of the whole Church. Prayer should be made for her continually, with special reference to her endowment with those qualities of mind and heart which are peculiarly necessary for one in her prominent position. It is painfully true that those who account her the servant of the Church, in the same sense and almost in the same degree as her husband, fail to remember her as uniformly and specifically in their prayers as they do him. Such have no excuse for this forgetfulness of her. But whatever position be assigned to her in the Church, the preacher's wife needs special grace and wisdom, and should have ever with her the encouraging consciousness that her husband's people are earnestly praying for her; that

> "When in secret, solemn prayer,
> Their happy spirits find access;
> When they're breathing all their care,
> Sweetly at a throne of grace,"

they present her also before God and are prevailing on her behalf. To prayer for her should be added a tender and active

sympathy, manifested by those little courtesies grateful to every woman, especially to one in a responsible public position, and by acts of kindness delicately performed. Let her feel that there is quite as much disposition to promote her happiness as to exact a round of duties from her, and the result will be an increased union and affection between the preacher's wife and the people of her husband's charge.

There is another point on which we think a mistake is made with respect to the duty of a preacher's wife, and by which her time and energies are taxed far beyond what is just to her husband and family. We refer to the practice of expecting and requiring the pastor's wife to be principal manager or directress of the numerous benevolent societies which, to the honor of the Church, exist in its various charges. This error has been glanced at in the preceding remarks, but it deserves special mention because unmerited censure has too often been cast upon the most excellent of women, who have not found it convenient or even practicable, consistently with their duty as Christian wives and mothers, to take this position when it has been assigned to them by their sisters in the Church. Every rule has its exceptions, and there may be cases where, to some considerable extent, a minister's wife may comply with this requirement, as when she has no family, and her husband's salary permits good and sufficient domestic help; or where her family are grown up, and no longer need a mother's constant watchfulness and arduous care. When circumstances thus favor her it may be very proper, may, indeed, become her duty, to bear her full share of such responsibilities. But only in such exceptional cases can we see any reason why the onerous burdens of such offices should be imposed upon her. These associations belong to the membership and not to the pastorate. They are lay and not clerical organizations. The labor and the honor of their management and direction, therefore, should devolve upon the wives of laymen: of trustees, or leaders, or stewards, or private members. And this for the obvious reason that, however much consideration and delicacy may be shown to the preacher's wife in the matter of trespassing upon her time and domestic occupations, her regard for her husband's acceptability and her own good name in the Church will lead her to make visits and perform other acts

which are not expected from other wives. These, let it be kindly remembered, are on her part acts of pure benevolence and Christian love, and are additional to those ministerial and pastoral duties for which her husband, and not she, is pecuniarily remunerated.

Art. IV.—SCHLEIERMACHER, DE WETTE, AND HARMS.

[FROM HAGENBACH'S HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN THE XVIII AND XIX CENTURIES.]

SCHLEIERMACHER was born in Breslau, Nov. 21, 1768, and acquired his earlier education, secular as well as theological, at the Moravian Institutions of Niesky and Barby. And if somewhat later he left the brotherhood and continued his studies at Halle upon a different system, still, down to the end of life, he never ceased to acknowledge the beneficial influence of his early Moravian training. "Piety," says he, "was the maternal womb in whose holy obscurity my young life was nourished and prepared for the world to which it was still a stranger; in it my spirit breathed before it had found its sphere in science and the experience of life." While chaplain in the hospital in Berlin from 1796 to 1802, Schleiermacher fell into intimate relations with the brothers Schlegel and other bold spirits of the Romantic school, and to this period, in which his Platonic studies fall, belong his two early works, "The Discourses concerning Religion," and the "Monologues." We begin with the latter because they present us with a better view of the interior life of the man than could be given by any merely outward biography, and because they reveal him as he stood before his own consciousness and that of his cotemporaries.

While Goethe regards self-scrutiny and self-observation as something morbid, Schleiermacher asserts exactly the opposite, and seems to have Goethe in his mind when he says: "Whoever knows and sees only the outer manifestations of the spirit, instead of the life which moves concealed within; whoever,

instead of contemplating himself, does nothing but gather together from far and near an image of his outer life and its vicissitudes, must ever remain a slave of time and necessity, and whatever he thinks and devises must bear their stamp." From the Monologues of Schleiermacher a spirit breathes upon us like to that of *Fichte*. To get possession of himself, to bear eternal life in himself even in this world, to become conscious of his Ego as something indestructible, this was the goal toward which everything tended. "Begin now," said he, "thine eternal life in perpetual self-inspection, grieve not for that which is passing away, but be careful not to lose thyself, and weep if thou art borne away by the stream of time without carrying heaven within thee. To be a man a single resolve is sufficient; whoever makes it is a man forever; whoever ceases to be a man never was one." Thus with proud satisfaction did the preacher recall the hour in which he had found the consciousness of humanity, not by means of a system of philosophy, but through the inner revelation of one luminous moment, by his own act; and he assures us that from that hour he never lost himself. In distinct opposition to the abstract, generalizing ethics which regards all men as mere mathematical quantities, as fragments of one and the same mass, Schleiermacher declares in the Monologues that every man must develop humanity in his own way. He freely confessed that the vocation of the artist, who moulds the outer world into shapes of beauty and rejoices in the perfection of form, was something quite foreign to him; and herein we again see him distinctly contrasted with Goethe. He regarded it as his mission, his destiny, not to represent a permanent work without, but to labor upon himself within. And this destiny, this mission, he expected to work out only in communion with others. With him, however, the true communion was that wherein each freely allows the other to act according to his own peculiarities, and yet each completes the other, so that altogether they may exhibit the true picture of humanity. A strong but noble self-reliance, rising almost to prophecy in respect to his own future, finds utterance in the following striking passage from the Monologues:

Unenfeebled will I bring my spirit down to life's closing period; never shall the genial courage of life desert me; what gladdens me

now shall gladden me ever; my imagination shall continue lively, and my will unbroken, and nothing shall force from my hand the magic key which opens the mysterious gates of the upper world, and the fire of love within me shall never be extinguished. I will not look upon the dreaded weakness of age; I pledge myself to supreme contempt of every toil which does not concern the true end of my existence, and I vow to remain forever young. . . . The spirit which impels man forward shall never fail me, and the longing which is never satisfied with what has been, but ever goes forth to meet the new, shall still be mine. This is the glory I shall seek, namely, to know that my aim is infinite, and yet never to pause in my course. . . . I shall never think myself old until my work is done, and that work will not be done while I know and will what I ought. To the end of life I am determined to grow stronger and livelier by every act, and more vital through every self-improvement; I will wed youth to age, so that the latter may be filled and thoroughly penetrated with inspiring warmth. . . . Through self-study man raises himself to a position which despondency and weakness cannot approach, for eternal youth and joy sprout from the consciousness of inward peace and its action. So much has been accomplished and shall never be yielded; therefore when the light of my eyes shall fade, and the gray hairs shall sprinkle my blond locks, my spirit shall still smile. No event shall have power to disturb my heart; the pulse of my inner life shall remain fresh while life itself endures.

Schleiermacher kept his word. All who knew him in his later years will recall with pleasure the impression made upon them by the appearance of this youthful old man. And yet, whoever will be at the pains to compare this language of the Monologues with the author's later writings must be struck with the fact that the moral courage, the trust in his own strength, the almost reckless moral boldness here expressed, is widely different from the meekness of that feeling of dependence which finally became the root of Schleiermacher's theology. Schleiermacher felt this himself in after years, and in a new edition of the Monologues explained that he had only given an ideal of his nature, toward which he strove, and that the self-inspection was therefore made solely from the ethical standpoint, while its religious element did not appear. He was anxious on account of the onesided notion of his own personality, produced by the Monologues, practically to counteract them, and by a series of religious soliloquies to supply what the little book lacked, but he never did it. This lack, however, may be considered as measurably supplied by his *Discourses on Religion*, which ap-

peared in 1799, one year before the Monologues. These *Discourses on Religion, addressed to the educated among its despisers*, were a highly important phenomenon, and exerted a powerful influence upon their times. Not only such men as Werner, but also many younger men, to whom whatever concerned religion had become a riddle, by these discourses found themselves brought near to the solution of the riddle, found themselves relieved and edified. To understand this here, as in the case of the Monologues, we must place ourselves back completely in the time of writing; for Schleiermacher himself remarks in 1821, in issuing the third edition, that the times had undergone a marked change, and that the persons to whom the discourses were originally addressed were no longer to be found.*

It is needful again to recall the fact that through the Kantian philosophy, which still counted its disciples among the educated, religion had been transformed into mere morality, and that everything relating to religious exercise, to cultus, etc., had come to be regarded as a mere indemnity for those classes of people who are not able to bring themselves up to pure morality. Still the attendance of the educated classes upon divine service was justified, not, however, upon the ground of necessity, but of example. This contempt for religion, springing as it did mainly from an entire misunderstanding of its nature, was boldly met by Schleiermacher in his *Discourses*. In opposition as well to the view which makes religion merely a matter of knowledge, whether as the dead material of traditional dogmas or as an interesting subject of philosophical discussion, as also to that which reduces it to a mere moral discipline, he sought to elevate it again to its true position, to restore it again to its original rights, by pointing out feeling as its own peculiar sphere. But by feeling he understood, not that fleeting movement of sensible experiences, which passes away as quickly as it arises, and which becomes the deceitful play of the tune of the hour; not that fantastic susceptibility and

* "Rather," he remarks, "if one looks around him among the educated, do we find it necessary to write discourses for bigots, and slaves of the letter, for the ignorant, uncharitable, persecuting devotees of superstition and credulity?" Thus wrote Schleiermacher in 1821, twenty-two years after their first publication. Another series of years has passed and how stands the matter now? We have the slaves of the letter, and the despisers, and what not.

emotionality which he himself has so earnestly opposed; but he meant thereby the innermost germ of the man, the central, focal point of his spiritual life, the source and the root of all our thinking, striving, and acting, the most immediate and the most original portion of our inner life. Religion cannot be taught and imparted from without, nor communicated by dogmas or sentences; but must be begotten in the mind of the pious as an original sentiment, as something learned by experience and lived, and must make itself known as an all-ruling and all-appropriating power. The religious man is turned in upon himself, devoting himself to the innermost deep; and everything outward, so far as it makes itself known as distinct knowledge, or as action, is only secondary or derived. In these fundamental views concerning the nature of religion Schleiermacher agrees with F. Jacobi, who, as we know, strives to free divine things from the slavery of the dead idea, whether of the theological or philosophical schools, and to press them down into the innermost ground of the soul; not, indeed, that they may remain there as if buried in holy gloom like a dead treasure, but rather that out of this depth they may come forth to the light as pure, refined gold, as the indestructible heritage of our nature, dependent on no change of systems. If Jacobi conceived religion more in its universality, if he hesitated to describe it in its historical distinctness, as essentially Christian, Schleiermacher on the contrary showed that natural religion, so called, to which the educated classes of that period were especially inclined, was a mere chimera, a naked abstraction of the understanding, and that religion never works efficaciously upon man until it becomes something definite and positive. Especially did he bring out what Jacobi had overlooked, namely, the social element, and showed that from the earliest times, individuals who had been peculiarly stirred by the religious life, had always worked upon society, and as religious founders had gathered associations about them. Without even naming Christ, except as one of the series of religious founders; without describing, even in general, the Christian, among other historical religions, as the only true religion of humanity, he still taught his own times how to get away from the loose generalities with which they had so long been occupied, and to attain to something distinctively

Christian. "These Discourses," as a modern theologian has truly said, "are rather a defense of religion in general than of Christianity in particular; they were uttered, so to speak, in the outer court of theology, in the court of the Gentiles," and yet they already clearly enough contain those peculiar, fundamental principles which Schleiermacher afterward carried out in his (glaubenslehre) system of dogmatics.

Still a very serious charge has been brought from various quarters against these Discourses, and even by parties from whom, after knowing the relation between Schleiermacher and Jacobi, we should not have expected it; we refer to the charge of pantheism.* And it is true the Discourses bear this stamp in their whole tone and expression; there is no mistaking it. Neither a personal God, nor personal immortality, as Rationalism would have them held, are here to be met with; on the contrary, passages enough are to be found which remind us even less of Jocobi than of his opponent Schelling, and of his philosophy; passages in which the *all*, the *universe*, the *absolute*, take the place of a known and named God, and in which the being taken up into that *one* and *universal* might appear to be the very goal of all our wishes. But we must here again recall the time in which the Discourses were written, and the persons to whom they were addressed. There existed, indeed, at that period faith in a personal God, but it was a faith that worshiped in God a metaphysical being, separated from the world, who comes into no communion with man, who, unconcerned about the world and human inhabitants, leads a life of simple self-complacency, intending at most at some future time to judge the world which he had been at the pains to create. Against this cold deistical belief, just at that time constituting the religion of those claiming to be the educated classes, and still lingering in the heads and hearts of many, Schleiermacher presented the living, spiritual presence of a world-indwelling God, ever present with us, uniting and allying himself with our nature, and making us happy by his abode in us. It cannot and must not be denied, however, that our

* This charge comes especially from the side of Rationalism, particularly from Rohr. Against this imputation compare Karsten's examination and estimate of Dr. Rohr's article on Schleiermacher's Discourses on Religion. Rohr's article appeared in the "Critical Library for Preachers." Rostock, 1835. See also the polemical papers of Hase.

author in doing this approached the pantheistic modes of expression, and even appropriated them further than was needful for his own purpose. At a later period, however, he broke away from this pantheistical mode of thought, and testified against it both in distinct explanations and in his whole Christian development. Indeed, in opposition to the common sort of these "all-in-one men," as he called them, who only hide their unbelief in higher truths, behind their pantheism; in opposition to the Romantic poetasters who sport with religion, in shallow poetry, he had already declared in the Discourses that when philosophers should become religious and seek God, like Spinoza, and artists should become pious and love Christ, like Novalis, then and only then should dawn upon humanity the resurrection of the two worlds of art and philosophy. In respect to immortality, Schleiermacher indeed admitted that the usual method of treating the subject did not accord with, and could not proceed from the true nature of piety; that in many persons the belief in immortality appeared to be opposed to piety, because their desire to be immortal has no other ground than a repugnance to that which is the ultimate aim of religion, because they attach more importance to their future existence in the sharply defined outlines of their own personality than to God and a godly life. For such, he supposes were meant the words of our Lord: "Whosoever shall lose his life for my sake shall find it," and the reverse. The more they long for an immortality of which they can form no conception, the more do they lose of that immortality which they might have here. Whoever has learned to be more than himself knows well that but little is lost in losing himself; only he who is even here united with God, in whose soul, even here, a great and holy longing has arisen, only he has the right and the capacity further to discourse concerning the hope which death gives us, and concerning the infinity to which death shall infallibly elevate us.

By his call to Halle, in 1802, as professor of theology and philosophy, and his appointment in the newly established University at Berlin in 1810,* Schleiermacher became more fully

* The places he occupied are the following: 1794, assistant preacher in Landsberg on the Warthe; 1796–1802, preacher at the Hospital in Berlin; 1802, Court preacher in Stolpe, and in the same year University preacher and professor at Halle. In

devoted to theological science, and in this more definite sphere of theological labor we shall meet with him further on.

If we have designated Schleiermacher as the man from whom a new epoch in theology is to be dated, we did not mean to intimate that it was in the power of any one man, however gifted, to change the direction of the times, and to fix upon them the exclusive stamp of his own spirit, or that only one man was to be submitted to our inspection. Schleiermacher himself would have been the first to refuse the position which some have assigned him in history, for he confesses that he was only able to accomplish anything great in connection with others. And in fact we shall find that even before Schleiermacher had distinctly presented his theological mode of thought in its complete systematic development, another spirit had appeared in the field. About this time we meet with a tendency which goes beyond the so-called rationalism and supernaturalism, and seeks to effect a reconciliation between the two. The reconciliation thus sought must be carefully distinguished from that theory, or rather that mere expedient, which takes one half of rationalism and one half of supernaturalism, and outwardly and mechanically uniting them, calls the product rational supernaturalism.*

Some, with the venerable Daub† of Heidelberg, in connection with the modern speculative philosophy, sought to lead the way in a theological mode of thought which should lay bare the very foundations of doctrine; others on the contrary sought, in the path of psychology, that path trodden by Kant and Jacobi, and which Fries had traveled in a way peculiarly

1807 he went back to Berlin, and, like Fichte, gave lectures before the general public. In 1809 he became preacher at Trinity Church, Berlin; in 1810 professor at that place, and in 1811 a member of the Academy. It is a very significant fact that in his case the clerical office was ever united with that of professor, and the chair of the professor was divided between theology and philosophy.

* Schleiermacher makes himself quite merry at the expense of these theologians: "For my part I am thoroughly uncomfortable when I hear the *ra* and *irra* and *supra* whistling about me, for it always seems to me that this terminology grows more and more confused. But that the concert may be complete, I propose, with all respect, to add to the *irrational* and rational supernaturalism, not only a *supernaturalistic rationalism* and irrationalism, but also a naturalistic and innaturalistic suprarationalism, and when these offspring of the earth (for they may scarcely claim a loftier origin) shall stand forth fully armed, it is to be hoped that the old passion for slaughtering one another will take possession of them."

† Born 1765, at Cassel; at one time professor at Hanau.

his own, to separate that which in matters of religion pertains to the understanding, from that which falls within the sphere of faith and presentiment, powers of the human soul which Kant has not sufficiently regarded, and which have their rights as well as the understanding. They aimed in this way to rescue the mysteries of faith from rude treatment, to point out the insufficiency of human language, and to bring religious thinkers, behind what is symbolically expressed, to have a presentiment of a higher something which cannot find vent in words or in any sensible representation. In the place of a mode of investigation merely logical and coldly calculating, one was proposed clearly conscious of its own procedure, and marked by a kindliness and pious inspiration near akin to that with which we view a beautiful work of art, and hence called the *æsthetical.* As a representative of this tendency we name a man who was destined through the course of his life greatly to elevate the intellectual life of our native city (Basle) and its university, we mean of course De Wette. Growing up under the influence of German (Saxon) rationalism, he received from it the critical tendency which delights in analyzing, and in pulling to pieces. So earnest, indeed, was he with this criticism, that he could not content himself with the half-way process of the Rationalists, who like Paulus sought by skillful interpretations of the miracles to adapt the Bible to the culture of the times, or, like Röhr and Wegscheider, weakened, its dogmatic contents to bring it into agreement with their rationalistic mode of thinking. De Wette looked the Bible, which he so aptly and faithfully translated, frankly in the face; he did not close his eyes upon the abyss which now at last manifestly yawned between the ancient period of miracles and the modern age of reflection. He left the miracles as he found them, but when he could not accept them as miracles, then, according to the analogies presented in the history of other religions, he admitted mythical elements in the sacred history and sought to secure these against profanation by transferring them from the region of historic and prosaic reality to that of poetry, a poetry which, as he understood it, so far from being synonomous with falsehood, expressed and symbolized the very loftiest ideal truth. And while he scrutinized the individual books of Scripture, or portions of them, as to their genuineness, (in regard to the

authors to whom they are ascribed, or the periods of time to which they are assigned,) while he ventures many a bold and damaging blow against the outer organism of the Bible, still for the interior organism of the divine idea of redemption as it comes to light in Scripture, for the idea of religion, running through the whole history of revelation, returning again and again under the most varied forms, and perfecting itself in Christ, and for the power of that idea in the souls of men, he showed a delicacy of susceptibility far greater than that of the great mass of Rationalists, or even than the supernaturalists; who, while they anxiously clung to the letter of the Bible, showed but little comprehension of its very kernel, of the controlling principle of its revelation. And it was De Wette who, even before Schleiermacher's importance to theology had come to be generally acknowledged, pointed out the necessity of regenerating the Church by means of a believing theology, transfused with religious ideas, and inspired by holy feeling; and he well knew how to stimulate the young and the ardent to work for it. With De Wette Christianity did not depend on a doctrine embraced with the understanding; he declared, at a time when such utterances were regarded as the evidence of a suspicious pietism and mysticism, that to yield up ourselves believingly to the single personality standing before us in the sacred history is the one thing essential, and that the living Christ must form the very center of all theology. De Wette had the courage as well of a confessor of the truth as of an unbiased investigator of it, and if the conscientious investigation, which he regarded as his solemn mission, prevented him from reaching completed results as quickly as those who were bolder and less exact, this fact must increase our respect for his opinion. If Schleiermacher, therefore, in his philosophical modes of speech, followed in part the natural philosophy of Schelling, De Wette followed another philosophical leader, namely, Fries, who, joining himself to Kant and Jacobi, sought to unite the critical tendency of the former with the faith and feeling in the theory of the latter. But Schleiermacher and De Wette agreed and outstripped their age in this, namely, that they did not make religion chiefly a matter of knowledge and of the understanding, but of spiritual feeling and religious faith, to which they united presentiment, and vindicated its long neglected claim.

Now before we examine the modern theology in its connection generally, we must do what we have perhaps already too long delayed, that is, cast a glance at the development, so far, of European history, or at least of the political history of Germany. It must be but a glance, for its thorough treatment does not belong here.

All the revolutions which we have hitherto seen passing in the sphere of the intellect, whether in philosophy, theology, literature, or education, stand in striking connection with the great events of the political world. The French Revolution, proceeding from a principle wholly different from that of the German Reformation of the sixteenth century, had, not only in France, but also in Germany, left behind it the traces of that destroying spirit which had trampled in the dust whatever was heavenly, and communicated itself in a great measure to public opinion. The Napoleonic period immediately succeeding had indeed thrown up a dam against the dissolving and destroying element, but of what sort? An iron dam of force. The ideas of the Revolution, so far as they stood related to morality and religion or to their substance, remained the same, but their further development or their check depended on the caprice of the conqueror. Religion after as before appeared as bit and bridle for the people, only that the bridle which had been wantonly cast away was now again buckled on. It is well known that Napoleon, notwithstanding the greatness of his practical understanding, with which, as with eyes of lightning, he looked through the relations of life, yet had so little appreciation of the might and magic of ideas that he berated the German theologians as unpractical heads, and yet he could not free himself from a secret fear of the power of these ideas. Indeed, there remained for the poor Germans during the period of oppression, nothing but to flee to the realm of ideas, and to strengthen themselves inwardly, while outward disfavor prevented activity. Nothing was left them but to temper their character by means of these ideas, while the sword rested in its scabbard. Thus was it with Fichte, as well as with many others. This German patience has been despised and mocked at, but it should rather be regarded as an heirloom of Luther, who, boldly as he met the day of decision, knew how to be still before God and his judgments. The day of decision came.

The time of battle came in the years 1813–1815, the period of deliverance. In the memorable winter of 1812 God marked for the proud oppressor his limit, and said, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." The German people, the youth of the land, took courage, and with their eyes directed to God, that he would not forsake them, the iron die was cast. The battle for many thus became a religious, a holy struggle; a battle between the time-honored German faith, German morality and discipline on the one side, and foreign licentiousness on the other. So at least the men regarded it who then called the German people to arms. Thus it was viewed by an Arndt, a Max Schenkendorf, a Foqué, a Theodore Körner. Then sung Moritz Arndt:

Who is a man? He who can pray,
And trust the Lord most high;
When earth is wrecked he trembles not,
His trust can never die.

Who is a man? He who believes,
For truth and freedom burning;
This fortress strong no human throng
Has power of overturning.

God can alone protect his own,
And give them peace and conquest.

This was the watchword and battle-cry both of the manhood and the youth of Germany in that critical period. In respect of doctrines and modes of thought, the religious excitement was, as from the pressure of circumstances it could not fail to be, very indefinite. Time enough had been consumed with unfruitful definitions of doctrine, now the great want was that faith should reveal itself in acts; and as each one in a physical struggle reaches for the weapon which is near at hand, so each one now seized the intellectual weapon which he best knew how to use. This was indeed fortunate for a period of early enthusiasm. A quiet examination of the religious and moral motives of each individual, an analysis of the elements in a moment of time, was not to be thought of; for this seasons of agitation are not appropriate. Such analysis and investigation could only come when the fermentation had ceased, and the elements had become quiescent. And thus the gain to religion was not at once apparent; indeed, this was

not at first inquired for, but rather, as was reasonably to be expected, the political advantage, which the nobler spirits hoped would become the firm foundation of a moral and religious life. With the sense of German power, of German courage, and German unity, were bound up expectations which were not realized after the peace, either in the way looked for, or so soon as had been hoped by many who had called the people to the conflict. When the outward foe had been conquered—conquered, indeed, a second time, by the united hosts of Europe, the battle immediately became a domestic one. The relations of prince and people, of single states to collective Germany, were at once elevated into life questions, for whose solution men did not feel compelled to wait on tedious diplomatic negotiations. The young generation, full of active life and devoted to liberty, demanded, not without violence, the realization of their ideal, and thus drew upon themselves the suspicion of demagogism. It thus happened that the religious interest which at first had stirred the hearts of the people, was compelled to fall back and take its place in the rear of the political; and if it is true that the majority of European princes* in the first feeling of gratitude for victory over their enemy, at the suggestion of Russia, in 1814, formed the "Holy Alliance," with the distinctly expressed design of establishing Christianity, above all differences of creed, as the supreme law for the life of the nations;† still there were not wanting those who looked upon this same holy alliance with eyes of distrust, and detected behind the Christian phrases which so many of the great were now using a concealed purpose, by means of piety, to lead the people back to their old servitude. The political liberalism of the day derided the good-natured enthusiasm which gave attention to these pious utterances, and was only too much inclined to confound the newly awakened religious life, and the reviving pietism, with the catholicising and Jesuitical tendencies, which, like worms in the vernal sun, had manifestly begun to stir.

Such Germans as Vosz, Paulus, and Krug stood at the head of this party; on the other side, however, were many of the

* With the exception of the King of England, the Pope, and the Sultan.

† See Hase's Church History. Goethe says of the Holy Alliance, "Nothing greater, nothing better for humanity has ever been devised."

gentler spirits who looked for a political regeneration to proceed from a spiritual, and sunk themselves in the religious view of the middle age: they built upon a romantically decorated idea of the German empire, and even sought through this profounder, though duskier religious enthusiasm, through the power of mysticism, to work with holy earnestness upon the political sentiment. Even the outward appearance, in dress and in the growth of the hair, was to remind men again of the character of the middle age, of the old German times; and the godly German youth, through the energy and fervor of their souls, were to triumph as well over shallow liberalism as over heartless diplomacy. It is well known that this spirit, so well agreeing with the romantic, was originally dominant among the students of the universities; and it is obvious that this tendency, where guiding principles are lacking, must degenerate into a dangerous fanaticism, and of this fanaticism the unhappy Sand afterward became a mournful victim.

In the midst of these religious and political disturbances, in 1817, came the festival of the commemoration of the Reformation, whose disclosures most strikingly showed how different were the standpoints from which this world-historical event was regarded. The friends of fatherland saw in it the justice of demanding for the State what Luther had demanded for the Church. Luther and Hutten became symbols of energetic German manhood; and the Reformation, of decisive resistance to spiritual oppression and violence. From this standpoint, penetrated, indeed, with religious elements, the festival at the Wartburg was celebrated, to which the youth from every German district flocked in great numbers, where great recollections were awakened, high resolutions formed, precious oaths sworn; but at the same time youthful imprudences were perpetrated, which afterward brought the innocent into painful complications.*

* "Wherefore should I," says Arndt, "bring back the recollections of an evil period now past." Both were wrong, those who raised the excitement and those who commanded quiet; but from the latter greater wisdom and patience might have been expected. This famous chase after demagogues had many bad results. In the first place, the disease, which had been only on the skin, struck down into the nobler parts, with many into the very heart, and follies, or innocent youthful ebullitions, became evil fancies, with some indeed criminal plots; but, secondly, the worst was its slow secondary operation.

It was not the political side alone, much as the times might emphasize it, that was to be comprehended at the festival of the Reformation; but the Church was required from her own standpoint to know what there was in the Reformation which she was called upon to honor. But even here opinions were far apart. While one celebrated the Reformation only as the forerunner of a free mode of thought, in the sense of Rationalism,* as the feeble beginning of that which in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had attained its completeness in *illumination* and science, this was opposed by others with the demand to return to the old doctrines of Luther, from which men had, alas! too widely separated themselves in these last times. Forward, with Luther or without him, but still forward, cried the one party; backward to Luther and to the faith of the fathers, cried the other. Among the latter appeared a man who claims our special attention. Proceeding from the lower classes of the people, he was able by means of a powerful personality, and a bold picturesque fancy in public discourse, to work upon the people, and to fill them with enthusiasm for the ancient faith. This Claus Harms was the archdeacon at Kiel,† the son of a miller, born in 1778, in South Ditmasch, in Holstein, who until his twelfth year, besides a thorough catechetical training at home, had only enjoyed the advantage of a village school, and had been taught the elements of Greek and Latin by the Rationalist preacher of the place. Until his nineteenth year he assisted his father, and after his father's death, his mother, in the labors of the mill. At that age, driven by an irrepressible thirst for knowledge, he entered the normal school at Meldorf, and afterward the Kiel University. He made rapid progress,‡ passed his examination well, and after spending a year as private tutor, and ten years as a country pastor, he was called to the position of archdeacon at Kiel and preacher of the Church of St. Nicholas in that place. Harms in his manner of preaching had already departed from

* Thus, Wegscheider dedicated his dogmatics to the manes of Luther.

† See his autobiography, Kiel, 1851; Baumgarten, a memorial of Claus Harms, Brunswick, 1855; and Pelt in Hertzog's Real Encyclopedia.

‡ He first earnestly studied Kant's philosophy, but afterward received deep religious impressions from the reading of Schleiermacher's *Discourses*, and started in a path which soon carried him beyond Schleiermacher in strict churchliness and positive orthodoxy.

the beaten track. It had been for seventy or eighty years esteemed essential to good pulpit eloquence to preach in argumentative, symmetrical, forward-moving speech, and to avoid as unfitting everything picturesque, nervous, and striking; it had been especially laid down that a definite theme should be pursued, according to a plan well and thoroughly thought out, in the strict logical order and connection of its parts, of which method Zollikoffer, Reinhard, and Reinhard again, had successively been models; but Harms struck out another and opposite course. He flung behind him the shackles of the schools; he threw himself directly, with all life and feeling, into his text, and spoke from it in the language of the people, and from the feeling of the hour. Like Luther, he watched the popular mouth, and from it caught the art of talking with the people. Hence his fondness for proverbs and verses of hymns familiar to the people, to which he hung his discourse, not even despising the rhyme and jingle of the words. And he employed the whole broad creation as a great art gallery of religious symbols and life relationships. He delivered nature-sermons from nature-texts, though not in the sense of the earlier sentimental preachers, who could say so many fine things about the rising and the setting sun, about the flowers of spring, and the starry heavens, while they pushed Christ and the apostles, and the whole Gospel aside. On the contrary, to him all nature was but a prop for Christianity, simply the outer revealing of what must be wrought in us, if the Divine Spirit shall there create a spring, and the Sun of righteousness shall call into being a new creation. Herein he followed the example of Him whose parables appropriated the sower and the various kinds of soil, the fig-tree, the lilies of the field and the fowls of the air, and of whom it is said: "He spake as one having authority and not as the scribes." Indeed, Harms's preaching was attended with great power; of this his winter and summer postils give sufficient evidence, and many stories are told, bordering on the miraculous, of the effect of his preaching and impressive prayers.* It is at least certain that while many of

* On a certain occasion, during a long drought, according to a custom in Holstein, he prayed for rain. None of those present expected at the time of starting for church that the rain would come so soon, and all, even Harms himself, were greatly surprised when the large drops suddenly smote the high old church

the churches of that day were empty, that of Harms was crowded; many from among the educated classes, who had ceased to attend divine service, became his hearers, and strangers in great numbers attended his ministry. Many among them may have been drawn merely by the originality of the preacher; but others no doubt found the spiritual food for which they had long endured sad hunger. Some even compared him with Luther, so that, encouraged by such opinions, Harms may have felt himself called to step forth as a Reformer. He at least thought that the best way for him to commemorate the Reformation was to place by the side of the ninety-five theses which Luther nailed to the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg ninety-five others which he regarded as fitting for the times, and which attacked Rationalism with sturdy words. He spoke of a popery of reason, from which the Church of the nineteenth century must be delivered, as was the Church of the sixteenth from Romish tyranny. He laid bare many ecclesiastical defects, with which he had become acquainted, first in Holstein, but afterward in collective Germany, and in the Protestant Church generally. He demanded a return to the old Lutheran faith, to the old pious customs of the fathers. We have no reason to suspect that he was led to adopt this course by vanity, or by a desire to make for himself the name of a second Luther; we doubt not that zeal for the safety of the Church, which he believed to be in great danger from Rationalism, was the prompting motive; still we are required by candor to confess that the manner in which his zeal found vent was better calculated to rouse the feelings than to make matters clear to the understanding. Upon many it could only make the impression that Harms condemned the use as well as the abuse of reason in matters of religion, that he was disposed entirely to forget the history of three centuries and violently to compress the spirit of the nineteenth century into the forms of the sixteenth. The theses made at all events, a great stir; they produced joy among the strictly orthodox, who

windows. Deeply moved and pale, for a few seconds he was silent, appearing to listen, and then with a voice suppressed, but continually swelling out more and more, he cried out: "Hearken, my beloved Church! the Lord has heard you, the Lord passes over you, and his feet drip with blessings." See Rheinwald's Repertorium.

had long kept silence and sighed under the rule of Rationalism, but irritation among the friends of Illuminism. The reproach of popery was thrown back upon the author, modesty was commended to him, and he was reminded, not very gently, of his humble origin,* which, it was said, did not especially qualify him to pronounce judgment upon questions which men more learned than himself had not been able to clear up. Many called him a blockhead, a Jesuit, even a hypocrite, and allowed themselves to offer him the grossest personal insults. Many who had awarded him a high position as a preacher, were offended and deserted him; others, on the contrary, were attracted to him, and cheered him on in the way in which he had begun. The agitation was greatest in Holstein, and even in Kiel. There the strife between the parties reached even to the relations of social and family life. So far did things proceed, that not only social circles were dissolved on account of these theses, but even marriage engagements were broken.†

Soon the pens of the learned were set in motion for and against the theses. The most remarkable thing was that the learned Ammon, chief court preacher at Dresden, hitherto regarded rather as a defender of Rationalism, now came forward as the friend of these theses, and greeted in them the dawn of a new and better era. This was too much for Schleiermacher's patience. He regarded Harms, as he himself assures us, as a well-disposed, ingenious, and truly Christian man, inspired by a noble zeal; he rejoiced in his wide-spread and beneficial activity, but the publication of the theses he regarded as a blunder, or rather as a mere piece of arrogance. He knew the condition of the Protestant Church and theology too well to be persuaded that any fundamental advantage could result from the bold utterances of mere authority. Schleiermacher was by no means the friend of bald, vulgar Rationalism, (if he was, he aided in overturning it;) and he who was so far in advance of Harms in scientific culture could not conceal from himself that the wants, religious and ecclesiastical, of the nineteenth century were different from those of a former

* He might carry his sacks to mill as he used to do.

† The children in the streets, playing upon his name, (Harm in German meaning grief,) sung the song:

Roses scattered in the way
And your grief (Harms) forgotten.

period. And he could only be the more offended when such men as Ammon, who were farther separated from the old orthodoxy than himself, gave their unconditional assent to the Harmsian theses. The affair brought keen definitions and discussions, and did not end without bitterness. One result of this thesis battle was that a livelier interest arose in matters of Church life, and the strife between the Rationalistic faith and that of the Bible, which since the time of Reinhard had been mostly an affair of the theological schools, now became a question about which, in the interests of their own salvation, the Churches, the heads of families, and individuals, began to trouble themselves. It now became less a proof of weakmindedness than it had been for ten or twenty years past, for a man to be more concerned about Christian affairs than about the news of the day. Conversation began to turn more than formerly upon religion.

If the mind of Schleiermacher everywhere influenced the most important ecclesiastical events, it was that same mind also which, in his twofold position of learned theologian and preacher, wrought so instructively and edifyingly and decisively upon the religious conviction. His Dogmatic, (Glaubenslehre,) first printed in 1821, was designed as a dogmatic for the evangelical, that is, the united Church, and was meant to meet alike the religious and scientific demands of the period. We cannot here enter into a detailed exhibition and estimate of it, but must be content with its fundamental features. What most of all distinguishes the Dogmatic of Schleiermacher from the earlier treatises of the kind, is that his book is indeed a dogmatic, an exposition of that which ought to be, and is believed; not the product of a philosophical school. Schleiermacher himself, in the noblest sense philosophically cultivated, and as an author distinguished in the sphere of philosophy, still set himself in earnest opposition to all attempts to mingle philosophy with theology.* With him theology does not stand or fall with any philosophical system whatever; it stands and falls, according to him, only with religion and the Church. Where

* Speculation and faith are often viewed as standing in relations of hostility to each other; but it was the peculiarity of this man to unite them most cordially, without prejudice to the freedom and depth of the one or to the simplicity of the other.

there is no religion there is no theology; and where there is no experience in divine things such things cannot be understood, no matter how rich and extensive the philosophical knowledge. Religion, indeed, is not in the first place a matter of knowledge, but of innermost self-consciousness, of the feeling, our feeling of dependence on God. Upon this feeling of dependence Schleiermacher founds his whole theology. Not what God is in himself, but what he is in his relation to this pious feeling of ours, that is the problem which a dogmatic (Glaubenslehre) has to solve. Inasmuch, however, as this pious feeling is only developed in communion, a Christian dogmatic must also represent this common Christian feeling as it lives in the Church. The Christian Church, according to Schleiermacher, however, is not a crude mass of people of every variety of opinion, accidentally brought together; but a religious organism, that body of which Christ is the head. Christ the Redeemer, not merely an ideal thought-image, but the real historical Christ, as he once lived personally in history, and as he now lives a spiritual personality, and continues to work in the Church, is, according to him, the very center of Christian theology. He knows nothing of a doctrine of Jesus which can be conceived of and represented merely as doctrine, apart from his person; but only by coming into life-communion with the Redeemer can we become partakers of Christianity according to its true nature. He proclaimed everywhere, in the pulpit and in his writings, with the greatest earnestness, that with Christ begins an entirely new era, both in the history of the world and in the life of the individual; that with him the sinless One, the sole dominion of nature, the dominion of sin, first ceases, and the kingdom of grace, the sovereign rule of the Divine Spirit, commences and spreads, and that thus out of Christ and without him there is no salvation; and in this way he brought theology back to the faith from which it had departed. This with him was the great aim. The man who in everything was elevated above the letter, and who from his very nature was compelled to conceive profoundly and spiritually of whatever he touched, could not desire to establish a timid, slavish faith in the letter. While, therefore, with his distinct faith in Christ, from which he would not abate an iota, he might appear on the one side to many as a mystic, as a philosophizing Moravian, who with

his dialectics could make even nonsense appear plausible; on the other side, he did not fail to give offense by the free-thinking style in which he expressed himself respecting particular doctrines, as well as individual books of Holy Scripture, and their relation to the whole; for with him the essence of Christianity depended on none of these, but only on the free grace of God in Christ.

Art. V.—REV. ENOCH MUDGE.

The city of Lynn, the oldest and one of the principal seats of the extensive shoe manufacture of the United States, is situated in Essex county, Massachusetts, ten miles east of Boston. The larger portion of it stands on a plain, skirted on the north by a range of wooded hills. On the west stretch away between that place and Chelsea immense salt marshes, intersected by numerous rivers, in the midst of which is a beautiful wooded island, the location of "the Half-way House," which rises out of the marsh like an oasis in the desert. On the east the city rises into high ground, a portion of which is rocky eminences. On the south is its spacious, but shallow harbor, while beyond are the "beaches," one of which is two miles in length, washed on both sides by the sea, and at the end of which is the rocky promontory of Nahant, the great watering place of Boston and its vicinity, which stretches out into the waters of the bay. South of the great beach "Egg Rock," with its light-house, and the solitary dwelling of its keeper, rises up out of the Atlantic, constituting no unimportant feature in this enchanting scenery. The whole view from the high hills, either on the north or east, affords one of the most beautiful landscapes in the world, and especially is not to be exceeded by its vast affluence of variety. This spot Bishop Asbury, no mean judge in such matters, after having seen some of the finest scenery in Great Britain and the United States, at his first visit in 1791, pronounced, as did the psalmist Mount Zion, "the perfection of beauty."

Here, on the 28th of June, 1776, within sight of where

the Bunker Hill monument now raises its tall form, was born Enoch, the second son of Enoch and Lydia Mudge. This was at the time of some of the most interesting events in our national history, as well as in the immediate vicinity of their occurrence.

Lynn was settled in 1629, and is therefore one of the oldest cities in the United States; and Mr. Mudge, on the maternal side, was descended from one of its earliest white settlers. His parents were members of the Congregational Church, claimed to be the oldest in the Massachusetts Colony, and were persons who truly feared God, according to the light which they had; but at that time were ignorant of the interior Christian life, and destitute of the riches of an inward religious experience. But as far as their own religious life went they instructed him in the fear and in the knowledge of God, a course which was not without its wholesome influence upon his subsequent life and career.

The "Old Tunnel" Church, of which his parents were members, and where he first listened to the word of God, at the time of the "Great Awakening" in 1745, was under the pastoral care of the Rev. Nathaniel Hinchman, who was a violent opponent of the revival, and wrote a letter against Mr. Whitefield, its chief promoter and representative, addressed to the Rev. Mr. Chase, of Lynnfield, then a portion of the town. Fifty years later, this Church, then under the pastoral care of the Rev. Thomas C. Thatcher, showed lamentable signs of the fruits of the violent anti-evangelism, and so it did even for many subsequent years. Indeed, it was nearly a century before it fully recovered from the sad effects of Mr. Hinchman's doctrines and measures.

From a conference held in the city of New York in May, 1789, Bishop Asbury sent the Rev. Jesse Lee into New England for the first time. Lee, at this time, was a comparatively young man, but pious and zealous, possessing a courage which knew no fear, an indomitable energy which never quailed in the presence of difficulties, a most genial humor and an executive ability in ecclesiastical matters which has rarely been surpassed in this country. Commencing at Norwalk, Connecticut, he immediately formed a large circuit in the southwest corner of the state, principally in the county of Fairfield. Messrs.

Brush, Smith, and Roberts being sent to his assistance from the South in the course of the following winter, he at once formed another circuit, extending along the post road from Milford on Long Island Sound, to the city of Hartford; and in the spring, still a third, including both banks of the Connecticut, and reaching from the city of Middletown, now the seat of the Wesleyan University, to Wilbraham in Massachusetts. The following summer he also made explorations for future operations in the states of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire.

At the conference held in the city of New York, October 4, 1790, Mr. Lee was stationed in Boston, to attempt to plant Methodism in that capital of the Puritans. Boston was now just beginning to recover from those political and financial troubles which had alike depressed its business and drained it of its wealth and of its population, during the three wars from which it had so fearfully suffered in the course of the half century which had just elapsed, and in which three of its original Churches had become extinct, and the general interests of religion had suffered in common with its other concerns. Catholicism and Universalism had just before been introduced into Boston, the former in 1788, and the latter in 1785, while Unitarianism was beginning to take that distinct form which it subsequently assumed.

Mr. Lee did not take his station till the 13th of November, when the autumn leaves had begun to fall, and the forests of the north to put on those varied and resplendent hues of the season for which they are distinguished. His usual success as a pioneer did not here immediately attend his efforts, but hinderances and discouragements of a most painful character, and which now strangely contrast with the present flourishing condition of Methodism in that city, but by which we are reminded that great and important results often have the most humble and unpromising beginnings.

But in the midst of these discouragements he received a letter from Mr. Benjamin Johnson, a prominent citizen of Lynn, inviting him to that ancient town. Accepting this invitation, he immediately repaired thither, and met with a most cordial welcome. He was treated with a true Christian hospitality, which greatly revived the spirits of our worn evan-

gelist, and at once made him feel at home. Here, in the midst of an intelligent, thoughtful, and contemplative people, many of whom were hungry for the bread of life, he found "a people who were prepared of the Lord." Large numbers immediately attended his preaching, who received the rich evangelical doctrines relating to a full and free salvation, of which he was the messenger, with all readiness of mind; and on the 20th of the following February a class of eight persons was formed, among which were the parents of Mr. Mudge; and on the 27th twenty-one more were added to their number. A legal ecclesiastical society, outside the Church, in accordance with the laws and customs of this ancient commonwealth, was also immediately formed, to which, on the 9th of the following May, seventy tax payers joined themselves. Thus a Church was at once formed, and a large and respectable congregation was at once secured. One thing more was requisite, and which was promptly supplied. A house of worship was commenced on the 14th of June, was raised on the 21st, and when but just covered in, was dedicated by Lee on the 26th. This most famous ecclesiastical building in the history of New England Methodism, after having served as the cradle of both the Methodist and the Baptist Churches in Lynn, and having been subsequently used as a public school-house, was last in the possession of the Catholics, and has since been burned.

Enoch at once saw the fruits of holiness in his parents, which much affected him. He also listened to the plain, earnest, searching, persuasive, and richly evangelical discourses of Mr. Lee with rapt attention; and while all these things were going on, he was awakened to a sense of his lost condition as a sinner, and was led to seek his Saviour with sincerity and earnestness. He desired to unbosom his burdened soul to Mr. Lee, but his youthful timidity prevailed, and he was afraid to do so. Finally, doubt, with its concomitants of fear, gloom, and despair, began to settle down upon his soul. But deliverance was near at hand. At a class-meeting at which Mr. John Lee, the brother of Jesse, was present, Mr. Lee, who was truly a son of consolation, was enabled so to speak to our anxious and youthful penitent as to lead him to hope, and then to believe in Jesus. The next morning, which was the 16th of

September, the clouds of doubt, fear, and gloom, which had so heavily pressed upon his soul, were all swept away, the Sun of Righteousness shone forth upon his renewed heart, and he was made happy in the love of God. The divine peace which he then received he never lost or forfeited for a period of more than sixty years. Taking a hymn book from his pocket, he opened on the one which commences with—

"O joyful sound of gospel grace!
Christ shall in me appear;
I, even I, shall see his face;
I shall be holy here."

Says he: "The whole hymn seemed more like an inspiration from heaven than anything of which I had a conception. I could only read a verse at a time, and then give vent to the gushing forth of joy and grateful praise; and in this way I went through it."

The same day he told a young friend, who was also under awakenings, of his new experience, and of the Spirit's inward revealings, who at once recognized the work of God in him; and bursting into tears, he solicited his prayers, that he, likewise, might be made a joyful partaker of the same blessings. And now his voice was heard ascending in supplication for his youthful associate—a voice chosen of the great Head of the Church to convert thousands to God in like manner, and to convey the precious consolations of the Gospel to distant multitudes. And thus, at once, commenced those public labors which were to extend through threescore years, ere that voice should be silenced in death, near the very spot where it was thus first heard.

Our young convert now rapidly grew both in grace and in Christian knowledge. The spirit of constraining speech was upon him. Spiritual gifts, as well as Christian graces, were at once developed, and were at once brought into requisition. He first began to exhort in the social meetings, among his friends in Lynn, and also with his older brother John, to assist in conducting the devotions of the family in the absence of his father. Numbers were blessed, even under those early labors. Mr. Lee, who was quick to perceive the developments of talent, and equally prompt to avail himself of all the assistance providentially furnished him, at once took the direction

of the labors of our youthful evangelist, and sent him to Marblehead, to Malden, and to Boston, where he not only prayed and exhorted in religious meetings, but also even attempted to expound the Scriptures from the desk.

The fields in the Eastern States were now "all white to the harvest," while the laborers were few; and a wide sphere of labor was about to be opened to him, which was to extend all along the sea-coast of his native New England, from the mouth of the Connecticut River to beyond the deep waters of the Penobscot in Maine. At the annual conference held in Lynn August 1, 1793, the second held in New England, and at which Bishop Asbury presided, Mr. Mudge, then but seventeen years of age, was admitted to the Methodist itinerancy, with its exhausting labors, its painful privations, and its glorious successes. He thus entered the New England Conference, bearing the enviable distinction which, from the nature of the case, no other man could share with him, of being the first native New Englander admitted to that work, as well as its most youthful laborer. And after nearly sixty years' labor in this field he fell, near the same spot, the oldest member of this same ecclesiastical body, as he was then the youngest.

He was appointed to the Greenwich and Warren circuits, R. I., which, although appearing separately on the Minutes, were, for some reason, united, with the Rev. David Kendall and Philip Wager as his colleagues. This vast field, which had been opened by the labors of that useful pioneer, the Rev. Lemuel Smith, the previous year, embraced the whole of the State of Rhode Island then brought under cultivation, together with the adjacent portion of Massachusetts, lying north and west of the Taunton River, as far as Easton and Bridgewater. It comprised nearly the whole of what is now the Providence District, with a portion of the Sandwich, and is now one of the most fruitful fields of Methodism in New England.

His extreme youth, then ruddy with the glow of health, attracted the attention especially of the young, who, with wondering eyes, flocked to behold the most juvenile preacher whom they had ever heard. Many were made tender under his persuasive words, and he found himself much more acceptable than he feared would be the case. This immense circuit, even, could not boast of a meeting-house of the humblest con-

struction at this early period. Farmers' kitchens, like those of Stephen Hunt, in Taunton, and Joseph Newcomb, in Norton, Mass.; school-houses, where they could be obtained; and some of the court-houses in Rhode Island, like that at East Greenwich, yet standing, were their places of meeting, in which they held forth the word of life to the famishing multitudes who attended upon their ministrations.

But care and the excessive labor of preaching almost daily, besides attendance upon class and prayer-meetings and pastoral visitations, to which he was not accustomed, soon brought down our youthful itinerant, and he was prostrated by sickness for several weeks. During his illness he was sheltered and kindly cared for at the house of Mr. Francis Goward, in Easton, Mass., at the eastern extremity of the circuit. This kind friend went to his rest four years after, and, with Mary his wife, who survived till 1832, lies buried in a spot near their residence, rendered sacred as the resting place of the Rev. Zadock Priest, the friend of Mudge, and the first Methodist preacher who fell in New England, and who died while in charge of this same circuit in the summer of 1796.

During this illness one man, who felt interested in him, hearing a report that he was dead, came to the house of Mr. Goward to make arrangements for his funeral. But the Master had still work for him to do, and he was raised up. Feeling that this sickness had been permitted for disciplinary purposes, on account of his extreme reluctance to duty, and which was natural enough for a stripling of his tender age, and might have been excusable even to an older person, he felt humbled, and renewedly dedicated himself to his good work; and getting out as soon as possible, he entered upon it with renewed zeal. The year was a successful one; and among those whom he and his colleagues received into the society were several young females, who afterward became the wives of distinguished ministers. And among these were Mrs. Asa Kent, who still survives, at upward of fourscore; Mrs. Daniel Ostrander, Mrs. John Hill, Mrs. Stephen Hull, and the wife of the Rev. Bishop Soule, of the Church South, who went to her rest but a few years since on the distant banks of the Cumberland; while her venerable consort, one of the earliest friends and co-laborers of Mudge, still survives, bearing the honorable dis-

tinction of being the oldest Methodist bishop in the world and yet efficient!

At the close of the year, July 25, 1794, the conference was again held in Lynn, and Mr. Mudge returned home to revisit the scenes of his childhood and of his earliest religious life. The occasion was one of tenderness and of deep interest. He felt much affected in meeting with his parents, who were among the excellent of the earth, and with the members of his father's family, as well also of his numerous friends, to some of whom he had been made a blessing in former years. But he now felt, as others similarly situated also feel, that he had *now no home*—a feeling sometimes unutterably affecting to a sensitive soul like his.

But the business of the little conference of thirty preachers transacted, the appointments made and "read off," the solemn and interesting services of "the conference Sabbath," with its sermons, love-feast, and sacrament, held, the apostolic Asbury, with his hardy and resolute band of coadjutors, prepared to depart to their several fields of labor, to toil, to suffer, and to triumph another year: some for the wilds of Maine, some for the granite hills of New Hampshire and the Green Mountains of Vermont, some for the metropolis and the ancient towns in eastern Massachusetts, and some for the beautiful valley of the Connecticut; while the great leader of the company of itinerants hastened to travel his immense diocese, now extending from the Kennebeck to the St. Mary's, and from the Atlantic to beyond the tall peaks of the Alleghanies.

Mr. Mudge was appointed to the New London circuit, then the largest in New England. It included nearly the whole of eastern Connecticut, and required about three hundred miles of travel to go round it. His colleagues were the Rev. Wilson Lee, who was the preacher in charge, then one of the ablest ministers in the connection, and whose itinerant labors had extended from the Holston, amid the mountains of eastern Tennessee, to his present field of toil; David Abbott, and Zadock Priest, the latter a native of Connecticut, and who, like Mr. Mudge, had joined the itinerancy the past year, but a few weeks later. Mr. Lee, who was but of a feeble constitution, and certainly but poorly adapted to the herculean labors of a traveling preacher in those days, was soon compelled to leave through

ill health; and at the close of the second quarter Mr. Mudge was transferred to the Litchfield circuit, in the northeast portion of the State, to take the place of a preacher who had left. After passing but once round this circuit, he was sent to Granville, Mass., which then included a portion of western Massachusetts, and the adjacent parts of Connecticut. This circuit was then under the charge of the Rev. Joshua Taylor, afterward one of Mr. Mudge's co-laborers in Maine, and who still survives, at the extremely advanced age of ninety-two, one of the few remaining monuments of those heroic days.* On this circuit he first became acquainted with the Rev. Timothy Merritt, then a young man of great promise, and who, two years after, entered the itinerancy, and presently rose to distinction. He was subsequently stationed with him, both in Boston and Lynn, and at this time he formed a Christian intimacy with him, which ended but with the death of Mr. Merritt, who finally ended his course in Mr. Mudge's native town, but a few years before him. Thus was the year both a laborious and eventful one.

July 25, 1795, the conference met in the city of New London. It was held in an upper room of a house belonging to the late Rev. Daniel Burrows; and here was planned work which has since shaken the whole land of the Puritans, and which has even been felt from the British provinces of the north to the Carolinas of the South. Among those present at this conference were two Wesleyan missionaries from the West Indies, the Rev. Messrs. Kingston and Harper, who had lately arrived in New London for their health, which had suffered in that tropical climate. Mr. Harper consented to take an appointment from this conference, and to identify himself with American Methodism, and was stationed in Boston and Lynn, each for six months. He subsequently went South, planted Methodism in Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, and was the father of the late Chancellor Harper of that State. Another noted person present at this conference was the Rev. Duncan M'Call, the apostle of Methodism in New Brunswick. He had accompanied the Rev. Jesse Lee, who had just returned from a visit to that province, to this conference for ordination, having rode the whole distance on horseback. Preachers from

* Mr. Taylor has since died in the city of Portland.

the provinces sometimes came into the States, in those days, for ordination from the hands of Bishop Asbury.

At this conference Mr. Mudge, though now but nineteen years of age, was appointed to the *charge* of the Readfield circuit in Maine, with Rev. Elias Hull as his colleague.

The first explorations in Maine were made by Lee in the fall of 1793, who then went as far as the eastern bank of the Penobscot, and traveled from the mouth of that river to the Indian settlement at Oldtown, above Bangor, and mapped out the province for future operations; and in 1794 Philip Wager, under his direction, was sent to form the first circuit, which extended from Hallowell, on the Kennebeck, to the Sandy River, and was called Readfield, from one of its interior towns. The second class in the province was formed in this town in November, 1794, the first having been formed a few days previously in Monmouth; and a meeting-house, the first in the province, had been commenced in Readfield about the same time, and was dedicated by Lee on the 21st of the preceding June, when on his return from New Brunswick with Duncan M'Call, as before related. This circuit, which was nearly in the geographical center of the State, and which embraced one of its finest farming regions, at the time of its formation was two hundred miles from any other in New England.

This was then a new country, equal to almost any portion of the West at the present time; and here was wilderness work enough for our young evangelist. Long rides, bad roads, (unbroken in the winter,) unbridged streams, log-cabins, rough and scanty fare, with herculean and incessant labors, were the order of the day. But yet he says that the people were so hungry for the word of life, and so welcomed him to their humble homes as an angel of mercy, that it was a delightful and soul-satisfying work.

The region embraced in this old circuit has not only been noted for the large number of its steady and solid Methodists, but also for the large number of distinguished men, both in the ministry and laity, which it has produced. The Rev. Bishop Soule, the late Professor Larrabee, who was among the earliest educators in the M. E. Church; the Rev. Melville B. Cox, our first missionary to Africa and its first martyr; as also his twin brother, the Rev. Gershom Cox, of New England; Dr. Eliph-

alet Clarke, of Portland, and "Father Sampson," of Readfield, the founder and patron of our first literary institution in Maine, as well as numerous others, were from within its bounds.

It is a singular fact that our first and most important institutions of learning in New England have been planted in the earliest seats of Methodism in the Eastern States; the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Conn., the Wesleyan Seminary at Wilbraham, Mass., as also the Providence Conference Seminary at East Greenwich, R. I., all being located within the bounds of circuits which were formed the first three years after Lee came into New England. So the first Methodist institution of learning in Maine, the Maine Wesleyan Seminary, was established at Readfield, the very center of this old circuit, in 1825, and since then the Female College at the same place.

Sept. 20, 1796, the conference was held in Thompson, a town in the northeastern corner of Connecticut; a long distance, indeed, from Mr. Mudge's field of labor, but he was present, and was admitted to *elder's* orders, although but twenty years of age, and a year in advance of the time at which he was eligible according to the Discipline, he having been but three years in the ministry. But in those days necessity, rather than the mere letter of the Discipline, was often the law of the Church; and the exigencies of the work in Maine, to which Mr. Mudge was to be sent back, demanded that he should be able to administer the ordinances, and to perform the whole duty of a traveling preacher.

He was appointed to Bath, which now appears on the Minutes for the first time. But as Mr. Hull, who was his colleague on the Readfield circuit the last year, but who this year was appointed to the Penobscot, declined going to his circuit, Mr. Mudge, who declined no labor or sacrifice for the cause of his Master, after preaching in Bath but one or two Sabbaths, readily exchanged fields of labor with him, and took that eastern outpost of the work. Mr. Lee also being absent at the South for six months of this year, Mr. Mudge took his place as presiding elder, attended the quarterly meetings, administered the ordinances, and took charge of the work in this distant province. Never, apparently, were such important interests committed to such youthful hands. But they were well and ably

sustained. No marvel that he should say, "This was a year of incessant labor, great exposure and toil, so that toward its close my health failed."

If it is asked how the authorities of the Church dared to commit such interests to such hands, I would say that Bishop Asbury was as good a judge of men as Napoleon; and that, having selected his agents, he was equally able to inspire them with his own courage and energy, and to send them forth to their work. Mr. Wesley was often deceived in men, Bishop Asbury never. He would look through men as a lady looks through gauze, and sheer imposition was impossible. One of his rules of action was *to trust young men.* He thought that they were often more reliable than older men, and less liable to shrink in the presence of serious trials and difficulties. Hence the confidence he reposed in Mr. Mudge, and which he found not to be misplaced.

Sept. 19, 1797, the conference was held in Wilbraham, Mass. Such was its great distance from his field of labor, when the usual mode of travel was on horseback, that Mr. Mudge did not attend, but continued on his circuit, though in feeble health. This circuit then included a vast region on both sides of the noble river from which it derived its name, and even extended far down on the eastern side of the waters of its beautiful bay. He was this year appointed to Pleasant River, still further east, to open a new circuit in the country situated between the Narraguagus and the Machias Rivers. But his friend, Timothy Merritt, having been appointed to take his place on the Penobscot, that circuit being so large and important they concluded to unite their labors on it, and greatly extended the work in all that region.

In the autumn of this year he was united in marriage to Mrs. Jerusha Hinckley, of Orrington, with whom he lived in this sanctified relation for fifty-four years; and who, even after another decade, yet survives the companion of her youth. Their union of more than half a century was greatly blessed. Three children, two sons and a daughter, survive him.

August 29, 1798, the first conference in Maine was held in Readfield, in the meeting-house before mentioned. Ten preachers were present, among whom was Lee, the great New England evangelist, with the apostolic Asbury at their head.

Multitudes attended from all the surrounding region, the primeval forests of which, as never before, seemed instinct with human life as they poured forth their hosts to this gathering. In addition to the ordinary routine of conference business, sermons were preached, both in doors and out, as the house was not able to hold the people; and the holy supper was administered to a wondering and weeping Church, who had never before seen such a table spread in the wilderness. At this conference Mr. Mudge was again appointed to the charge of the Penobscot circuit, with the Rev. John Finnegan as his colleague. "Divine goodness," says he, "strengthened me to continue in the work this year with some success and much spiritual comfort. I had to be much abroad to administer the ordinances, and to attend to the care of the societies."

The circuits in those days being large, and none with accommodations for a family, or even providing adequate support, and removals being frequently from one state to another, and what was then more, from one conference to another, the marriage of a preacher was usually the signal for his location. The case of Mr. Mudge was no exception to this general rule. Being now encumbered with a family, toward the close of this year his mind became much exercised on this point. Exposure in this severe climate, as well as incessant labor, had already begun to tell upon his youthful frame, and this, as well as his family concerns, seemed to render this step imperatively necessary. Accordingly, at the session of the New England Conference held in the city of New York June 19, 1799, he located and settled in Orrington, on the eastern bank of the Penobscot, in the center of his old circuit, and in the midst of the friends whom he had raised up around him, as the fruits of his early Gospel labors. It is worthy of notice, also, that the East Maine Conference Seminary is located in Bucksport, within the bounds of this, its oldest circuit.

But even a location was not a retirement to inglorious ease in the case of Mr. Mudge. By no means. The preachers appointed to that distant section of the work being mostly young, and not in orders, he traveled far and near to assist them in the administration of the ordinances, in attending quarterly meetings, in the formation of societies, and in preaching the word; sometimes extending his labors as far as Eddington,

above Bangor, which now large and flourishing city was then merely a trading post at the mouth of the Kenduskeag. Such at that period was the extreme moral destitution of this portion of Maine, which will now vie in spiritual privileges with any portion of the United States, that Mr. Mudge found those who had grown to adult age who had never in their lives witnessed the administration of the ordinances. But some portions of that wilderness were soon made to bud and blossom as the rose.

While resident in Orrington Mr. Mudge was subjected to a lawsuit for solemnizing the rite of marriage. Several Methodist ministers, in various parts of New England, about this time were subjected to vexatious prosecutions for doing the same thing, and one even was driven from his circuit; and it was done under the pretension that they were not Gospel ministers, according to the true intent and meaning of the law. These things were unspeakably vexatious and humiliating; and it now became necessary that the question should be legally adjudicated, and religious freedom on this point fully established. Accordingly Mr. Mudge, with his usual courage and promptitude in case of trial and emergency, gave out word that he should perform the marriage ceremony in a certain case, and should then stand a trial for so doing, and thus bring the matter before the courts, and obtain a legal decision in the case. He accordingly did as he had announced, and was brought before a justice's court. Declining to employ counsel, when the case was called he rose and stated that he had indeed performed the marriage ceremony, but not as set forth in the indictment. 1. As it related to its averments respecting persons and place, which were not true. And, 2. As relating to the averment that he was not a regularly ordained minister of the Gospel, he being ready to show proof to the contrary. But if the court should overrule these positions, he should reserve all further pleadings to a higher court. The justice immediately accepted this as an appeal, and proceeded to make out a bond for him to appear at the next session of the Superior Judicial Court. Upon Mr. Mudge declining to give bonds in the case, thinking that the justice would not presume to take the responsibility of sending him to prison, the justice immediately requested two gentlemen present, namely, another justice and the

clerk of his own court, to become his bondsmen, and who at once consented. When the court came on Mr. Mudge traveled sixty miles over a bad road to attend. General Sullivan, afterward governor of Massachusetts, a large-hearted and liberal-minded man, and a great friend to religious liberty, as well as one of the ablest lawyer of those times, was then state's attorney. Through the justice, who was one of his bondsmen, and as also a witness in the case, as he was present at the marriage for the solemnization of which he was prosecuted, he managed to get his certificates of ordination into the hands of the state's attorney, and upon the case being brought before the grand jury they immediately pronounced it a malicious prosecution, and the action was dropped. And thus Methodist ministers in Maine secured the right of performing the marriage ceremony without further molestation.

Just before our last war with Great Britain, the public mind in Massachusetts and in the district of Maine, which belonged to its jurisdiction, was very much agitated by several cases of oppressive taxation for the support of the "Standing Order," as the Congregationalists were then called. They had formerly possessed all the rights of an Established Church in the state, and even at this late day they were not only loth to relinquish them, but were resolved not do so without a struggle. Hence, some persons who did not belong to this order, and did not attend its ministry or even approve of its doctrines or its mode of worship, and who, therefore, thought that they should be exempt from taxation for its support, were not only distrained of their goods, but even imprisoned, for a refusal to do so. The public mind was now fully aroused, and the question was made an issue at many of the local elections, and a large number of members were returned to the legislature who were in favor of a law which should forever prevent the recurrence of these disgraceful cases. Among these was a large number of ministers of the several dissenting denominations, including Mr. Mudge, who was returned from the town of Orrington. The Baptists, with their usual zeal for religious liberty, were especially active and foremost in this movement. The speaker's table was loaded with petitions from all parts of the state, praying for the redress of these intolerable grievances. Conservatism could no longer hold its own in the

old Commonwealth. Society had outgrown its leading strings. Progress was the order of the day, and the result was the passage of what was called the "Religious Freedom Bill." This afforded all the relief then demanded; but it was not until 1832 that the last vestige of the former order of things was swept away, and religious freedom, as existing in other states, fully established. This was in 1811–12; and at the close of the war, some of the painful scenes of which had taken place on the banks of the Penobscot, near Mr. Mudge's residence, in 1815–16 he was again honored by his fellow-citizens with an election to the legislature.

Mr. Mudge had now been located seventeen years, during which he had suffered from several attacks of illness, and finally from a painful rheumatic affection, producing distressing spasmodic fits, which exceedingly prostrated his whole system, and which were probably the results of former labors and exposures in that new country. He was now compelled to think of finding relief by a change to his native air, or to place his family in a more favorable situation in case of his decease, which he thought could not be distant, except he should soon obtain relief. Accordingly, in the fall of 1816 he removed to Lynn. Here he at once placed himself under the care of Dr. Lummas, a distinguished practitioner of that town, whose prescriptions, by the divine help, were made a blessing to him, so that he was quite recovered by the following spring.

When Mr. Mudge went into Maine in 1795 there were three circuits all just formed, with four preachers and two hundred and sixty-eight members. That fruitful field now embraces two entire annual conferences, with two hundred and thirty-two ministers, and twenty-five thousand members. So "mightily has grown the word of the Lord and prevailed." The Maine Conferences are also distinguished for the large number of preachers which they have sent into other portions of the work.

It is worthy of note, that one of Mr. Mudge's fellow-laborers in that field of that earliest period, the Rev. Joshua Hall, of Frankfort, yet lives within the bounds of the first circuit he traveled in 1795, and has witnessed all these changes with his own eyes. He is now ninety-two years of age.

For the first quarter of a century after its commencement, New England Methodism had been largely sustained with both men and money from the South, especially from the Baltimore Conference, which ever manifested the most lively and praiseworthy interest in all its affairs. Indeed, New England was esteemed as missionary ground and was cultivated as such. Some of the best and ablest men from the South, as Joshua Wells, George Roberts, Thomas Sargent, Ezekiel Cooper, William Beauchamp, and the eloquent and talented Thomas Lyell, the first Methodist who ever served as chaplain to Congress, which was under the administration of the elder Adams, as well as many others, were from the South, and went back; while George Pickering, John Broadhead, Joshua Taylor, and Joshua Hall only remained. But scarcely any men were sent from the South after 1804, at which time a native ministry had been raised up quite adequate to the wants of the work.

But the most of our people in New England being very poor, money was still wanted to assist in the work, which was annually brought by Bishop Asbury, sometimes to the amount of several hundred dollars at a time, in one instance $360 surplus money, the gift of the Baltimore Conference alone. The last disbursement of this kind which he made was at the conference held in Unity, N. H., in June, 1815; and the receipt of the stewards of the conference, who were Daniel Fillmore, John Lindsay, and Solomon Sias, for the same, is yet in existence. But in the following March Bishop Asbury died, and in his death the last special link which bound the South to New England was broken, and its benefactions ceased, and New England Methodism was thrown entirely upon its own resources.

Notwithstanding the incessant and persevering exertions of Bishop Asbury to supply the wants of the preachers in the Eastern states, and to keep them at their work, especially during our last war with Great Britain, such was the distress of the times, occasioned by the complete prostration of the florishing commerce of the East, it was impossible for him to do it; and in a letter to a friend at this period he mournfully exclaims, "New England Methodism is bankrupt." In consequence of these distresses no less than forty-one men during the past four years, among which were some of the ablest and

most experienced preachers, located; thus leaving the conference with a less number of men than it had in 1811, while there was also a similar decrease in the membership of nearly one thousand, so that New England Methodism, like her commerce, was in a state of great depression at this period, and men of experience and of ability were much needed for the work.

At this juncture Mr. Mudge felt it his imperative duty to re-enter the itinerancy, which he did at the conference held in Concord, N. H., June 16, 1817. He was appointed to Boston with his old friend and fellow-laborer, the Rev. T. Merritt, who had located in 1803, and had also re-entered this same year. They had united their youthful labors in the wilds of Maine in 1797, and now after the lapse of twenty years, during the most of which both of them had been located, they reunited them in the metropolis. Never were two men better adapted by nature, by grace, by previous habits, and by long-continued friendship, for true yoke-fellows, than were these two men. They were continued in the same appointment the following year, both of which were pleasant and successful. New England Methodism, now thrown upon its own resources, had began to feel greater self-reliance, and to rise out of its depression.

In 1819 he was stationed in Lynn, with the Rev. Elijah Hedding, afterward one of the bishops of the M. E. Church, as his colleague. He had now been in the ministry twenty-six years, at the end of which time he is at last stationed in his native town. This year the camp-meeting on the Cape was held, the first of which was in the town of Wellfleet; a meeting which has since assumed such great interest and importance, and which has resulted, during the past forty years, in the conversion of such a vast multitude of souls. A company attended this meeting from Lynn with the most satisfactory results, and a good work broke out at the close of the year.

In 1820 he was appointed to the first Church on the Common, the cradle of Methodism in Massachusetts, which was this year erected into a separate charge; while his old friend and fellow-laborer, the Rev. Timothy Merritt, was appointed to the second Church at "Woodend." The revival of the previous year yet

continued with increasing interest and power, and finally resulted in the conversion of about one hundred persons, which proved a large and valuable accession to the strength of the Lynn Churches. Mr. Mudge, who possessed some poetic genius and was a writer of hymns, had, the year before, compiled a camp-meeting hymn book for the especial use of these meetings and for revival occasions. It was the first of which we have any knowledge in New England.

The past fifteen years had been years of great political agitation and strife, which is usually not at all friendly to the peaceful spirit of our holy religion. Lynn had probably suffered as much from this party spirit as almost any place in New England; and this was now the first work of the kind which the place had witnessed since the great revival at the session of the conference in that town in 1805. This revival, with the powerful excitement attending it, is well remembered by the writer of this sketch, then a small boy.

In those days ministers of the Gospel were often elected to office, and intrusted with political power much more frequently than now; and in 1819 Mr. Mudge was elected a member of the Convention which revised the Constitution of the State the following year.

In 1821–2 he was stationed in Portsmouth, N. H. Here, although nothing remarkable or noteworthy occurred, he spent two years in a very pleasant and comfortable manner, and he left the Church in peace. The work has since prospered in that city.

In 1823 the New England Conference, for the first time in its history, held its annual session in the city of Providence, R. I., in a large and spacious church which had recently been erected. The society in that place had lately been greatly disturbed and agitated by occurrences arising out of the case of an eminent and distinguished preacher of that day, who then filled a great space in the public eye, the Rev. John N. Maffitt; and it required the superintendence of a wise and judicious man, capable of safely conducting her through the trying scenes which were now passing. Mr. Mudge was selected for that post, and ably and faithfully did he fill it. He says: "Methodism in that wealthy and flourishing city has since experienced great enlargement, and has assumed a posi-

tion of great interest and importance." And at present this remark is still more true. In 1824 he was a member of the General Conference, which met in the city of Baltimore.

In 1825–6 he was stationed in Newport, R. I.; in 1827–8 in East Cambridge, Mass., and in 1829–30 in Duxbury, Mass. Nothing remarkable or of special importance occurred in his ministry during these years; but he says they were pleasant and profitable years. The public mind in New England at this period was in a state of remarkable quiescence, not only in religion, but also in business and politics. Never, probably, had it been so little agitated, even for a century past, as during these years and the four preceding.

In 1831 Mr. Mudge was stationed in Ipswich, Mass. Here he remained but ten months, when he was called to take charge of the Seamen's Bethel in New Bedford, which had just been established in that grown and opulent city, and which, from small beginnings, had become the largest and most flourishing whaling port in the world, even within the memory of man.

At the time Mr. Mudge assumed this charge, prejudices against this new enterprise ran high among almost all classes in New Bedford. Shipowners, outfitters, boarding-house keepers, and others connected with the leading business of the place, were either actually opposed to it, or viewed it with suspicion and distrust. But the urbanity of his manners, the sweetness of his temper, his calm and dignified bearing, his pulpit talents, and his eminent administrative ability, but above all, the fruits of his pious labors, which began to appear, soon dissipated these unreasonable prejudices. Even Jack himself thought that it was but a well-contrived plan to bring him the more completely under the heel of his employers. But never was a triumph more complete under such circumstances. He presently won the esteem of all classes, and especially the confidence of the seamen themselves. Here a new, interesting, and important field of labor opened to him, to the cultivation of which he applied himself with the most untiring assiduity for the next twelve years. Seldom, during all this time, was he absent from his post, even to attend the sessions of the annual conference of which he was a member. Not only preaching to the seamen, but also exercising pastoral care over them, and furnish-

ing them with Bibles and religious reading for their long, distant, and perilous voyages, in which they often circumnavigated the globe, and also kindly caring for all their temporal as well as spiritual interests, he secured both their respect and confidence to a remarkable degree, so that they consulted him as a father and friend in all their exigencies, and found from repeated experiments, and under the most trying circumstances, that their trust was not misplaced. Indeed, he was an angel of mercy to them, whose appearing often dissipated the cloud of care, and brought gladness to the hearts of the desponding and the sorrowful. He was often a most welcome visitant in the families of the more opulent merchants, who were the liberal patrons of his useful enterprise, as well as in the abodes of poverty and sorrow. With the juvenile members of these households of the rich he was an especial favorite, and sometimes employed his muse in furnishing them with charades and other little poetic pieces for their entertainment. Indeed, he had a heart for childhood as well as age, and for those sylph-like forms and juvenile spirits by which he was surrounded on these occasions, as well as those rough and hardy natures with which he was in daily contact.

Finally, in 1844, after suffering from two attacks of paralysis, he was compelled to resign his post to a successor; and after more than half a century of active and efficient ministerial life "he retired to his native town of Lynn, where, in the first Methodist Church organized in Massachusetts, amid the endearing reminiscences of his childhood, and the fellowship of the few veterans who still lingered there from the days of Lee, he waited with cheerful piety for the summons which should admit him to the company of his old co-laborers."

And now he might say with Alonzo Lewis, the bard of Lynn, who was his cotemporary and acquaintance:

> "These hills, where once the Indian dwelt;
> These plains, o'er which the red deer ran;
> These shores, where oft our fathers knelt,
> And wild doves built, unscared by man,
> I love them well; for they to me
> Are as some pleasant memory."

Probably no man in New Bedford stood so high, or wielded a more powerful influence, in his own sphere, than did "Father

Mudge," as he was familiarly called by all classes. He left the city with the regrets and blessings of the whole community; and among many other demonstrations of respect which he received at this time from various sources, the Selectmen of New Bedford, "impressed with a deep sense of the advantages which the community had received from his devoted and judicious exertions, and with the conviction that his efforts had been highly effective in promoting the peace, quietness, and good order of the town," sent him a formal vote of thanks.

Recovering somewhat from the first severity of his attacks, after his removal to Lynn he preached occasionally to the children and grandchildren of those who were his first religious associates more than half a century before; and still inspired with an earnest desire to do good, he made himself useful in various ways. His last sermon was preached in July, 1848, from 1 Pet. i, 8: "Whom having not seen, ye love; in whom, though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory." The text was but a correct and beautiful expression of his own deep and rich religious experience.

In 1849 he was transferred from the Providence to the New England Annual Conference, that he might die in that same ecclesiastical body of which he was the first native New England member, though, since the death of the venerable Pickering, not one of the original members were now left. During the winter of 1850 his health was very precarious, and toward the close of his life his sufferings were very severe; but grace completely triumphed. The rich evangelical doctrines which he had so long preached to others with such effect were now his own consolation in his last extremity, and his soul was calm and joyous. To him death had no terrors, and the grave no gloom. He often spoke of the sweet rest which he should soon enjoy, and seemed anxious to engage all in praising the mercy of God in Jesus Christ. Finally, surrounded by his family and friends, he sweetly fell asleep in Jesus on the morning of Tuesday, April 2d, 1850, in the 74th year of his age and in the 57th of his ministry. The next day, as his brethren of the Providence Conference met for their annual session in the Chestnut-street Church in that city, of which he had for-

merly been one of the pastors, it was announced to us that "Father Mudge" was no more.

Mr. Mudge wrote but little. His time was consumed in the more active duties of the ministry. But he possessed a well-selected library, and was not ignorant of its contents. His published works were:

"A Camp-Meeting Hymn Book, consisting of one hundred and thirty-two original hymns;" Boston, 1818.

"Notes on the Parables;" Boston, 1828.

"A System of Bible Class Instruction;" Boston, 1829.

"Twelve Lectures to Seamen;" New Bedford, 1836.

Also, numerous fugitive pieces of poetry, which appeared in various periodicals, and a few separate sermons which appeared in the Methodist Preacher, a monthly published in Boston, 1830–33.

Dr. Stevens, in his sketch of him, in his "Memorials of the Introduction of Methodism into the Eastern States," thus partially describes him as a man and a preacher:

"Mr. Mudge is below the usual height in stature, stoutly framed, with a full round face, healthfully colored, and expressive of the perfect benignity and amiability of his spirit. His undiminished, but silvered hairs crown him with a highly venerable aspect. In manners, he would have been a fitting companion for St. John. The spirit of Christian charity imbues him; hopefulness, cheerfulness, entire reliance on God, confidence in friends, extreme care to give no offense, and a felicitous relish for the reliefs and comforts of a green old age, are among his marked characteristics. He has been distinguished by fine pulpit qualifications—fertility of thought, a warmth of feeling without extravagance, a peculiar richness of illustration, and a manner always self-possessed, and marked by the constitutional amenity of his temper. None ever wearied under his discourses."

Also, his brethren of the New England Conference, in their obituary notice of him in the Minutes for 1850, say:

"Of the character of this man of God much might be said; but a little must suffice. As a scholar, he was thorough and exact; as a preacher, he was sound and scriptural in doctrine, clear, without being diffuse in his style, and earnest and persuasive in his manner. As a pastor, he was characterized by fidelity, deep devotion, and earnest affectionateness. And as a friend and associate, he was distinguished for the depth of his attachment, and the meek cheerfulness that was ever beaming from his countenance and flowing from his lips. It has been well said of him, that his heart never

grew old. He always retained that ardency of affection common to the young. As a Christian, his piety was deep, all pervading, and remarkably uniform. His most intimate associates never saw him when he seemed to have the least shadow of a cloud upon his mind. He was always happy, always cheerful, and ever had a word of cheer and of encouragement for all with whom he met. Thus lived and died the first Methodist preacher of New England. And may those who come after him follow him as he followed Christ."

Finally, the eloquent eulogy which Dr. Johnson pronounces upon his friend, the Rev. Z. Mudge, prebendary of Exeter, and vicar of St. Andrews, Plymouth, Eng., who died in 1769, is so perfectly applicable to his later namesake, the subject of this sketch, that I cannot forbear to transcribe a portion of it, the justice of which I am sure will surprise those who were personally acquainted with him:

"He was a man equally eminent for his virtues and his abilities, and at once beloved as a companion, and venerated as a pastor. He had that general curiosity to which no kind of knowledge is indifferent or superfluous, and that general benevolence by which no order of men is despised or hated. His principles, both of thought and of action, were great and comprehensive. By a solicitous examination of objections, and judicious comparison of opposite arguments, he attained what inquiry never gives but to industry and perspicuity—a firm and unshaken settlement of conviction.

"But his firmness was without asperity; for, knowing with how much difficulty truth is sometimes found, he did not wonder that many missed it. The general course of his life was determined by his profession. His discharge of parochial duties was exemplary. How his sermons were composed, may be learned from the excellent volume which he has given to the public; but how they were delivered can be known only to those who heard them; for as he appeared in the pulpit words will not easily describe him. His delivery, though unconstrained, was not negligent, and though forcible, was not turbulent. Disdaining anxious nicety of emphasis, and labored artifices of action, it captivated the hearer by its natural dignity; it roused and fixed the volatile, and detained the mind upon the subject without directing it to the speaker.

"The grandeur and solemnity of the preacher did not intrude upon his more general behavior; at the table of his friends he was a companion communicative and attentive; of unaffected manners, of manly cheerfulness, willing to please, and easy to be pleased. His acquaintance was universally solicited, and his presence obstructed no enjoyment which religion did not forbid. Though studious, he was popular; though inflexible, he was candid; and though metaphysical, he was orthodox."

Mr. Mudge's funeral sermon was preached by his old friend and fellow-laborer, the Rev. E. T. Taylor, pastor of the Mariner's Bethel Church in Boston, from the words of Elisha to his master when he was translated, 2 Kings ii, 12: "My father, my father! the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof." A more fitting preacher and a more fitting text could not be found. He was first deposited in the family tomb in the old burying ground opposite the South-street Methodist Church, where sleep the fathers and many of the most distinguished inhabitants of that ancient town; but two years after, his remains were removed to the new and beautiful cemetery which stands upon one of the wooded hills in the rear of the city, where a marble monument, erected by his family, now marks the last resting-place of this distinguished son of New England Methodism.

Art. VI.—SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON'S PHILOSOPHY.

Discussions on Philosophy and Literature, Education and University Reform. Chiefly from the Edinburgh Review. Corrected, vindicated, enlarged, in Notes and Appendices. By Sir William Hamilton, Bart. With an Introductory Essay by Robert Turnbull, D. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.

Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, Bart. Arranged and Edited by O. W. Wight, for the use of Schools and Colleges. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1853.

Lectures on Metaphysics. By Sir William Hamilton, Bart. Edited by the Rev. Henry L. Mansel, B. D., Oxford, and John Veitch, M. A., Edinburgh. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859.

The problem of the nature and limitations of human knowledge is one that has occupied the minds of the profoundest thinkers from the days of Thales of Miletus to the present hour; and even yet it is the central point of controversy among metaphysicians, who seem to be scarcely more accordant now than they were in the days of Plato and Aristotle. But it were unjust to ignore the facts, that many grand and fruitful discoveries have meantime been made, and that the field of

controversy has been narrowed down to the one central problem: "Is man capable of taking cognizance of the Unconditioned, that is, of the Absolute and Infinite; or, is human knowledge limited to the Conditioned, that is, the Finite?" Our author distinguishes at the present day four prominent theories, which he classifies as follows:

1. The unconditioned is incognizable and inconceivable; its notion being only negative of the conditioned, which last can alone be positively known or conceived. 2. It is not an object of knowledge, but its notion, as a regulative principle of the mind itself, is more than a mere negation of the conditioned. 3. It is cognizable but not conceivable; it can be known by a sinking back into identity with the absolute, but is incomprehensible by consciousness and reflection, which are only of the relative and the different. 4. It is cognizable and conceivable by consciousness and reflection, under relation, difference, and plurality. The first of these opinions we [Hamilton] regard as true; the second is held by Kant, the third by Schelling, and the last by M. Victor Cousin.

His own theory, which is commonly called the Philosophy of the Conditioned, is perhaps fairly presented in the following extract from Wight's Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, p. 454:

In our opinion the mind can conceive, and consequently can know, only the *limited and the conditionally limited.* The unconditionally unlimited, or the *infinite*, the unconditionally *limited* or the *absolute*, cannot positively be construed to the mind; they can be conceived only by a thinking away from, or abstraction of, those very conditions under which thought itself is realized, consequently the notion of the unconditioned is only negative, negative of the conceivable itself. For example, on the one hand we can positively conceive neither an absolute whole, that is, a whole so great that we cannot also conceive it as a relative part of a still greater whole, nor an absolute part; that is, a part so small that we cannot also conceive it as a relative whole, divisible into smaller parts. On the other hand, we cannot positively represent, or realize, or construe to the mind (as here understanding and imagination coincide) an infinite whole, for this could only be done by the infinite synthesis in thought of finite wholes, which would itself require an infinite time for its accomplishment; nor, for the same reason, can we follow out in thought an infinite divisibility of parts. The result is the same, whether we apply the process to limitation in *space*, in *time*, or in *degree*. The unconditional negation, and the unconditional affirmation of limitation, in other words, the *infinite* and the *absolute*, *properly so called*, are thus equally inconceivable to us. As the conditionally limited (which we may briefly call the *conditioned*) is thus the only pos-

sible object of knowledge and of positive thought, thought necessarily supposes conditions. *To think* is *to condition;* and conditional limitation is the fundamental law of the possibility of thought. . . . The conditioned is the mean between two extremes —two inconditionates, exclusive of each other, neither of which *can* be *conceived as possible*, but of which, on the principles of contradiction and excluded middle, one *must be admitted as necessary*. On this opinion, therefore, reason is shown to be weak, but not deceitful. The mind is not represented as conceiving two propositions subversive of each other as equally possible, but only as unable to understand as possible either of two extremes; one of which, however, on the ground of their mutual repugnance, it is compelled to recognize as true. We are thus taught the salutary lesson that the capacity of thought is not to be constituted into the measure of existence, and are warned from recognizing the domain of our knowledge as necessarily coextensive with the horizon of our faith. And by a wonderful revelation we are thus, in our very consciousness of our inability to conceive aught above the relative and finite, inspired with a belief in the existence of something unconditioned beyond the sphere of all comprehensible reality.

It is difficult to define accurately in words, and still more difficult to conceive, what Hamilton intends by the phrase "unconditionally limited;" the very terms, as we shall see in the sequel, are incongruous; the limited and the unlimited are clearly contradictories; so also are the conditioned and the unconditioned; but any attempt to combine the two sets of contradictions together so as to form a compound pair is, we must think, utterly inadmissible. But for the moment our object is not to refute but to explain his theory; we therefore pass to present a second quotation bearing upon the same point, excerpted from his Lectures, page 530:

The sum therefore of what I have now stated is, that the conditioned is that which is alone conceivable or cogitable; the unconditioned, that which is inconceivable or incogitable. The conditioned, or the thinkable lies between two extremes or poles, and these extremes or poles are each of them unconditioned, each of them inconceivable, each of them exclusive or contradictory of the other. Of these two repugnant opposites, the one is that of *unconditional* or absolute limitation; the other that of *unconditional* or infinite illimitation. The one we may, therefore, in general, call the absolutely unconditioned; the other, the infinitely unconditioned, or more simply, the absolute and infinite; the term *absolute* expressing that which is *finished* or *complete*, the term *infinite* that which cannot be *terminated* or *concluded*.

Based upon this logically we have a new, but necessary theory of causation, which may be summed up briefly as follows: The law of principle or causation is nothing more than a mere mental impotence, resulting from the nature and limitations of human knowledge. It is in fact only a special form of our inability to conceive an *absolute* commencement of being, whence results the conviction (of course purely subjective) that if anything now exists, it could not have come into being but as a modification, result, or effect of some pre-existing entity or cause. As thus enunciated it is obviously not an intuitive or *a priori* truth, challenging for itself a necessary *objective validity*, but a mere *subjective* necessity of thought, having no correlation with, or application to, the sphere of the *real*. It is moreover an obvious corollary from, and an integrant element of, Hamilton's system, and is so important in its relations and bearings that it cannot be overlooked in any exhaustive analysis of it; while its intrinsic interest merits for it a separate examination rather than such an incidental notice as our narrow limits will permit.

Waving all notice of the almost exclusively logical character of Sir William Hamilton's system of philosophy, from which, perhaps, its radical errors have mainly resulted, we pass at once to a consideration of those errors. The first that demands notice is his peculiar definition of the absolute and infinite, in virtue of which he declares them to be the opposite poles of a true logical contradiction. In this, as he frankly admits, he is at issue with nearly every distinguished metaphysician of either ancient or modern times, they having with almost entire unanimity identified the two notions in question. There is moreover this very remarkable difference between him and them; namely, they at least *professed* to have some positive knowledge, however imperfect, of the two notions which they adjudged to be identical; but he, on the contrary, distinctly affirms that he not only has no knowledge, but that he has and can have no conception of either; saying, Lectures, p. 530, "Of the absolute and infinite we have no conception at all." How then is it possible for him to justify his bold, nay, paradoxical assertion that these two inconceivable entities or rather *non*-entities, are logical contradictions mutually exclusive of each other? How does, or can, he know that the two names,

(notions he cannot consistently call them,) of whose attributes he is utterly ignorant, are repugnant to each other? But waiving this point, another difficulty equally insuperable starts up at once, namely, the finite and infinite are unquestionably the opposite poles of a true logical contradiction, and are removed from each other by the interval of a true and real infinity. Now the absolute must be either finite or infinite. If the latter alternative be admitted, the philosophy of the conditioned must of course be abandoned; but the former is not less fatal, for if the absolute be identified with the finite, two corollaries equally fatal inevitably result, namely: First, the absolute can no longer be referred to the category of the unconditioned, but must be referred to that of the conditioned, to which Hamilton himself has referred the finite, with all that pertains to it. Second, that in referring it to the category of the conditioned he implicitly recognizes its objective validity, and thereby exscinds the infinite as being at once subjectively incogitable and objectively impossible. Again he assumes the conditioned (that is, the finite) "to be a mean between two extremes—two inconditionates, exclusive of each other, neither of which can be conceived as possible, but of which, on the principles of contradiction and excluded middle, one must be admitted as necessary." But in so doing he directly and openly violates the very canon of logic to which he appeals, for as a law of thought it declares that "a thing either is or it is not. Aut est Alpha aut non est; *there is no medium.*" (Lectures, p. 526.) In fact the very name of the principle in question, "excluded middle," is decisive, since it is only in so far as any "*mean*," or middle term is excluded that the canon itself is valid. How then can the conditioned "be a mean between two extremes—two inconditionates, exclusive of each other?"

But is it true that the absolute and infinite are contradictory, or are they not rather identical? A very slight examination of one of Hamilton's assumed poles of thought will show that it involves essential absurdities. In order to render the assumed opposition at all plausible, he adopts the two antithetic terms, unconditionally limited and unconditionally unlimited. The latter may without inconsistency be applied to the infinite; but the former as a conception or notion is wholly inadmissible, since it is clearly equivalent to an *unlimited limited*, an *uncon-*

ditioned conditioned, or an *unrelated relative*. Our author has, in fact, unconsciously admitted this in his argument against the possibility of a cognition of the absolute, where he says: "To cognize is to limit, to limit is to condition;" or in other words, according to his own definition of it, it is a self-contradiction and an absurdity. Nor can he escape at this point by virtue of the other definitions which he has formally or incidentally given of the absolute, for, apart from the fact that the one whose absurdity we have just exposed is fundamental to his theory, the others are not less unfortunate; for example, take the following from O. W. Wight's edition of his Works, p. 455, note: "Absolutum means *finished, perfected, completed*, in which sense the absolute will be what is out of relation, etc., as finished, perfect, complete, total, and thus corresponds to 'to olon' and 'to teleion' of Aristotle. In this acceptation—and it is that in which for myself I (Hamilton) exclusively use it—the absolute is diametrically opposed to, is contradictory of, the infinite." Now it is too obvious to require argument, that so far as the absolute, as thus defined, is really opposed to the infinite, *it is not unconditioned at all, but the reverse;* and that so far as it is unconditioned, it is not opposed to, but is identical with, the infinite. Absolutum, in the sense of finished, perfected, completed, can be predicated only of that which has been at some point in past duration, unfinished, imperfect, incomplete; that is, of that which *is* or *was conditioned* and therefore *finite*. On the other hand, absolutum in the sense of *perfect* (*not perfected*) is assuredly identical with the infinite, which alone, as all-comprehending and independent, can challenge for itself the attribute of perfection, or be regarded as being in any positive sense unconditioned. To affirm opposition or contradiction between the perfect and the infinite is an error too gross for argument, since an imperfect infinite were a monstrosity. The absolute, therefore, in the sense of unconditionally limited, hopelessly disappears from the plane of vision, and leaves an utter blank at Sir William Hamilton's principal pole of human thought.

But this fundamental error may if possible be presented in a still more glaring form if brought to the test of a concrete application. If the unconditioned in either pole be other than a mere negation in *fact* as well as in *thought*, it may, nay, *must*,

be identified with God. But this, Hamilton himself being witness, involves the necessity of identifying Deity, "1. With the notion of the absolute to the exclusion of the infinite; or, 2. With the infinite to the exclusion of the absolute; or, 3. It must include both as true, carrying them up to indifference; or, 4. It must exclude both as false."—Wight's Hamilton, p. 474. Now any one of these alternatives is fatal to his system, since it involves it in a series of hopeless paradoxes from which there can be no escape. Let the first be adopted and it ultimates in the twofold absurdity *that the infinite is non-existent and that God is finite.* Let the second be chosen and the results are no less disastrous, for God is at once stripped of all the perfections that are necessarily included in the comprehension of the term absolute, chief among which must be ranked self-sufficiency and perfection. Is this position gainsayed? Proof is at hand. The absolute, as affirmed by Hamilton, must either *wholly include* or *wholly exclude* the attributes in question. If it includes them, they cannot be predicated of God as infinite at all; if on the other hand it excludes them, it is itself a mere figment of the brain, utterly unworthy of the place and importance given to it in the system under review. Again, the absolute and relative are opposite poles of an antithesis mutually exclusive of each other; but the latter implies dependence and imperfection, the former therefore must imply independence (that is, self-sufficience) and perfection. But we need not say that any notion of an infinite God, who is neither self-sufficient nor perfect, is a monstrosity equally alien to the domains of reason and faith.

That the system cannot find refuge in either of the other alternatives proposed Hamilton himself explicitly admits, saying: "The last two alternatives are impossible, as either would be subversive of the highest principle of intelligence, which asserts that of two contradictories both cannot, but one must be true."—Wight's Hamilton, p. 474. Now it should be remembered that on either alternative the issue is one of *objective fact*, and not merely, or at all, of *subjective comprehension.* It is in vain, therefore, that we are told, in this dilemma, "that the limits of conception are not identical with the limits of being;" as well might such an axiom be offered in proof of the objective truth of the dictum that two and two

make five; it were quite as appropriate and equally convincing. The difficulty is not that we *cannot conceive how* the thing can be, but that we *can see* but too clearly that *it cannot be at all.* The inevitable result, therefore, is a true philosophic atheism, for, by a necessity strong as fate, if God be thought at all, he must be thought at one and the same instant as absolute and infinite; thus, (Hamilton himself being witness,) the highest principle of intelligence is falsified, and utter skepticism is introduced into the very citadel of faith. For if consciousness be convicted of mendacity in one particular, its credibility as a witness is gone forever. Utter nihilism, therefore, is the immediate and hopeless result, from which there is no escape short of the entire rejection of our author's fundamental postulate, that the absolute and infinite are contradictories mutually excluding each other.

A second error, not less destructive in its nature and results, is found in his *implicit*, or perhaps we should say *explicit* identification of *formal* limitation, such as that which is implied in cognition, and pertains exclusively to the subject knowing, with *real* limitation, which inheres wholly in the object known, whose existence therefore is independent of any act of cognition whatever. These two modes of limitation, essentially diverse, as they obviously are, both in nature and relations, our author seems everywhere to have confounded with each other, if indeed he has not fallen into the still more paradoxical error of admitting real objective limitation to be predicable of the unconditioned, while he yet affirms formal limitation to be utterly inadmissible. Thus on the one hand he says: "To cognize is to limit; to limit is to condition; but the absolute as unconditioned cannot be conditioned; therefore it cannot be cognized." On the other, in a letter to Mr. H. Calderwood, he says: "You misrepresent, in truth reverse my doctrine, in saying that I hold 'God cannot act as cause, for the unconditioned cannot exist in relation.' I never dreamed of denying that Deity, though infinite, though unconditioned, could act in a finite relation. I only denied, in opposition to Cousin, that so he must." Now the admission that God *can* act as cause, and *can* exist in *relation*, either proves that he is neither absolute nor infinite in the Hamiltonian sense of that term, or else *a fortiori* it proves that since he can so act and exist, he may be known

and conceived as thus acting and existing, and yet be cognized as unconditioned. Hamilton's succeeding remark, "That in thinking God under relation, we do not *then* think him even *negatively* as infinite," is a pure non-sequitur, for surely God did not cease to be infinite when he became a cause; and it will hardly be affirmed that he is no longer infinite, since he now exists in relation to the universe which he has created. In thinking him therefore in correlation with the finite we do, *pro tanto, think him as he is.* On what grounds, then, is it asserted that in thus thinking him, we necessarily think him finite? The absurdity of such a conclusion is of itself a sufficient demonstration of the existence of radical error in the theory which necessitates such results. We frankly admit that all human knowledge is relative, so far forth at least, as that cognition implies a formal relation between the subject knowing and the object known; whether the latter be the finite world around us, or the infinite and absolute Jehovah from whom we derive our being. But that there is anything whatever in the nature or facts of this knowledge that is in the slightest degree incongruous with the character of God as unconditioned, we utterly deny. Hamilton admits the coexistence and relations to be real, but denies the knowledge to be possible; we, on the contrary, hold the knowledge to be possible because the coexistence and relations are real.

A third fundamental error of the system is found, we must think, in its implicit identification of cognition and conception as inseparable states of the mind, or rather inseparable modes of mental activity. Is it true that cognition extends only to those objects which fall within the grasp of conception? Here at the risk of the charge of philosophical heterodoxy, we venture to avow our dissent, and to declare our faith in the third of the four theories in reference to the possibility of a cognition of the unconditioned as enumerated by Sir William Hamilton, in a paragraph already quoted, namely: "That it [that is, the unconditioned] is cognizable but not conceivable." But we must at the same time enter our protest against Schelling's peculiar form of this theory, which declares "that it [that is, the unconditioned] is known only by a sinking back into identity with the absolute, but that it is incomprehensible by consciousness and reflection, which are only of the relative and different."

We affirm, in fact, that cognition and conception are neither *convertible* nor *inseparable;* not the first, inasmuch as they involve essentially distinct mental processes; not the second, since either may, in fact, be present in the absence of the other; for example, we may conceive a hippogriff or a unicorn, and yet have no knowledge of either; or we may cognize an object, as the blind man cognizes light or color, through the testimony of others, and yet, like him, be utterly incapable of forming any, even the most inadequate conception of it. Or, to apply the principle to the problem in controversy, our knowledge of God, so far as the fact of his existence and the nature of some of his essental attributes are concerned, *is real*, but of the mode of that existence we have absolutely no conception whatever. It would seem to be clear, therefore, that our author's identification of the two processes is wholly unwarranted by the facts of consciousness, and unnecessary to the development of philosophy.

There is much of almost inevitable indetermination hanging around this problem, arising out of the varying meanings that thinkers have attached to the terms conceive, conception, etc. Hamilton, it is true, has defined them specifically; but he uses them in a much more restricted sense than is usual, either in the language of common life, or in the writings of other metaphysicians. According to his definition, "Conception expresses the act of comprehending or grasping up into unity the various qualities by which an object is characterized." In this sense of the term, the infinite is clearly inconceivable, since it is essentially *one* and *indivisible*, and does not admit of the idea "of grasping up into unity," since it is neither composed of parts nor yet is it divisible into parts. Thus, if our cognition of space be analyzed, it will be found that its *one unvarying* characteristic is its *essential continuity.* Arbitrary divisions may be marked upon its bosom, such as the astronomer, for his own convenience, maps upon the face of the heavens; but these divisions, like his, are purely imaginary, and *do not affect space per se*, which reason ever declares to be truly infinite, susceptible neither of limitation nor division. If conception, however, be taken in the more general sense in which many philosophers use it, the infinite, in the concrete form of an attribute of real existence, is unquestionably not only an object of cognition, but,

in a limited sense, of conception also. Thus, as we have seen above, any idea that reason can form of space, necessarily involves the notion of infinity; and yet it will hardly be affirmed by any one, that our cognition of it is less direct or less real than is our cognition of material bodies in space. Hamilton's own theory of it, though scarcely less subjective than that of Kant, since it resolves both space and time into the necessary subjective conditions under which a perception of the external world is possible, cannot logically accord to them less of objective reality than it accords to the world which they really or potentially contain. Nor can it consistently predicate of them either *conditional* or *unconditional limitation*. It is not true, therefore, that we are shut in between the two counter impossibilities of conceiving an absolute limitation or an infinite illimitation of either notion. Nor are these repugnant extremes or poles equally necessary or equally inconceivable, as our author would have us believe. On the contrary, there is nothing in the laws of our mental nature which constrains us to believe in the first, and the man perhaps does not exist who believes that anything *is to-day, which was not really or potentially yesterday*; or in other words, no man does or can believe in an absolute commencement of being. But the second is demanded alike by reason and faith, and involves the mind neither in self-contradictions nor absurdities. But, says our author, you cannot conceive or imagine, that is, in other words, you cannot form a mental image of infinite space or infinite time; true! but it is also no less true that we cannot form a mental image of mind, or spirit, or gravitation, or of any one of a thousand other entities and agents, which nevertheless we do cognize, if indeed we cognize anything.

If we have not erred in the conclusions that we have reached, all that is peculiar in Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy of the Conditioned must be set aside as inconsequent, and the controversy must be limited to the simple question whether or not it is possible for man to cognize aught above the conditioned, the limited, the finite. That thought implies at least formal relation between the subject knowing, that is, the Ego, and the object known, or non ego, no one perhaps, not even the most extreme of the German absolutists, would dream of denying; for we cannot even imagine it to be otherwise if the problem

be transferred from the plane of human or limited, to that of divine or absolute knowledge. For, conceding all that will be claimed as to our ignorance of the modes of the latter, this much is certain, namely, that if our knowledge be real it must be comformed to the reality, that is, to the object known, and so far forth it is relative in that limited sense in which human knowledge is admitted by all to be relative. But this position may be illustrated more perfectly perhaps by a concrete application. God, as absolute and infinite, must cognize the finite either *as identical with*, or as *separate from* himself; if the former, then the finite is itself infinite and the controversy is at an end; if the latter, he must cognize it either as dependent upon, or as independent of himself; but the last named hypothesis is self-contradictory and absurd, we are therefore compelled to adopt the middle ground that the finite is dependent on the infinite, and thus admit a relation between them. But objects which may exist in relation may be known as thus existing and yet known truly, that is, known as they are. The relation of cognition, therefore, does not, and cannot imply limitation in any sense that is incongruous with, or repugnant to, the infinite or absolute. Again, Hamilton admits that the knowledge of contraries is one; in strictness of speech, he should have said the knowledge of contradictories is one, for a man may know one of many contraries and yet not know all, but he cannot know one term of a contradiction as such and not know the other. Thus he may know white and not green or brown, which are contrary to it, but he cannot know white without at the same time knowing not white, which is contradictory to it; for it is only in so far as he is able to distinguish its contradictory that he knows the thing itself. But if the knowledge of contradictories is one, then man, knowing the finite, cannot, as our author would have us believe, be wholly ignorant of the infinite. True, he cannot know it exhaustively or perfectly; but it is equally true that he does not know the other term of the contradiction, that is, the finite, exhaustively or perfectly. But the question is not one of degree, but of fact, although single passages might be quoted from Hamilton's writings in which he would seem to rest his argument upon the proposition that man cannot know the unconditioned because he cannot know it in its whole extent; were this, in fact, his

real position the answer were decisive, that by parity of reasoning he cannot know anything, since he can know nothing whatever in its whole extent. Another fact, more pertinent perhaps to the real issue, is the abstract and general character of the notions with which he deals; "thus on one occasion he says: "In general, while always believing him to be infinite, we are ever unable to construe to our minds—positively to conceive—his attribute itself of infinity. This is 'unsearchable.' This is 'past finding out.'" Now the terms here used are purely abstract, and Hamilton, as a consistent and determined nominalist, ought not to have needed the remainder, that abstract notions, whether finite or infinite, are equally incapable of mental representation. We can no more conceive or represent the general term man apart from this or that concrete individual man, than we can conceive or represent an abstract infinity. The truth is, our minds are so constituted that we can imagine only the individual, the concrete, the singular, or perhaps we should say the particular; the abstract and general, necessarily and always, escape us. Simple infinity, therefore, on any hypothesis, is clearly inconceivable; but that an infinite God is equally so, may well be deemed a matter of grave doubt.

Nor can the objection, sometimes made, that a cognition of the infinite and absolute implies the possibility of a cognition of substance apart from its attributes, be deemed other than a plausible sophism. Those who are wont to urge it would do well to consider whether substance, apart from its attributes, qualities, or properties, has or can have any real existence; for example, extension is admitted to be one of the essential properties of body or matter, apart from which it cannot be conceived; now will the parties in question venture the assertion that matter apart from extension, has or can have any actual existence? Or, in other words, will they settle the question whether the unity reached by the excision of all the attributes of matter or substance is *real* or *factitious*. Yet this is a condition precedent to their argument, for unless this residuum be real the argument is worthless.

Analogous to this is another objection strongly urged by Sir William Hamilton against Mr. Calderwood, namely, that the declaration that we have a limited or finite knowledge of the

infinite, is equivalent to an admission "that we have no knowledge, at least no positive knowledge of it." But this is obviously based upon the assumed axiom that knowledge exists only so far forth as it is coextensive with its object and perfect. On such a hypothesis, however, we are just as certainly unable to cognize the ocean, the atmosphere, or any one of a myriad other entities, as we are to cognize infinite space or time or being. For the plea that the one set of entities is divisible into parts, and that the parts may be known separately, while the other is indivisible, is after all a fallacy. A man might know separately each drop of water on the globe, and yet know absolutely nothing of the ocean as such. Knowledge of parts in this sense does not include a knowledge of the whole or wholes made up from the synthesis of the parts known. In fact, in this direction the advantage is wholly on the side of the advocates of a possibility of a cognition of the infinite. We cognize space as it presents itself to thought *now* and *here*, recognizing the fact at the same time as indisputable that it is essentially *one*, *indivisible*, and *unchangeable*, and therefore that just as it presents itself *now* and *here*, so it must present itself always and everywhere; while as an intuition of the reason its infinity is no less certain than any other truth whatever. What ground then remains for the assertion that we may cognize a limited entity like the ocean, but that we cannot cognize space because it is infinite. In this connection it should not be forgotten that it is fairly incumbent upon our author to define the relations existing between that finite space which, as he himself admits, we do cognize, and that infinite space which according to his theory is a necessary object of faith. But this he has not done, and we suspect has not attempted to do.

There is yet another aspect of this problem which should not be overlooked, namely, the relation of the philosophy of the conditioned to rational theology and revelation. It is almost superfluous for us to say that Hamilton rejects alike, as inconsequent and worthless, all the usual *a priori* and *a posteriori* demonstrations of the being and nature of God, and rests the theistic argument solely upon our *feelings of dependence and moral obligation*, to which he gratuitously accords that *objective validity* which he denies to the principle or law of causation, on the ground that it is a mere mental impotence, and not an

a priori, positive law of mind. But the question at once arises, How can he rescue this feeling of dependence and moral obligation from liability to the accusation that it too is purely subjective, a badge of mental weakness and not of mental strength? Or in what respect can he vindicate for it any superior claim to *objective validity?* or how can it escape from the fatal circle of finitude in which he asserts that all arguments based upon the presence of final causes in nature are necessarily engulfed? To these questions we confidently submit there can be no satisfactory answer.

Nor are the relations of his theories to revelation more satisfactory; for the latter either does or it does not reveal to us the being and attributes of God as infinite or absolute, or both. If it does, then, *pro tanto*, in the concrete form of a real existence, we do cognize the unconditioned, and the philosophy of the conditioned must be sublated as inconsequent and false; if it does not, revelation is a dream and Christianity a delusion. Nor can the force of this argument be broken by the plea that revelation, as such, addresses itself not to the reason but to the faith of mankind, for the latter, psychologically considered, *is*, and *can* only *be*, an exercise of the former in its transcendental form, and must rest upon its necessary *a priori* judgments as an ultimate basis of truth, going forth from which it *may* and *does* grasp the *otherwise intangible* and *unseen*. It is impossible, therefore, that faith should embrace that as true which reason declares to be self-contradictory and absurd. To do this were to stultify itself by overturning the very foundations upon which its own authority rests. Faith *may*, nay, *must* transcend reason, but never can contradict it. In this respect our author's theory is but a slightly improved version of Kant's dual hypothesis of the pure and the practical reasons, in which the skepticism of the one is counterpoised by the blind, unreasoning faith of the other. It is needless to add that such a scheme of reconciliation can only serve to prepare the way for a new and more destructive attack upon both. No system can be accepted as a finality in this direction which does not accept, as fundamental, the truth that faith may act in the suspense of reason, but never in contradiction to it.

Again, recurring to the original issue, it is obvious that it does not relieve the difficulties of the case, to affirm that reve-

lation is but a skillful grouping of negative conceptions adapted to the finite capacity of man; for, aside from the fact that negative conceptions, as involving the negation of all thought, are simple nonentities; the hypothesis ultimates in other absurdities. Revelation must represent God either by finite or infinite symbols; that is, as either finite or infinite. But if it represents him by the former, it no less truly misrepresents him than did Aaron's golden calf; if by the latter, it must represent him as positively and not negatively infinite. It therefore necessarily presupposes that men are capable of apprehending the truths it reveals. On any alternative, therefore, it would seem that either the philosophy of the conditioned is an enormous mistake, or that a philosophic atheism is the only logical faith of humanity.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to determine accurately the shadowy line which separates the realm of reason from that of faith, or to fix the point where the one terminates and the other begins. But, let this line be fixed where it may, and let cognition be defined in any language whatever, it will still be found impracticable so to fix the limits as to exclude the unconditioned from the sphere of knowledge, without at the same time excluding its correlate, the conditioned, as being equally incogitable; for it is obvious that any attempt to subject the latter to an ordeal such as that to which Hamilton has subjected the former, must result in a series of contradictions no less numerous and glaring than those which he has evolved in support of his hypothesis of the incogitability of the unconditioned. The truth is that the distinction between reason and faith is at once *relative* and *arbitrary: relative*, inasmuch as it pertains exclusively to the subject knowing or believing, and not at all to the object known or believed; *arbitrary*, inasmuch as on general principles no definite point can be fixed at which knowledge necessarily ceases and faith begins. The natural, it is true, is usually deemed to be an object of knowledge; hence the term science commonly applied to it in its various relations; while the supernatural is, by parity of reasoning, remanded to the domain of faith. But wherefore? Will it be said, It is because the one is known through the medium of the senses, and the other is not? But this were to declare our intellectual and spiritual life supernatural, since it assuredly

appeals to none of the senses. Do we then know the natural only through the supernatural, while the latter remains wholly unknown? Or shall the line be carried one step backward, so as to include our mental nature within the sphere of the natural, on the ground that our knowledge of it is immediate through consciousness, or the internal sense? Shall immediacy of knowledge, then, be made the line of demarcation? If so, much that is usually termed science must be redistributed and classified with objects of faith, and no fact not *immediately* known to us by personal observation can henceforth be recognized as a legitimate object of knowledge. But no one will contend for such a classification as this, and none would protest against it more strongly than those who seek most earnestly to exclude the unconditioned from the sphere of cognition. Where then, again I ask, shall this line be drawn?

When, therefore, the disciples of the philosophy of the conditioned tell us that we cannot conceive God, our reply is that we are no more able to conceive a human mind or soul; nor are we any better able to comprehend the relations existing between mind and matter. Shall we therefore declare the soul and all that pertains to it to be *unthinkable*, and consign it to the misty realms of an *unintelligent* faith? We say *un*intelligent faith; for if all the great and normal objects of faith be, as our author declares them to be, *un*thinkable, our faith is necessarily unintelligent; for where there is *no thought* there can be *no intelligence.* It were a truism to assert that there can be no thought of an essentially unthinkable object. It is true, the attempt has been made to fill up this awkward hiatus in the system by what its advocates are pleased to call, in one breath, *negative thought*, and, in the next, *the negation of all thought;* although it must be obvious to the most careless thinker that the two phrases are not synonymous, and that this interchangeable use of them is to the last degree deceptive. It becomes, therefore, a matter of some importance to determine which of the two legitimately belongs to the system. If we assume for the moment that Hamilton really intends to use and adhere to the first, we are driven to the paradoxical conclusion that thought is predicable of the unthinkable; for if thought can be legitimately classified into positive and negative, the latter is, assuredly, not less truly thought than the

former, and its objects must necessarily be classed with the thinkables. But this would reduce this famous system to the lame and impotent conclusion that our cognition of the unconditioned differs from that of the conditioned only in the fact that certain terms, which are assumed in the one case to be positive, are declared in the other to be negative. But this were a truism which few metaphysicians of any school would care to controvert, in view of the fact that the knowledge of contradictories is one, or of the other equally patent fact that the two notions are interchangeably positive and negative, since either indifferently may be defined to be the negation of the other. It is true it has been said once and again that no positive definition can be given of the unconditioned; yet Hamilton himself has defined the absolute, in positive terms, to be "that which is out of relation, etc., as finished, perfect, complete, total;" while the infinite in turn may be defined to be "that which is continuous," an idea which is no less clearly positive. There would seem to be, therefore, no room to entertain a doubt that in those passages in his writings in which our author affirms our notions of the unconditioned to imply or involve *a negation of all thought*, we have his true theory. At the same time it must be admitted that other passages, seemingly as explicit, can be found in which he uses the term *negative* thought, and still others in which he appears to use the phrases as interchangeable; but this assuredly they are not, and cannot be, since the first necessarily deals with the thinkable, while the second, if indeed it be other than a mere *nescience*, must, as he himself has affirmed time and again, deal with the unthinkable. If then his real position be, as in virtue of these considerations it must be assumed to be, "that any attempt to think the unconditioned involves a negation of all thought, and not merely negative thought, the absurd conclusion is inevitable that he proposes to base a rational faith upon the negation of all thought. But this is manifestly impossible, since faith, whether rational or irrational, presupposes thought as a necessary condition precedent; and thought of an unthinkable object is impossible. Nor can such negations possess even a *regulative* value, such as Sir William Hamilton is disposed to accord to them, forasmuch as they are originated in direct violation of the express laws or conditions under which alone

thought itself is possible. They bear to it, therefore, a relation similar to that which the vagaries of a lunatic bear to the legitimate processes of the sober reason, and consequently can possess no subjective value, and, *a fortiori*, cannot be made a criterion of objective truth. Thought, thus lawlessly transcending its own limits, can be fitly compared only to Icarus soaring aloft on waxen wings, and its fate, like his, must be sudden destruction, and not the generation of a new class of notions, superior in dignity and importance to any which it could originate while acting in conformity with its own normal laws! That no injustice is done our author in these strictures is evident from his own words: "The unconditionally unlimited, or the infinite, and the unconditionally limited, or absolute, cannot positively be construed to the mind; they are conceived only by a thinking away from, or abstraction of, the very conditions under which thought itself is realized." And yet he says, though, as we must think, with the grossest inconsistency: "Thus, by a wonderful revelation, we are, in the very consciousness of our inability to conceive aught above the relative and finite, inspired with a belief in the existence of something unconditioned beyond the sphere of all comprehensible reality."

That is indeed a "*wonderful* revelation" which reveals *the unthinkable* to *thought*, in violation of "all the essential conditions under which alone it [that is, thought] can be realized;" but it would, I fear, be so utterly incomprehensible to man that it would better deserve the title of a *nescience* than of a *revelation*.

But perhaps the strangest fact in this strange category is, that although our author thus declares the absolute and infinite to be unthinkable, he nevertheless dogmatizes concerning them with a coolness worthy of Spinoza or Hegel; thus he does not hesitate to declare, "that the subjection of deity to necessity is contradictory of the fundamental postulate of a divine nature," inconsistently recognizing in practice what he explicitly denies in theory, namely, that we do possess some positive conceptions of the true character of the Divine Being, which we are authorized to use as *a priori* data in determining the truth or falsity of cognate metaphysical theories; or in other words, he assumes that we can decide authoritatively *what is*, and *what is not*, predicable of the unknown and the unknow-

able. But I submit that we can predicate nothing, good or bad, more or less, of that which is absolutely incogitable and inconceivable, since such a predication must of necessity be based not upon knowledge, but upon ignorance. Logically, therefore, Hamilton should either have abandoned his assumed limits of thought, or with M. Comte he should have exscinded all theology and metaphysics as incogitable and irrational.

These considerations finally suggest another nearly allied thought, namely, that our author has perhaps unintentionally shifted the controversy from the question of the possibility of a cognition of the unconditioned as a fact or real existence, to the entirely different ground of the possibility or impossibility of conceiving *how* it can so exist, problems which we need scarcely say are totally distinct, not only in themselves but in their relations. We know not *now*, and perhaps may *never* know, *how* the grass grows, *how* the sun shines, or *how* the fœtus is formed in the womb of the parent animal; but we have no sort of difficulty in cognizing the reality of the facts themselves, nor in determining many of their essential relations. Again, to take a higher illustration, we cannot imagine or conceive *how* mind, an immaterial substance, can be united to, or act upon matter; or, to assume for the moment no higher ground than that of the materialist, we cannot conceive *how* thought, feeling, and volition can be accidents of matter. These problems are, to us, no less inscrutable than the inquiry *how* God can be self-existent and infinite. Shall we, therefore, declare the facts themselves to be unthinkable? Yet this we must do by parity of reasoning, if on the principles of the philosophy of the conditioned we set aside the unconditioned as unthinkable. We find no more difficulty in comprehending the fact that time, space, and God do exist, and that they are severally infinite, than we do in comprehending the dual nature of man. Can the conclusion, therefore, be avoided, that if the one is unthinkable so also is the other? and that any system which exscinds the one must set aside the other? On the other hand, let that be conceded as a principle which as a fact cannot be denied, that we do cognize much which we are nevertheless unable to conceive, and the major part of these difficulties vanish. The absolute and infinite not now as contradictory abstractions, but as harmonious, co-ordinate, and insepar-

able attributes of the self-existing Jehovah, are firmly grasped by the mind as realities; and faith, based upon the clearest intuitions of the reason, reposes in the bosom of Him who dwelleth in immensity, and whose goings forth are from everlasting. It is doubtless true, as reason and revelation alike tell us, "that we cannot know the Almighty to perfection," that we cannot solve all the mysteries that pertain to his ineffable nature; but it is no less true, that the purest and the highest reason unites with the most exalted faith in the declaration of the old Patriarch: "I *know* that my Redeemer *liveth*." Hence, Hamilton truly, but inconsistently, says: "The Divinity, in a certain sense, is revealed; in a certain sense is concealed. He is at once known and unknown." Science and philosophy are alike the handmaidens of religion, and each, in her own sphere, points to the Great First Cause of all things, in whose bosom alone the restless mind of man can find repose.

Art. VII.—THE FUTURE OF A COTTON STATE CONFEDERACY.

The disintegration of this nation is by no means a settled fact; nor is it certain that it will become so, notwithstanding many of the States have "resumed their original sovereignty," on paper, and proclaimed their independence to the world. Patriotism is too prominent a trait in the American character to be smothered out entirely in any section of the Union, although it may, for a time, lie dormant; and there is yet sufficient latent reason among a portion of the people of all of the seceding states to undo the follies of ambitious politicians, who seek their own elevation at the expense of their country.

But our object is not to discuss this question, but to consider the future of a cotton state confederacy in its relations to the rest of the world in peace and war, should its independence be recognized, not only by the North, but by other nations; and in order to do this, it will be conceded that the South will be able successfully to secede; that it will take its place among nations, and be entitled to all the rights and liable to all the responsibilities of a sovereign community, without any opposition from the free states. We will go

further. We will admit the importance of the great Southern staple—cotton, and that for the present this new confederacy must be relied upon for by far the larger portion of the supply. But, notwithstanding all this, we shall demonstrate that there is not, in the cotton states, any of the elements of a permanent national prosperity; that in them stability and order cannot be maintained; that bankruptcy would soon prostrate both the government and the people; that there are within them that which must speedily secure their destruction; and that African-ization will be the final result.

The influence of slavery upon society is always accompanied by one distinctly marked peculiarity: it renders labor disgraceful, and is thereby productive of a variety of consequences upon industry, the distribution of wealth, etc., entirely unknown in free communities, but which are of the greatest importance, and which are now operating on a scale of such magnitude in the cotton states that they must be taken into consideration before any just estimate can be formed of the strength and stability of the proposed Southern cotton state confederacy.

Wealth can be acquired in two ways: by inheritance, or by labor, mental or physical, or by a combination of both. Exclusive mental labor being required in but few branches of business, it can with propriety be altogether omitted in the present discussion, so that our attention will be confined entirely to those occupations in which physical energy is, in a greater or less degree, requisite, as agriculture, the mechanic arts, commerce, etc. The wealthy in the slave states, as elsewhere, seldom engage in these pursuits personally, and depend altogether upon the labor of others, believing that if they direct it they are entitled to all its benefits; and as men are seldom capable of directing in any occupation unless they have first acted as subordinates, skill would be impossible. The poor man, conscious of his own inferior position, is much more punctilious than his wealthy neighbor. The money of the latter might possibly procure him respect, even though he should engage in manual labor; but the former has no such support, and he repels with indignation any offer of employment. There is here and there a man who has the moral courage to bear the scorn of even the slaves by applying himself to some calling; but such cases are so very exceptional that they do not affect

the general rule. Necessarily, then, those who are once poor always remain so; and as a far greater number of those who inherit estates waste their patrimony than there are of the poor who acquire wealth, property is constantly concentrating into the hands of a few; the rich are growing more exclusive, and the poor becoming more numerous and wretched. It is altogether unnecessary to cite, from undeniable authority, evidence of this fact. Notwithstanding the efforts of the advocates of slavery to conceal it, it is too evident to admit of a denial. Those who are curious in the matter can consult numerous articles in De Bow's Review on manufactures, as also many other documents emanating from the Southern press.

It necessarily follows, then, that all the labor of the South must be performed by slaves, directed by unskilled white men, and as a consequence none but the simplest branches of industry receive any attention, and even these are in a comparatively crude, not to say declining state. The slave, with no incentive, studies only to consume time, and is altogether careless whether his labor is productive or non-productive; this is the effect of slavery upon any race. The mechanic arts, in which great skill is requisite, are either neglected, or prosecuted by a few imported artisans who, allured by the enormous remuneration their labor will command, emigrate from the free states. But these are not numerous, and are generally without capital, and chiefly employ their time in producing such articles as it is inconvenient to import; and for all the rest the slave states are absolutely dependent upon foreign supplies.

There is, likewise, in the South no such thing as scientific agriculture, by which, through skillful management, the soil is made to grow more productive each returning year; but the lands are constantly exhausted without any well-directed effort at recuperation. No crop is planted save such as is cultivated by the plow and the hoe, and the result is that after a few seasons the cotton and tobacco fields are worn out and left to broom-sedge and sassafras, which take undisputed possession.

All wealth is comprised in the raw material or the manufactured article; the former is exhaustive, the latter inexhaustive. Were it possible for a nation to produce exactly the amount of every species of raw material it requires and then possess the requisite skill to manufacture it, that nation

would be, indeed, independent. But these advantages are found in no single country, and commerce necessarily follows. A people who produce only the raw material must, sooner or later, according to their natural resources, become impoverished, as they exchange the soil for the product of skill, while wealth always accumulates in the hands of a manufacturing people. A single pound of steel converted into watch-springs will sell for thousands of dollars, and purchase the cotton or tobacco that has exhausted, perhaps, acres of ground.

Slaveholding communities retain nothing; all that they produce is in a crude state, and must be made ready for use by free labor. Free states introduce science into their agriculture, and raise a variety of crops, such as will supply nearly every necessity, and there is always a sufficient amount of home skill to make it available; hence they produce whatever they consume, and all that they send away is surplus, while slave states sell their entire crop. Hence the cotton states export more than the free states; but they likewise import more. The difference consists in the fact that free states dispose of their profits only, and the slave states of all their products. The wealth of the two sections must be judged by what they possess, not by what they buy and sell.

The commerce of the cotton states is carried on almost exclusively by foreign vessels, manned by foreign seamen; the number of home vessels and native sailors being too small to be taken seriously into consideration; and the influences already mentioned as crushing industry on land will prevent their increase. Politicians often triumphantly point to the fact that each annual report on commerce and navigation shows an almost fabulous excess of southern exports over their imports, and a great excess of northern imports over its exports; but such men presume too much upon the intelligence of the people, if they expect them to believe this to be a correct exhibit of the industry of the two sections. Were it so, the one must in an incredibly short period (aside from the exhaustion of the soil) become immensely rich, while the other would grow proportionally impoverished and helpless; but statistics abundantly prove the case exactly the reverse, and show conclusively that the North is outstepping, in an accelerating ratio, its cotemporary. The reason of this is obvious. Nearly all the vessels belonging to

this country are owned in the North and manned in the North, and the larger portion of our commerce is carried on by northern merchants. The raw material is cumbrous, and is taken from the nearest port; the manufactured article is light, and carried to the best harbor, and forwarded by railroad, by river, or by canal inland. It is well known that a great portion of the articles imported into New York is sent directly to the southern market, while millions of dollars' worth of the produce of northern skill are sent in the same direction. Hence the cotton states are constantly in debt, and it is an undeniable fact that almost every planter in the Gulf states anticipates his crops at least two years for his living, and this indebtedness is gradually becoming greater. The southern gentleman rises in the morning, dresses himself in an imported suit, washes his hands in an imported vessel, smoothes his hair with an imported comb, sits down to an imported table, covered with an imported cloth, and takes his imported meals from imported dishes, mounts upon an imported saddle, guides his horse with an imported bridle, and gives directions to his field hands, who are laboring with imported utensils; and in order that there be no insubordination, he flourishes an imported whip and an imported revolver; he returns to his parlor, lounges upon an imported sofa, and admires his imported carpet; at night he lights his imported lamp, filled with imported oil, and finally retires to an imported bed, covers himself with imported counterpane and sleeps. In exchange for all this he barters his cotton. He exchanges the product of the soil for the product of mind; and as the former is exhaustible, and the latter inexhaustible, the disadvantage must be patent to the most casual observer. Not only is cotton an exhaustive plant, but it is the most sterilizing of all plants except, perhaps, that other southern staple, tobacco. In the more northern agricultural states by a judicious management and a rotation of crops the soil becomes more and more productive; but this system requires skill, industry, and a nearly equal distribution of land; it can only be successfully prosecuted when the agriculturist feels that he is enriching himself as he enriches the soil, and where farms are small and a great amount of time is bestowed upon a little ground; but when we take into consideration the disadvantage rising from the cultivation of a single crop, year after year, by

compulsory labor, and that too of a kind that returns nothing to the soil, we cannot fail to see that disastrous consequences must follow, of the nature of which we can form some conception by traveling through the deserted plantations of Virginia and North Carolina.

Having treated at considerable length of the great natural causes which must necessarily exhaust all the resources, and consequently destroy all the power of the projected slaveholding republic, secondary influences which will tend greatly to hasten such an event, will come up for consideration, and they will be scrutinized in their proper order.

The total population of the thirty-four states, according to the last census, was, in round numbers, 31,250,000, of which 4,000,000 are slaves. The cost of the General Government, including only deficiencies in the Post-office Department, during the year ending June 30, 1859,* was $66,346,226 13, or nearly $2 50 for each free inhabitant, or about $14 for every voter. Of this population there were, in the cotton states, 2,618,857 free persons, 2,350,607 slaves, the former of whom can only be taken into consideration, as the latter are merely articles of merchandise—a portion of the taxable property.

It will hardly be denied that the expenses of carrying on a government with a small population will be greater, *per capita*, than those of a first class power, as there are many departments absolutely required whenever a people aspire to a rank among influential nations. The number of foreign ministers must be as large, and in order to keep up the same state, their salaries must not be diminished, but rather increased; for those who represent a powerful government have an importance attached to them which the representatives of smaller governments can only hope to obtain by splendor. A weak nation must keep a larger army in proportion to its population than a stronger one, as the moral power of the latter is sufficient to repel aggression, while the former can only do it by keeping on a constant war footing. But further illustration is needless.

It will now be necessary to inquire how much less than $66,000,000 will be required to carry on the government of the new confederacy, containing a free population of 2,618,000

* 1859 is taken because it was a better standard than 1860, as the treasury was bankrupt during the latter year.

persons; and in order to do this, it will be necessary to analyze the expenditures of the present government in detail. The following is the classification:

Civil list	$5,963,795 66
Foreign intercourse	1,166,990 81
Miscellaneous	16,636,165 26
Interior Department	4,753,972 60
War Department	23,243,822 38
Navy Department	14,712,610 21

The new Confederacy will certainly have half as many executive, legislative, and judicial officers as the present one, and consequently the civil list must be half as expensive; indeed, there are many reasons to suppose this estimate is too low; but in order that it may certainly be within bounds it will be set down at that figure.

With reference to foreign intercourse, there can be little change. The diplomatic establishments of every nation that aspires to a position as a "power" must be respectable; and the demands of commerce require that every port of importance shall have its consuls and commercial agents; indeed, so far as the ministers are concerned, they will be compelled to hide, as far as possible, the weakness of their government by an extraordinary display. The representatives of imbecile nationalities are necessarily punctilious; and when we take into consideration the extravagance of Southerners, we cannot doubt but the diplomacy of the Confederacy will be as expensive as that of the entire nation at present.

Of the miscellaneous appropriations, $3,500,000 is for deficiencies in the Post-office Department, $1,943,425 04 of which occurs in the boundaries of the new Confederacy; $760,020 17 is appropriated for the payment of the foreign mail service, which will be as essential to the citizens of the new government as to those of the present; and as they will have to depend upon foreign vessels, the expense incurred will perhaps be greater; $3,427,810 86 is paid for collecting the revenue, $700,000 of which is expended at southern ports; $1,314,542 05 was appropriated toward the erection of custom-houses; $350,786 44 for the establishment of marine hospitals, about one half at ports in the Southern States. The Charleston Custom-house, an unfinished edifice, cost up to Sept. 30, 1859, $1,956,185 58,

and that at New Orleans, $2,804,956 44. But it is unnecessary to pursue these minutiæ further, to establish the fact that the miscellaneous expenses of the new Confederacy will be at least half as great as those of the old one.

Four millions, seven hundred and fifty-three thousand, nine hundred and seventy-two dollars, and sixty cents, ($4,753,-972 60) was expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, including the Indian Department, military and naval pensions, and private individuals. As the Cotton States would have no territory, and its Indian relations would be confined to Texas, but little of the money expended in that line would be required, and it is probable that $1,500,000 would suffice.

Military fame is the great goal of southern ambition, and this alone would prompt a strong peace establishment, even if the motive of self-defense did not peremptorily demand it. The existence of the whole United States intact would be a greater safeguard and protection from foreign invasion than an army of 50,000 disciplined soldiers in a southern confederacy. No nation would be so reckless as to invade England, though every regular soldier were dismissed from the service; while no army that Denmark could bring into the field could protect that peninsula if its integrity were not guaranteed by the great powers. What the Southern Confederacy would lose in real strength, it must atone for in expensive show; and what they would lack in moral power must be compensated for by an army. Besides, the sons of the wealthy planters must be provided with commissions. They have not all had positions under the national government, and hence demands have been frequently made for an increase in the army. Southern secretaries have recommended it, and southern congressmen have voted for it; and it was only through the opposition of the North that the peace establishment was kept within the present limits. Poor men, who have learned from the example of the wealthy that labor is disgraceful and military service honorable, will rush to the army, and it will only be a question between supporting them as paupers or soldiers.

This large force cannot be kept inactive. Wars generally originate in the necessity for occupying the soldiery, and preventing them from becoming troublesome to their masters;

and a Southern army will be no exception, even though there were really no ulterior designs entertained with reference to Cuba, Mexico, and Central America. But such designs are entertained, and it is principally with a view of putting them in execution that the disunion project was originated. On the other hand, those countries, having submitted so long to insults from filibusters without being able to avenge themselves, will feel that they are strong enough to cope with their new adversary, and will invite attack.

The average cost of every American soldier per annum is about $1,000; but in the new Confederacy it will probably be more, as all arms and munitions, together with a great portion of the army rations, must be imported; so that it is reasonable to suppose that the actual expense of a southern army, including fortifications, etc., would be $40,000,000; certainly it cannot be below the present figures—the amount at which we will place it, as we have no desire to overrate the difficulties that will but too soon present themselves to the aspiring oligarchy of cottondom.

What has been said with reference to the necessity for an army will apply with equal force to the navy; but the difficulty of equipping the latter will be greater than that of inaugurating the former. Vessels must be built as well as manned, and the experience required to make good sailors is not to be found in the South. Sailors and marines are not so honorably regarded as soldiers; and while there would be no lack of officers for the navy, privates could only be obtained from among foreigners, and of course a bounty must be offered to induce them to incur the risk of being punished for treason if taken in hostility to their native country. In order to make sailors competent to man a navy a long apprenticeship is required. Even if the southern youth felt an inclination for seafaring life, no opportunity exists to acquire proficiency. It is, indeed, surprising how small is the whole southern marine, including ships, brigs, schooners, sloops, canal boats, steamers, and oyster boats; but the following figures, taken from the Report on Commerce and Navigation for 1858, will show its insignificance.

The total tonnage of the non-seceding states on the 30th of June, 1858, was 4,652,711 tons, and that of the cotton confed-

eracy, 397,097. During the same year there were built vessels of various kinds as follows:

	Non-seceded States.	Seceded States.
Ships	122	..
Brigs	46	..
Schooners	401	30
Sloops and canal boats	395	5
Steamers	209	17
Total	1,173	52
Tonnage of same	297,768	4,518

By a comparison embracing a series of years, it will be found that the difference in the amount of ship building in the two sections is becoming greater in proportion as slavery prospers, and will continue to do so, and the order can only be reversed by resorting to free labor.

This marine certainly is very insignificant; yet if the Southern Confederacy would take its position among nations it must maintain a navy; and to equip one, it will be necessary to import ship carpenters, sailors, and machinery, indeed, every thing but officers. There is no doubt but this will cost at least $20,000,000 per annum for several years to come; and can any one point to an instance of permanent governmental retrenchment after several years of precedent? There is no reason to suppose that the nature of the southerner will be changed when legislating exclusively for a southern constituency. He will indulge in his extravagance, and his love of place and power, just as much—perhaps more—then than now, as the northern element has long notoriously held him in check.

The summary of the necessary expenditures of the new government, exclusive of an item of great magnitude, which will be noticed hereafter, will be—

Civil List	$2,981,897 83
Foreign Intercourse	1,166,990 81
Miscellaneous	8,318,087 63
Interior Department	1,500,000 00
War Department	23,243,822 38
Navy Department	20,000,000 00
Total	$57,210,798 65

This rather formidable sum, when divided, will be found to amount to about $22 to every free man, woman, and child, or

$160 to every voter in the Confederacy; and this, too, without taking into consideration certain items of expenditure arising from the existence of slavery, such as keeping up extra patrols, etc. With such burdens, independence will soon be found an expensive luxury.

The question immediately occurs, Whence will come this enormous sum? What species of taxation will be adopted which will render the burden tolerable? The imports and exports of the South amount to about $200,000,000 annually, and the sum could be raised by a uniform duty of 27 per cent. on the former. But this would be more than the people could endure. Of the imports one half are provisions, and these must be admitted free; upon the remainder, a tariff averaging fifteen per cent. is proposed, which will, of course, yield an income of $15,000,000. In addition to this the proposed export duty on cotton will furnish about $8,000,000 more. But there is still a deficiency of over $30,000,000 even for an ordinary peace establishment, for the support of the Confederation, besides the amount required by a long array of municipal and state taxes. Will this amount be obtained by a direct levy? The people would not submit to it a single year. It must then be raised by a carefully adjusted duty on exports and imports, at the expense of the favorite southern idea of free trade. The result of such regulations will be particularly disastrous.

Every article exported must be sold by the consumer at a price to make it compete with the same production in other countries, and in the case of cotton will give a new impetus to its culture elsewhere. On the other hand, duties on imports, while they have a tendency to build up manufactures in free labor communities, will only be a burden without stimulating home industry; for manufactures never flourish where slavery exists. Under such burdens the South must languish, and commerce must be paralyzed.

The whole secession movement originated in the supposed ability of the South to reverse the relations of demand and supply, and make the latter regulate the former. This is, indeed, a pleasing illusion; but the difficulty is, that it *is* an illusion. There can be nothing plainer than that the producer of the raw material pays the export, and the consumer of the manufactured article the import duty, and the confederates

will find that they are no exception to this rule. Instead of being untaxed, they will pay a double levy, one on exports, and another on imports.

Were the Southern States the only producers, present and prospective, of cotton, they might reverse the law of taxation so far as that article is concerned; but they are not. Providence has wisely arranged that no one portion of the world can monopolize the production of any article essential to the welfare of the whole human race, and the cotton plant is no exception. The following table is very significant upon this point, showing, as it does, that even while our Southern States are in the fullest tide of peaceful prosperity, some other countries of the world, and especially the East Indies, are gaining rapidly upon them:

YEARS.	United States, lbs.	East Indies, lbs.	Egypt, lbs.
1832.....	322,215,122	5,178,625	9,113,890
1838.....	595,952,297	40,230,064	not given
1840.....	742,941,061	57,600,000	8,324,937
1845.....	872,905,996	92,800,000	32,537,600
1848.....	814,274,431	91,004,800	7,231,861
1856.....	1,351,431,827	180,496,624	34,399,008
1857.....	1,048,282,472	250,388,144	24,532,257
1858.....	1,118,624,012	138,253,360	38,232,320
1859.....	961,707,264	192,330,880	37,667,056
1860.....	1,115,890,608	204,141,168	43,945,064

Although, in the natural course of events, India must have become the rival of the South, the secession movement will hasten the time, and the Slave States, in five years, will find themselves robbed of their fancied supremacy.

Egypt has increased its exports twenty-four fold during the thirty-four years ending 1855, and since that period they have steadily and rapidly augmented. But about 8,000,000 of acres of cotton is planted each year in the United States, and it will not take long to cultivate twice that amount in South America, Australia, India, or Central Africa. With reference to the capacity of this last country to produce cheap cotton, the following extracts from authentic documents will sufficiently illustrate.

Mr. Campbell, at a recent meeting in the New York Bible House, draws the following conclusions from a minute investigation:

Considerable quantities of cloth, woven in looms by the natives, [of Abbeokuta] are exported. Some of these cloths were very fine, but they were generally coarse, weighing two or three times as much as our cotton. *The export of cotton had been doubled every year.* In 1859 about 6,000 bales were exported. In 1860 about 11,000 bales, weighing 112 pounds each. Every one cultivates a little cotton. This is about ten times as much as was exported from South Carolina in 1792."

Of the cheapness of African cotton Dr. LIVINGSTONE says:

The cotton was brought to the market for sale, and I bought a pound for a penny, (two cents.) This was the price demanded, and probably double what they ask from each other. We saw the cotton growing luxuriantly all around the market-places from seeds dropped accidentally. It is seen also about the native huts, and, so far as I could learn, it was the American cotton, *so influenced by climate as to be perennial.*

An export duty of three fourths of a cent per pound on southern cotton will compel the South to sell it that much cheaper, in order to compete successfully with Africa and India, whenever the resources of those countries become developed, which will soon be the case; and it will as effectually operate to their advantage as if a discriminating duty were laid by the British Parliament. Take, in connection with this, the cheapness with which the article is produced within the tropics, and the consequences can easily be predicted.

A large additional expenditure will be ever required by the South to prevent and repress slave insurrections. A presentiment that such events, in enlarged dimensions, are drawing fearfully near, has already sent a thrill through society, and men and women retire to rest at night haunted by terrors to which we in the north are strangers, and of which we can form no conception.

The southern people have ceased to ignore the fact that their negroes are fully aware that they are the cause of the great struggle now going on, and their indistinct idea of the nature of the contest and their relation to it only makes them the more dangerous. Scarcely a week has passed for half a year without some report of an insurrectionary movement among the slaves. To counteract this a special police force will be required, and millions of dollars annually will be

necessary to equip and sustain it, that it may be efficient in a sudden emergency.

But no calculations based upon a peace policy exclusively are sufficient. However much we might wish it otherwise in the present state of society, the probability of hostilities must be taken into consideration, and it will not be difficult to conceive the inefficiency of the confederacy for a contest of any kind, and particularly a protracted one, with even a third rate power. Two of the states, in their individual capacity, have repudiated the most solemn obligations, and the others are deeply in debt.

The numerous expedients to raise this comparative trifle, and the various subterfuges to cover the difficulties, are amusing to the North. The very pledges offered and the earnestness of the promises of redemption illustrate the urgency of the case, and fully betray the inevitable certainty of southern inability to furnish the sinews for any protracted contest.

One phase of the subject yet remains, and we have left it to the last because of its peculiar and overshadowing importance. It is hardly necessary to add that it is the ultimate conflict for dominion which must ensue between the two races in the new confederacy in the natural course of events, and which cannot be long deferred.

There are within the limits of the United States, according to the last census, 3,999,351 slaves, of whom 2,350,607 are in the cotton states. The tobacco fields of Virginia and the border, not included within the latitude of cotton culture, are now so sterile that compulsory labor is unprofitable, and the high price of negroes induces heavy shipments to the southward, by which it has been hoped by some to ultimately emancipate those states; but there is no reason why (unless some outside pressure is introduced, which would be the case in the event of a dissolution) this species of commerce should be an exception to the general law of supply and demand; and, indeed, figures show that, with the exception of Delaware and Maryland, the slaves have actually increased in numbers notwithstanding the constant drain. The increase in the white population, however, is much greater, proportionally, than the black, and the consequence is, that the disparity between the dominant and servile races is becoming greater each year.

But a different law is operating in the cotton states. They are receiving constant accessions to their number from abroad, which, added to the natural increase, are introducing a fearful odds in favor of the slaves, which must, without the protection of the United States, make itself felt. True, the Southern planters are anxious for more negroes, while they tremble for their own safety at the hands of those they already possess; but they are not the first people who have committed national suicide. The population of the seceding states, free and slave, since 1790, is as follows:

	Free White.	Slave and Free Negro.
1790	192,864	157,446
1800	297,933	209,759
1810	416,945	368,311
1820	608,016	570,886
1830	923,304	871,321
1840	1,367,433	1,275,833
1850	1,970,792	1,791,608
1860	2,585,857	2,350,607

From a cursory glance at these figures it would appear that the two races have kept nearly even during seventy years; but an analysis will show that, in general, the negroes are rapidly outstripping the dominant race, and that the reverse is only the case in particular localities, and where certain influences, altogether temporary in their operations, have had control.

The actual gain of the white population on the black during the ten years from 1850 to 1860 was but a trifle over 20,000, so that the per cent. has been nearly the same in both; but it must be remembered that in the state of Texas and the city of New Orleans the augmentation of the white population amounted to 316,356, while that of the negro was but 125,398; so that, outside of these localities, the servile increased 191,042 more than the dominant class; and the same causes which operated in the older states must soon act with equal force upon Texas, while New Orleans, with secession, must cease to grow.

Slave population cannot be removed to a new country easily, nor is compulsory labor profitable in a country until at least partially settled. Hence all of the new states in the cotton range have been first occupied by free inhabitants; the

whites have been the pioneers, but the negroes have followed quickly and rapidly, and driven the original inhabitants further into the wilderness. All of the present slave states, when new, showed a preponderance of the free over the slave population. In South Carolina the slaves did not exceed the freemen till 1820; in Mississippi not till 1840; in Louisiana the blacks have preponderated since its admission into the Union, and they would now have constituted two thirds of the population had not the city of New Orleans kept up the balance. In the other seceded states, Texas excepted, the ratio of servile increase is infinitely greater than that of the whites, and as soon as a supply of negroes can be obtained, the same will be the case in that state. No city can grow faster than the country which supports it, and hence New Orleans can no longer keep up the equilibrium in Louisiana, and within the next ten years the negroes will, under ordinary circumstances, outnumber the whites; but in case of a dissolution of the Union and the establishment of a Cotton Confederacy the consummation will be greatly hastened.

The remaining states are not adapted to slave labor, and negroes, except for exportation, are unprofitable. Assured that their lot was cast with the North, and feeling themselves emancipated from the gulf tier, the border states would soon export all their negroes southward. The outside pressure would at once overcome the usual order of supply and demand, and cause the exporting states not to sell their surplus only, but the original stock. Thus would 1,650,000 slaves be precipitated upon the Southern confederacy in an incredibly short period, and this new accession of laborers would be eagerly welcomed. In the mean time the new regimen would be productive of its natural fruits in another respect: the free population would emigrate northward, and the egress would be sufficient to diminish the number of whites; so that within twenty years we should see at least 5,000,000 of slaves to less than 3,000,000 of freemen, with the disparity constantly and rapidly increasing.

Art. VIII.—DISTINCTION BETWEEN AUTOMATIC EXCELLENCE AND MORAL DESERT.

An automaton is a machine, constructed sometimes in the human form, whose parts, by force of interior springs, are made to operate apparently like a human system, with self-motion. The movement of the parts is necessitatively caused to take place, in precise proportion and in the direction of the forces applied. When the whole is artistically framed, we admire the beauty, the ingenuity, and perhaps the imitation—that is, *the automatic excellence.* But we attribute not to its action or its being the slightest intrinsic quality of *moral merit or demerit.*

The highest order of mechanical or automatic excellence is found in a watch. So numerous and nice are its parts, so exquisitely adjusted are its forces, and so beautiful is its aspect to the eye, that we gaze upon it with admiration. And then, in the pointing of its hand to the figure according to the true time, we behold one of the most wonderful adjustments of mechanism to the demands of mind. With but slight fancy we attribute to it the qualities of truth and reliability, or of falsehood and fickleness. We wish it gently handled according to its excellent nature. And yet, literally and coolly, we attribute only *automatic excellence;* and we are utterly unable to see in it the slightest intrinsic trace of *moral merit or demerit.* We are unable to see in it guilt or good desert; we are, by the very nature of things, compelled to deny of it the possibility of penalty or reward.

Should the question be asked why, in a thing which is so noble and so pleasing to æsthetical sense, all moral merit must be denied, the answer might be, because it has *no consciousness*, and so cannot be made happy by reward or miserable by penalty. That this is an insufficient answer may be made evident by an additional supposition. Imagine the automaton endowed with *sensibility* in every particle of its substance; and that it is consciously impressed by every contact, and every force applied, and feels every movement it is made to undergo. Yet it is still an automaton, being moved solely in the proportion and in the direction of the forces applied. Its every

operation is the exact mechanical measure of the causation. It is plain that its sensibility has not endowed it with the possibility of moral blame or merit, and for a very plain reason. It is seen not to be truly the author of its own actions. It moves only as it is moved. It acts only as its springs are touched. There exists not in its entire being any power to move otherwise than as the fixed and constant result of the force received. Its operations are the necessitated effects of necessitative causations. It is guiltless, undeserving, irresponsible, because it can act no otherwise than it does act. Common-sense demands not only sensibility but free self-control. We thence deduce the LAW, which is universal and apodictical, that *no act can be morally obligatory, responsible, or guilty—no agent can be morally obligated, rewardable, or punishable—unless there be in the agent adequate power for other act than the act in question.*

Rising from mechanical into *animal* existence, we recognize in the horse, for instance, every combination of both material and mental automatic excellence. Beauty of form, color, and motion, adjustment of parts for strength and speed, balance of forces there are so as to fit him for his place in the economy of creation. And then in his mind there is just such a proportionment of perceptive faculties and emotions as to produce that train of volitions and actions as will suit him to his intended uses. If, on the other hand, his dispositions be so badly proportioned as to produce irregular and refractory action, we apply severity or blandishment as we do the means to repair the watch, *as a regulative.* It is simply an alterative. That alterative is not a justice, but an expedient. By applying the impulses of pain and fear, we alter the balance of forces and produce better modes and habits of action. We may thus so rearrange, that both mind and body may present again the model of automatic excellence. But being a simple automatic though mental organism, we have not yet found a particle of moral merit.

The beauty of appearance, the skill of the artist, the adaptation to the ends, the perfection of the working, and the value of the results—these are the qualities of automatic excellence. When we find these in body or mind, we admire, love, and desire them. We appropriate the article to ourselves, confer upon it values and preferences. We make of the whole class

pets, ornaments, and enjoyments. On the contrary, where the automatism of thing or animal is defective, ugly, or offensive, we render it our disgust or hatred. We repel it from use, and are ready to abandon it to misery or destruction. But if we examine our feelings we shall find them purely non-ethical; we shall find ourselves absolutely unable to attribute to it the least element of *moral merit or demerit.* Its ugliness and its beauty, its precise action or mal action, is not its own fault; it is entirely automatic.

But is the animal will or action automatic? Yes, as truly as the machine, if it be necessitated. Just as automatically an object strikes the retina, so automatically the perception rises. As automatically the perception, so automatically the highest desire. As automatically the highest desire, so automatically the volition. And as automatically the volition, so automatically the action. So the whole round of impulses and effects are automatic because all are necessitated, and alike necessitated. The volition is here no less necessitated, and so no less automatic, than the perception or the desire.

But suppose that, as one term in this series of automatic mental states or operations, there should be inserted a feeling, automatically rising, of right or wrong, of blame or moral approval. Suppose that, after one automatic volition, a consequent feeling of guilt or of merit should emerge. The question then is, Would this entire automatic organism of intellect, however clear, of sensibility, however acute, of volition, however exact, and of moral feeling, however intense, constitute a moral being, truly capable of blamable and rewardable acts? Common sense can give only a negative answer. The feeling of blame or praise would be an arbitrary interpolation, false in its affirmations and absurd in its nature. It would be out of place. Should that feeling assume that the volitions of an organism which possessed, in the given instance, no power for the production of any but that volition, were guilty or morally approvable, its assumption would be untrue.

From these considerations we can see that Edwards rightly defined a moral agent to be "a being that is capable of those actions that have a moral quality, and which can properly be denominated good or evil in a moral sense, virtuous or vicious, commendable or faulty." But the elements necessary to con-

stitute an action responsibly "good or evil in a moral sense," and also "commendable or faulty," Edwards failed correctly to enumerate. The power in the agent in the given case to withhold the responsible volition he omitted to postulate.

In an automatic organism it can make no difference what the substance composing its series or system of parts, whether matter, electricity, or spirit; or whether the connection of its constituent elements or pieces, be a current, or an emotion, or a ligature, or a volition; provided the whole series do but transmit from part to part a fixed force, and a necessary action, landing in a solely possible result.

We are as able to imagine what may with propriety be called a *spiritual* as a *material machine.* Of a machine nothing stronger can be said than that the causative action of one part upon the other secures the solely possible result; and that can as truly be said of a mental organism as of a material organism; and as truly said of a resulting volition as of a resulting intellection or of a resulting mechanical material motion. Such a spiritual machine would be made of a conscious center and sensitive parts. Intellect, sensibility, and will would be its constituents; just as weights, wheels, and hands are the constituents of a clock. And just as the gravitative force may pass from weights to wheels, and from wheels to hands, and may bring the hand to a particular figure, so may the motive force pass from intellect to sensibility, and from sensibility to will, and bring the will to a given volition. The determination of the clock pointer may be no more fixed and necessitated than the determination of a volition. The causations may, in both cases, be as inevitable. If they are not equally mechanical, the difference is essentially verbal; consisting in the fact that the *word* mechanical is normally applied only to material organisms. But all that renders a mere mechanical action of a conscious machine incapable of moral responsibility exists in the case; namely, a necessitation antecedently fixing the given volitional action. Nor is there the slightest validity in the notion of some thinkers who imagine that the very fact of its being a *volition,* and not some other thing or event, secures its responsibility. Ask them why a volition is responsible, and their only reply is, Because it is a volition. A *volition,* neces-

itatively affixed to the agent, is no more responsible than any other attribute, event, operation, or fact.

The human constitution is a compound of the *spiritual machine* and the *bodily machine*, co-operating in a sort of "pre-established harmony." The action of forces from the external world strikes through the corporeal frame inward to the spiritual organism, reaching its central power of action; and, from that central power, *action* comes forth through the corporeal frame upon the external world. If this process be simply action and fixed reaction, producing a solely possible result, then the whole process is, so far as responsibility is concerned, as non-ethical as any case of mechanical impulse and recoil.

The impulse of rays from the beautiful fruit strikes the retina of an eye, and the perception of the exact form and force by necessitation automatically rises. The impulse of perception necessitates the strongest desire automatically to arise. The moral emotion being automatically neutralized, the impulse of strongest desire strikes the will, and automatically the volition springs forth, and from the volitional impulse the automatic action. The automatic corporeal action springs no more mechanically from the volition than the automatic volition from the automatic desire, and that from the automatic perception, and that from the ray of light, and that from the fruit. We admire or condemn the excellent or defective automatism; but the mere arbitrary interpolation of an automatic moral emotion in the series calls not for the attribution by us of any moral merit or blame to the organism, or any part of its automatic action or substance.

We thus demonstrate that if the volition be as necessitated as the emotion, the emotion as the perception, the perception as the receptivity of the retina, then the whole automatic chain forms a circle of automatic force as irresponsible as the streak of an electric circle. It is impossible for logic to show or common sense to see any more responsibility or moral merit or demerit in the necessitated volition than in the necessitated emotion, the necessitated perception, or the necessitated receptivity of the retina, or the necessitated visual ray, or the necessitated fruit.

Nor can the universal common sense of mankind see that volition, and emotion, and perception, and sensorial retina

necessitatively subjected to automatic effect from automatic impulsions, are any more imputable with moral merit or demerit, praise or blame, reward or penalty, than a similar succession of material automatic parts, under exact and necessary physical forces. We can only find non-meritorious excellence. If this be true, then necessitated volition is non-responsible volition; and if none but necessitated volitions universally exist, moral responsibility has no existence in the universe. The "common-sense of mankind" recognizes morality in volition alone, and not in mere perception, because it recognizes in volition alone non-necessitation.

If we consider a Washington* as a living system of mental and bodily parts and forces so balanced; if clear perceptions and sagacious intellect were so proportioned with emotions of honor, patriotism, heroism, and self-sacrifice, as necessitatively to create that train of grand volitions by which he saved his country, then in body, intellect, and will he was a most noble specimen of merely automatic excellence. We should admire him as a most perfect living and acting colossus. We would love him and wish him all happiness, just as we love and wish well to all noble automatism. But he is only fortunate; he is no more meritorious, morally, than Benedict Arnold. His was only a happier fate.

Washington was, as we view the matter, meritorious, because, being volitionally able to prefer to betray his country he saved it. He saved it amid temptations appealing to his apparent self-interest, his love of ease, and his fear of danger. He served his country after the Revolution by rejecting the motives that would lead him to a Napoleonic self-aggrandizement. The very magnanimity of his character consists in his choosing in accordance with right motives, in preference to powerful wrong ones, possible to him and present before him. He could have yielded to the wrong; he chose to act by the right.

With regard to the human will of our Saviour, Edwards strives by many arguments to show that it was automatic and

* "Is Washington entitled to no credit for giving freedom to his country, unless it can be proved that he was equally inclined to betray it?" (Day on the Will, p. 116.) The question is falsely put. We do not hold that it was necessary that he should be equally "inclined to betray it;" but that he should be susceptible to the temptation and *possessed of adequate power for the volition* to betray it. Otherwise, we praise him for the non-performance of an impossible act.

yet meritorious; and so, to demonstrate that necessity of volition is perfectly consistent with responsibility, merit, and demerit. Now we concede that, even in this case, the automatism, if really existent, negatives the merit. We deny therefore the nonfreedom of the human will of the man Jesus. Were his a mere automatic will, he would be a great mechanical figure in the grand panorama of redemption, striking as an automatic adjustment, but destitute of essential moral character. He might still be the sun in a grand orrery—the central spring in the *Mechanique Celeste*—but he would fail to be the sun of meritorious righteousness. We hold, that from the infinity of all possible human souls Omniscience selected that one which, in the great crisis of the case, it foresaw would stand, though free to fall. Endowed with the perfect nature of the first Adam, unlike the first Adam he stood the test. The first pure Adam, free to stand, did fall; the second pure Adam, free to fall, did stand. The difference was not in the power, but in the result. Omniscience foreknew each; in accordance with its prescience, it did most wisely plan. It knew the mighty danger of both; it knew the safe result of one.

Still more appalling is the degradation of the Divine will to a mechanical automatism. We can infer the Divine will only from the human will. If a good man's goodness through a single hour, if our Saviour's perfect goodness through his whole life, consist in this, that during that time he was free to choose wrong, and yet chose right, surely the goodness of God forever and ever consists in his eternal free volition to do right in preference to all possible wrong. An infinite power infinitely evil (like the evil deity of Manicheanism) is just as conceivable as an infinite power infinitely good. An almighty devil would be one who infinitely and eternally chose the evil. God is good because he eternally wills right, and with infinite intensity holds the best good of the universe in view. A god like the evil omnipotence of Manes, who, from the eternal necessity of his own nature, has no adequate power for the production of a good volition, would be a being horribly evil, but not responsibly evil. He could be no more responsible or morally blamable for the non-production of a volition for which there exists in him no causality, than a globe of granite could be responsible for the non-production of a gigantic vegetation. A god

automatically good, mechanically good, might be held excellent. But he would not be meritoriously excellent. We should praise him for what he could not help, and thank him for what he could not withhold. We should concede to him an infinite strength in only one way. He would be a cramped omnipotence, an almightiness not full orbed but mutilated and incapable—a blasphemous contradiction.

And so the moral merit of all beings, finite or infinite, arises from this, that in their proportion of power, space, and time, they, in the possession of the full and complete volitional power of doing wrong, do persistently and freely that which is right. A finite being does thus finitely, an infinite being infinitely. Even our Lord Jesus Christ, as man, was a being whom God foresaw would, with the full volitional power of doing wrong, persistently do right, and right alone. Nay, God himself, so far as we can understand, is a being infinitely wise and meritoriously good, because from eternity to eternity he has, and does, and will, with the full power of choosing wrong, persist in a ceaseless course of doing what his omniscience sees to be right. In this consists the moral merit of all holy beings.

If God were to create a being of perceptions, emotions, and volitions, all perfectly excellent and well adjusted, yet all necessary and automatic in their action, so that every volition, like the pointers of a perfectly true clock, should point exactly right, such a being would be innocent and lovely; and in that sense of lovely innocence it might be called *holy*. It could not be punishable. We should æsthetically admire it; we should sympathetically love it; we should wish it happy in a condition accordant to its nature. Yet we should none the less hold it incapable of moral responsibility, moral merit or demerit, moral good or evil desert, moral reward or penalty. Nor could it, even by Omnipotence itself, be invested with a morally meritorious holiness. All its *holiness* would be simply a lovely and excellent automatic innocence or purity. The sum of all this is, that *a necessitated holiness is no meritorious or morally deserving holiness.*

Again, should God create an automatic fiend; a being whose perceptions were, indeed, true, but whose emotions were purely and with a perfect intensity, yet automatically, malignant; and whose volitions were, with all their strength, automatically bad;

we should hate such a being and wish it out of our way. We might still admire its vicious perfection. Yet, when we had indulged our abhorrence of it, and come to remember coolly its automatism, we should see that, though bad, it was unblamably bad. Its volitions, being as necessitated, are as irresponsible as the springs of a gun-lock. Upon such a fiend, if the infliction of *pain* would set his volitions right, and make all his movements safe and beneficial, we should, for the common good, think expedient to inflict it, simply as an alterative; just as we would insert a key and turn it round to set any other machinery right—simply as an alterative. Such infliction of pain could not be a punishment, in the sense of justice, or execution for a responsible crime. It would simply be an expedient, like a medicine or a mechanical adjustment, in which there can be no moral element. We might, for the good of the world, wish such a being destroyed; not as a moral retribution to him, but for the common weal, and, if possible, painlessly. The sum of all which is, *a necessitated depravity is no responsible or justly punishable depravity*. As there is, therefore, what may be called a *holiness* without any meritoriousness or moral good desert, so there is what may be called a *depravity*, or a *sin*, without any responsibility or morally penal desert.

From all the above representations we derive an answer to the question concerning the possibility of a created holiness or a created unholiness. A created holiness would be necessitated and automatic. It might therefore be excellent, innocent, pure, lovely; but it never could be meritorious, responsible, probationary, rewardable, punishable. A created unholiness would be also automatic. It might be automatically excellent, innocent, yet unlovely, hateful, repulsive, perhaps destructive. Yet it is below the conditions of responsibility, desert, probation, judgment, retribution. The being is evil, perhaps we may say morally evil; but not responsibly or guiltily evil.

If by *morally* evil we mean evil as compared with the standard of the moral law, the phrase would be correct. If by *morally* evil we mean evil so as that the penalty of the law is justly applicable, the phrase would be incorrect. There would be necessitated disconformity to the moral law; but the conditions of amenability to its penalty would not exist.

Thus man, as born after the fall, possesses, even before any

volitional act of his own, a fallen nature. As compared with what, by the perfect law of God, he ought to be, he is wrong, evil, morally evil. Yet, as not being the author of his own condition, he is not responsible for his necessitatively received nature and moral state. His nature is no fault of his own until fully appropriated by the act of his own free-will. That nature and state may doubtless be called *sin*, but only under a certain definition of the word. If all sin be *anomia*,* a disconformity to the law, then there may be a sinful nature or state, as well as a sinful act. But where that nature or state is necessitatively received by the being, without his will, or received only by the act of a necessitated will, if sinful, it is not *responsibly* sinful. It thence would follow that there may be disconformity to the law, unrighteousness, evil, moral evil, sin, sinfulness, all without responsibility, guilt, ill desert, just moral condemnality, or punishment.†

The whole human race, viewed as fallen in Adam, and apart from redemption through Christ, is thus necessitatedly unholy. It is in disconformity with the ideal prescribed by the divine law. Judged by the standard of the moral law, it is evil; and, in the sense above defined, it is morally evil. But it is not *responsibly* evil. It cannot be retributively and in the strict sense of the word, *punished*. Incapable it is, indeed, of the holiness and so of the happiness of heaven. It rests under the displacency of Heaven as not being holy in the sense of conformed to his law, which is but the transcript of his own character and the expression of his own divine feelings. What is to be done with it? is a question for Divine Wisdom to solve.

* 1 John iii, 4.

† This point is thus stated by Dr. Fisk: "Sin may certainly exist where it would not be just to impute it to the sinner. For the Apostle tells us that 'until the law sin was in the world;' and yet he adds, 'Sin is not imputed [he does not say sin does not exist] where there is no law.' The fact is, there are certain dispositions and acts that are *in their nature* opposite to holiness, whatever may be the power of the subject *at the time* he possesses this character or performs these acts. Sin is sin, and holiness is holiness, under all circumstances. They have a positive, and not merely a relative existence. And although they have not existence abstract from an agent possessing understanding, conscience, and will, still they may have an existence abstractly from the power of being or doing otherwise at the time. If not, then the new-born infant has no moral character, or he has power to become holy with his first breath. Whether the subject of this unavoidable sin shall be responsible for it, is a question to be decided by circumstances."—*Calvinistic Controversy, pp.* 209, 210.

It can come from a potential and seminal existence into actual existence only under the universal law of hereditary natural likeness to the lineal parent. The whole race is thus and then conceptually a generic unit, including the primordial parent and all his posterity. What would have been done with them without a saviour? is a question of mere curiosity, to which revelation furnishes no answer. It is like the question, What would have been man's earthly destiny had he never fallen, but remained terrestrially immortal? To neither question does revelation furnish reply. Human conjecture may answer to the last question, Man would have been translated. To the former question it may reply, The human race would never have been actually brought into existence under conditions of such misery. In other words, the redemption was the condition of the actual continuity of the race. Redemption underlies probationary existence. Grace is the basis of nature. And the reply is both a satisfactory and a beautiful theoretical solution of a theoretical difficulty.

Yet to man in this fallen condition there is, by "*imputation*," attributed guilt, ill-desert, penalty, and a desert of even eternal penalty. All this is, however, as Mr. Wesley well views it, only "by a figure," or in biblical conceptuality, attributed. All the race have sinned and died in Adam, are guilty, and condemned to eternal death in Adam, just as Levi paid tithes in Abraham, *conceptually*. This conception is introduced just as conceptive figures are often employed, in order, by expressive fiction, to produce a vivid impression of truth. Levi's conceptual payment of tithes in Abraham is introduced to complete the antithesis of the inferiority of the Aaronic priesthood to the Messianic. Man's condemnation to eternal death in Adam is introduced as a conceptual antithesis to his attaining eternal life in Christ. To illustrate the conception that we are brought to heaven by the merits of Christ, we are conceptually viewed as brought to hell by the demerit of Adam. Our first Adam, by his sin, is made to reflect death upon us that the second Adam may reflect life. But we are no more required by this conceptual language to suppose that the race literally sinned and were eternally condemned in Adam, than that Levi actually paid tithes in Abraham, and was, with his line, literally subjected to Melchisedec and his descendants at Salem.

If a being be, like Adam, created pure and disposed to right, yet as an agent freely able to choose right or wrong, his holiness, as created and *before his free act*, is pure and excellent. Yet it is not meritorious. It can claim no moral approbation or moral reward. Its first meritorious and morally deserving holiness is derived from action. And that action must be volition put forth with full and adequate power of contrary action instead.

Again, if God should create or allow to be born a being of mixed character, (suppose it to be man,) the automatic spring of whose volitions, under the touch of automatic motive forces, should be necessitatively sometimes in an injurious direction, and sometimes in a beneficial direction, such a being might be automatically excellent and perfect, but he would be below the conditions of probationary existence. His good or bad volitions being automatic, would be equally irresponsible and unmeriting of reward or penalty. Any ideas or notions implanted in his own nature of moral approval or condemnation would be arbitrary and false. He is incapable, in a responsible sense, of moral action, moral character, moral probation, judgment, or retribution.

Let us now suppose a being, such as man truly is, of a mixed character in another respect. Suppose him automatic in his perceptions, emotions, and desires, yet free and alternative in his volitions; capable of choosing either of diverse ways in a right direction or in a wrong instead. He is now no longer in a pure automatic nature. He has mounted into the grade of a morally responsible being. He is henceforth capable of probation, responsibility, judgment, and retribution.

Again, let us suppose that this last being is able, by his free volitions, to modify his automatic propensions; namely, his intellections, emotions, and desires, so as to make them better or worse than they naturally were. Either he neglects to restrain them from excess or wrong direction; or he directs, impels, develops, trains, and enlarges them for wrong; or he restrains and confines them to their proper degree and to a right direction. Even his automatic faculties would thence derive a sort of secondary responsible character; at least for much, if not for all their so formed character, he would be volitionally and morally responsible. It is thus that a man's *sensibilities*, *intellections*,

emotions, and beliefs become responsible. Again, a man may so train up into magnitude and force of will his automatic faculties, as to render suppressed his freedom of volition for any good; and thus he is automatically evil. Such volitional automatism for evil being self-superinduced, is responsible; since where a man has freely annihilated his own power for good, he is responsible for the evil. *Self-produced necessity is a responsible necessity.* And from this view we can clearly understand how the *sinner who is given up of God*, and who sins and only sins, and that by a perpetual necessity, is responsible for his sins none the less. The necessity is *superinduced*, and therefore only aggravates the guilt of every sin. So all the sins of *the finally damned*, however necessitated, are none the less responsible, that necessity being self-superinduced. The *holiness of the saints in heaven* is none the less rewardable because it has become necessary; since, though they rest from their labors, their works do follow them. They are rewardable, not only for their works during probation, but for their works of holiness, obedience, love, and praise before God in heaven.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Protestant Churches.—A new era seems to have begun in the Church of England. The Convocations of Canterbury and York, which for about one hundred and fifty years had virtually lost their legislative powers, have been this year, for the first time, restored to the fullness of their former jurisdiction. That of Canterbury had, for seven or eight years, gradually prepared for this important change, while that of York met this year for the first time, and found itself at once in full possession of those rights which the Convocation of Canterbury had been gradually recovering. Henceforth the annual meetings of both are to be as regular in their recurrence as those of Parliament. Both conventions had a very interesting debate on the Oxford "Essays and Reviews." Already, before the meeting of the convocations, a letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury declared, with the consent of all the bishops, the holding of such views as are expressed by the *Essays and Reviews* inconsistent with an honest subscription to the formularies of the Church, though believing it doubtful whether the bishops would feel at liberty to take any decisive measures against the authors. The lower house of the Convocation of Canterbury, by an overwhelming majority, expressed their concurrence with the joint letter of the bishops, and pledged their influence to protect the Church from the "pernicious doctrines and heretical tendencies" of the book. Later the same house appointed a committee, with Archdeacon Denison as chairman, to extract from the volume the most obnoxious passages, and to submit them to the bishops for further legislation. From the discussion in the upper house it appeared that the bishops were divided as to the best

course to pursue with regard to the authors of the book. The Bishop of London, who said he was a personal friend of two of the authors, hoped that they would issue a declaration satisfactory to the Church, and dissuaded the bishops from hasty action. The Bishop of Oxford, on the other hand, insisted on a formal retraction, and a majority of the bishops were with him of opinion that a mere declaration, as proposed by the Bishop of London, would not be sufficient.

The discussion on this important subject in the convocation was but a faint reflex of the immense agitation which has been created by the controversy in the entire State Church, and which has already made it one of the most memorable theological controversies England has ever seen. In March a deputation of the English clergy waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury to present an address, signed by nine thousand ministers, which expresses the hope that the Church would interfere by way of discipline. The High and Low Church parties are unanimous in their condemnation of the book; and also a number of leading men among the Broad Churchmen, such as the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishops of Hereford and St. Davids, have raised their voices against it. Others of this school, as the Bishop of London, in his recently published work, "Dangers and Safeguards of Modern Theology," endeavor to hold a mediating position. The number of books and pamphlets published against the Essays is innumerable, while but few have come out in its favor. Also all the great literary organs of England have taken part in the controversy. An article in the *Quarterly Review*, which was first ascribed to Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford and afterward to Mr. Mansell, attracted so great attention, that the number containing it passed rapidly through five editions. Rev. Dr. Buchanan, of Edinburgh, has replied to the seven Essays in detail, in a series of seven letters in the *Morning Post*, which have since been issued in separate book form. In the *North British Review* the subject has been discussed with great fullness by Mr. Isaac Taylor, who charges the essayists with borrowing from Germany in a frivolous, vainglorious spirit, without giving due weight to the difficulties of the subject, and the refutations already given. An able article, very largely in sympathy with the essayists, has appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, from the pen of Dr. Stanley, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, and biographer of Dr. Arnold.

The great English anniversaries were this year of more than usual interest. So largely has the interest of the English Churches in the objects of the religious associations increased, that nearly all the chief societies could report an income exceeding that of any previous year. Thus it was the case with the Wesleyan Missionary Society, Baptist Missionary Society, British and Foreign Bible Society, and others. And yet the number of congregations which contribute nothing for the religious societies, seems to be larger than might be inferred from the great amount of the receipts; for it was stated, for instance, at the Baptist Missionary Society, that there were still about one thousand congregations which were not at all represented in the list of contributors. The annual reports indicated that the manifold and extensive agencies of the British Christians for promoting the progress of religion at home and abroad have been again greatly blessed, and at the Wesleyan Missionary meeting, in particular, a letter just received from China contained surprising recent intelligence concerning the bright prospects of Christianity among the Chinese insurgents. At the annual meeting of the Malta Protestant College Society, for the free education of natives in the Turkish empire, and other countries contiguous to the Mediterranean, it was stated that a special sum of £10,000 is now being raised for the liquidation of a heavy debt on the institution, and to provide, by the enlargement of the buildings, for the free admission of an increased number of Oriental missionary students, and secure their maintenance for a few years.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.—The bishops of Ireland have held another National Synod at Dublin, and issued another manifesto to "the Catholic clergy and laity of Ireland." It is signed by all the prelates (27) except Archbishop M'Hale, who did not attend the meeting. Dr. Cullen signs it before "the primate of all Ireland," as "the delegate of the apostolic see." The whole of the document has been read from every altar and pulpit of Ireland,

on one or two Sundays. The bishops exhort the faithful "to walk in the footsteps of the Queen of Heaven." They quote the report of the Commission on Education in England in favor of the denominational system, which alone will satisfy them. But they pronounce no formal condemnation of the national system, and issue no prohibition for the withdrawal of the Roman Catholic children from the schools.

GERMANY.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.—The influence of Rationalism in some of the German State Churches, of which we gave a full account in the April number of the Methodist Quarterly Review, seems still to be on the increase. In the Palatinate, the western part of Bavaria, the General Synod of the United Evangelical Church, which met from February 22 to March 10, has been prevailed upon, by the influence of the government and other outside pressure, to make to the Rationalistic party very important concessions. The great majority of the synod (thirty-six to eleven) was still of opinion that the official Rationalistic church-books, (hymn book and catechism,) which were formerly in use, and whose expulsion from the Churches was decreed by former General Synods, are "unequivocally opposed to the faith and confession of the Church;" but in view of the violent agitation of the Rationalistic party, it did not dare to provide for any effectual measures for the final suppression of the old books, but left the final decision to the option of the several congregations. Since then the opposition to the introduction of the orthodox books has become much stronger; an association for this purpose numbers more than ten thousand active members; in Neustadt, one of the largest congregations of the province, the presbytery have decreed, by seven votes against three, to remove the orthodox books which had already been in use for some time, and to reintroduce the old ones, and it is feared that many other congregations will follow this example. The Church stands evidently on the eve of a very violent internal struggle. In the Grand Duchy of Baden the Rationalistic party has not gained so complete a victory as was at first anticipated. The new members of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Board belong partly to a so-called "mediating" party. One of the newly appointed councillors is Dr. Rothe, the author of the most celebrated German work on Christian ethics. At all events, the position of the Rationalists has become a much more favorable one. They have at least one decided representative in the government of the Church, they are sure of the support of the majority of the legislature, they expect greater concessions from the government, and they hope that they can turn the growing dissatisfaction of the people with the interference of state governments in Church matters to their advantage.

A revival of religion, like those experienced by so many of the English and American Churches, is a phenomenon so unknown in Germany, that the first appearance of it could not fail to produce a profound commotion. Even most of the evangelical pastors and Churches have been accustomed to look upon it with distrust and suspicion. At length the time of trial has come, the first recent movement of the kind on German soil having taken place in an institution for poor children at Elberfeld. Physical phenomena have attended the revival, very similar to those in Ireland and Jamaica, and have startled out of their propriety the political press, who have raised a furious outcry against it, and the civil authorities, who have thought it necessary to interfere. All the officers of the institution have been compelled to leave; and attempts have been made to put down the work by force, or to terrify the children, by tedious examinations, into the belief that they were merely under a delusion! On the other hand, however, seven of the evangelical pastors of Elberfeld, who have been constantly visiting the institution, and who are most intimately acquainted with the whole case, have come out in defense of the revival. They testify that the most marked features observable among the children have been sorrow for sin, and crying to God for mercy. They throw the responsibility of having marred this great and good work on the magistracy. The district synod, which met at Elberfeld in the beginning of May, has issued a strong protest against the dismission of the officers of the poor-house; on the other hand, however, the town council of Elberfeld has, with all votes against four, remonstrated against this "interference

of the synod in matters of city government."

The political agitation in Austria has at length compelled the government to make to the Protestants of the German and Sclavonian provinces some of those concessions for which they have petitioned for so many years. The imperial patent of April 8 declared that henceforth the Protestants shall have equal rights with the Roman Catholics. They shall have, therefore, also the right to settle in any place they choose, a provision which has given some offense among the fanatical people of Tyrol, from which province the Protestants have been hitherto excluded. All the former restrictions with regard to the establishment of churches with spires and bells, the public celebration of religious solemnities, and the free purchase of books and periodicals, are abolished. Henceforth the Protestants will be exempted from paying, as heretofore they had to do, fees to the Roman Catholic priests. The patent gives to the Church also a provisional Church constitution, on a thoroughly presbyterian basis; and the first General Synod has the right either to ratify this provisional constitution or to propose changes. For the ecclesiastical and educational wants of the Protestant Churches a proportional contribution from the state treasury is promised. So far the contents of the patent seem to have been received in Austria with general satisfaction. The only points to which objections have been made are those which reserve for the emperor the right of appointing all the councillors and the president of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council, and of confirming the superintendents. It is true that the same right is possessed by all the other princes of Germany, Protestant and Roman Catholic; but, in accordance with the general demand of ecclesiastical independence, which is growing throughout Germany, the Austrian Protestants, once in possession of representative assemblies, will soon demand that the self-government of the Church be carried through in all its details.

The Roman Catholic Church.—The influence which Rome had gradually gained in several German States by means of favorable concordats, has experienced another and emphatic reverse. The concordat which the Pope had concluded with the King of Wurtemberg has been rejected by the Chamber of Representatives by a decided majority. The representatives of the people had never given their consent to this compact. In 1857 it was agreed to by the cabinet without consulting the chambers, and the government commenced to carry its provisions through, independently of the legislature. The voice of the entire Protestant population declared itself loudly in favor of rejection, and more than six hundred petitions, all numerously signed, were addressed, to this end, to the government and the legislature. When the Chambers were convened on February 28 the discussion of the concordat question was immediately urged, and, on the vote being taken, sixty-seven members voted for the rejection, and only twenty-seven against it. The majority comprises all the Protestant deputies, save four, while the Roman Catholic members, except two, form the minority. The time of concordats may now be regarded as past. The legislatures of some of the smaller states which have a numerous Roman Catholic population, have voted addresses to their princes, petitioning them not to enter into any concordat with the Pope, but to regulate the affairs of the Roman Catholic citizens in the way of ordinary legislation.

FRANCE.

The Roman Catholic Church.—Among the innumerable pamphlets to which the situation of Rome has given rise, none seems to have made a deeper sensation than the one entitled *France, Rome, and Italy.* Signed by M. de la Guerronnière, director of printing and publication at the Ministry of the Interior, and approved by M. de Persigny, it was considered throughout France, and by all parties, to be the view the emperor wishes the world to take of his policy with regard to the temporal power of the popes. The bishops of France are almost unanimously so fanatical and blind supporters of the secular sovereignty of the Bishop of Rome, that they have been induced, by the great success of the above pamphlet, to make the most violent attacks on the emperor. The palm of boldness in these attacks is due to the Bishop of Poitiers, who in a pastoral letter, which had to be read from every pulpit of the diocese, did not hesitate to represent the emperor as Pontius

Pilate. The emperor has seen fit to show greater forbearance than other European governments, for instance, the King of Sardinia, used to show, and has contented himself with having an official blame inflicted on the bishop by the *Conseil d'Etat.* A subsequent circular of Mr. Delaugle, Minister of Justice, informs the attorney general that the articles 201 and 204 of the Penal Code are still in force, which condemn to imprisonment or banishment any minister of religion who in print or speech publicly criticises an act of the government.

The Roman Catholic party of France claim to be numerically very strong, and to be rapidly increasing in strength, and they adduce as a proof the steady increase of church-goers in all parts of the empire during Lent, which this year was more noticeable than in any previous year. This proof will appear, however, as less conclusive, when we take into consideration, on the one hand, the vast theatrical display of the churches during this period, which attracts thousands who show no interest in the religious exercises, and, on the other hand, that after Lent the attendance regularly again declines. In the French Senate an address to the emperor, indorsing his policy in Italy, has been adopted by all except four votes. In the *Corps Legislatif* an amendment to the address, which advocated the temporal power of the Pope, has received the considerable number of ninety-one votes; but after its rejection the entire address, indorsing the emperor's policy, has been adopted against only fifteen votes.

The convents which, owing to the patronage of the government, had multiplied so rapidly in France during the past thirty years, have been foremost in stirring up the passions of the people against the pretended anti-Roman policy of the emperor. The government has therefore resolved to enforce against some of the convents the law according to which their legal existence requires a previous authorization. Some of those monastic communities, which have been founded without authorization, have been suppressed; and from others all the members, who were not natives of France, have been expelled. These measures have greatly embittered the hostility already existing between the government and the clergy.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.—The religious anniversaries have been well attended and animated meetings. Though the operations of the religious societies of France are of course conducted on a much smaller scale than those of England, their proceedings derive a peculiar interest from the circumstance that they indicate the progress of Protestant Christianity in the chief Roman Catholic country. Many of the statistical figures in the annual reports gave striking proofs of this progress. We learn, for instance, that three millions of Bibles have been circulated in France during the last eighteen years, that a Protestant Almanac has a yearly circulation of two hundred thousand copies, and that the foreign Missionary Society is considerably extending its sphere of action, embracing now South Africa, China, and Hayti.

ITALY.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.—From all parts of Italy we have a cheering view of the progress of evangelical principles. Tuscany and Naples, in particular, have become the center of the most zealous endeavors for the evangelization of the country. In Florence the Theological Seminary of the Waldensians is gaining a firm footing. Through the princely liberality of four individuals, aided by a donation from the Irish Presbyterian Church, the Palazzo Ricasoli, formerly Salviati, in Florence, has been purchased and made over for the accommodation of church, theological college, schools, etc. The establishment of Protestant schools is vigorously pushed on. According to late advices about a dozen well-trained youths were about to leave the Waldensian Normal School at La Tour; but these being insufficient to meet the demand, it was intended to begin a Protestant Normal School for Central Italy in Florence. The institution of Protestant deaconesses, which was established last year in the same city, has enrolled about forty pupils, and has already one or two Italian girls in preparation as teachers. The Swiss school in Florence is under the direction of a young Swiss clergyman of great educational ability, who will actively co-operate in personal effort, as well as by advice, in advancing the interests of the evangelical Italian schools.

In Naples a *Neapolitan Evangelization Aid Society* has been formed, which, according to its programme, has five principal objects in view, namely: 1. To assist native Protestant preachers; 2. To assist in establishing schools on strictly Protestant principles; 3. To aid the work of colportage, Scripture reading, etc.; 4. To translate into Italian Protestant religious and controversial works; 5. To establish a printing press, and publish journals, newspapers, etc., in order to show what the Protestant doctrines really are. Gavazzi has continued to preach five times a week to an earnestly attentive audience, and the tone of his sermons is said to have become more evangelical. Another converted ex-priest, Rev. Mr. Cresi, is occupying a hall in another part of the city for religious services, and he was, at the close of April, on the point of opening a ragged school, for which a Protestant lady had kindly paid the rent, while another Protestant lady has volunteered to instruct the children.

The recognition of the civil and political rights of Protestants is evidently progressing. One of the leading men among the Italian converts, Professor Mazzarella, has been elected a member of the Italian Parliament. Several outrages against the rights of Protestants have occurred at the instigation of the priests in Tuscany, Protestant families having been forcibly prevented from having their children baptized and their dead buried; yet, in most cases, the government and also the local authorities have made laudable efforts for maintaining the principles of religious toleration. The *Monitore Toscano* has published a circular from Minghetti, the Minister of the Interior, addressed to all governors, intendants, etc., ordering that henceforth a portion of the public Campo Santo in every town or village, shall be marked off by a wall or hedge, for the burial of all non-Catholics, unless the municipality choose to provide a separate cemetery.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.—If obedience to all Papal decrees, and a belief in the efficiency of the ecclesiastical censures, were an essential feature of the Roman Catholic system, nearly all Italy might be said this day to have left the communion of Rome. For, although the Pope has pronounced excommunication against all who have aided or may aid in the reunion of his former territory with the new kingdom of Italy, the representatives of the Italian people, assembled in Parliament, have not only sanctioned the formation of a united Italy, but they have, with almost perfect unanimity, declared that the nation has a right to Rome as its capital, and that they must have it. All the bishops side with the pope, and we have heard only of a single Neapolitan bishop who has openly declared himself in favor of the recent political changes; but this fact only corroborates the view that the political emancipation of Italy from the influence of Rome may be regarded as complete. The same cannot yet be said to be the case with regard to the ecclesiastical emancipation. Victor Emanuel. Cavour, and Garibaldi have shown, on many occasions, that they have either none or but little regard for the doctrinal system of Rome, and that they would rejoice at its overthrow or thorough reformation. But there are indications that thousands, who are willing to accept the abolition of the temporal power as a fact, or even to hail it as the harbinger of a new glorious era in the history of Italy, cling firmly to "the religion of their fathers," and even hope that the loss of temporal power may redound in a great spiritual reformation. Cavour himself, in a speech in the Italian Parliament, expressed the belief that the political unity of Italy being once carried through, the "Catholic" party would develop a power which it had never possessed under the old *regime*, and that the time, therefore, might soon come when he would be himself in Parliament, a member of the oppositional minority.

SPAIN.

PROTESTANTISM.—Some of the Spanish converts, whose arrest we recorded in the April number of the Methodist Quarterly Review, have been liberated on bail, but Matamoros and Alhama have been refused this favor. One of the Spanish authorities at Granada told Matamoros that he pitied his sad case, but that it would have been better for him if he had committed robbery or murder. The prisoners expected that the maximum of punishment which the law permits would be inflicted upon them. They have found a warm friend and advocate in Sir Robert Peel, who in the beginning of this year happened to

travel to Grenada in the same diligence with Matamoros, and being interested in his case, afterward visited him and Alhama in prison. Sir Robert has twice brought their case before the House of Commons, and on April 30 an influential meeting was held at London, under the presidency of the Earl of Shaftesbury, for the purpose of calling on the English government to interfere so as to put a stop to the religious persecution of the Spanish Protestants; but Lord Russell, notwithstanding his sympathies with their cause, did not seem disposed to make any official application on the subject to the Spanish government. In the meanwhile it is gratifying to hear that the liberal democratic party of Spain are cordially sympathizing with the friends of religious and civil freedom in Europe and America, that they are making greater efforts than ever before for securing to their own country the privileges of religious liberty, and that they are confident of a speedy success.

TURKEY.

The Greek Church.—The Bulgarian question still awaits its final solution. The expectations of the Roman missionaries, who hoped that they would draw over the entire people to their Church, have not been realized. The only Bulgarian bishop who at first favored a union with Rome, hesitated when the final step was to be taken, and the number of Bulgarians who really have gone over seems to be very small. The shrewdest and most active among the Roman missionaries in Turkey, Mr. Boré, has headed a Bulgarian deputation to Rome, which was to announce the submission of the entire nation to the Pope as an event likely to take place shortly. One of the clerical members of the deputation has been appointed by the Pope patriarch of the United Bulgarians, and the nucleus of a United Bulgarian Church having thus been formed, it may be expected that the endeavors for gaining the entire nation for the cause of the union will be redoubled.

The great majority of the nation, however, persevere in their efforts to secure the independence of all the Bulgarian Churches from the oppressive rule of the Greek Patriarch, and the formation of a Free Bulgarian Church. A memorial signed by two bishops, six other ecclesiastics, and twenty-seven of the leading men of the nation, has been addressed to the members of the Evangelical Alliance of Constantinople, asking for their kind offices in behoof of the objects for which the Bulgarians are seeking. The Evangelical Alliance has warmly recommended the matter to the representatives of the seven Protestant countries, part of whom, at least, have promised to exert themselves in favor of the just rights of the Bulgarians. The Patriarch of Constantinople, supported by the influence of Russia, has obtained from the Porte a decree of banishment for the Bulgarian bishops, but the execution of the decree has been prevented in time. The Turkish government has, on the contrary, so far yielded to the demands of the Bulgarians, as to consent to the calling of a convention of delegates from all parts of Bulgaria, to test the sentiments of the people at large in regard to their relations to the Greek Patriarch.

Protestantism.—The Protestant missions among the Mussulmans have been steadily going on, but threatening clouds are beginning to rise upon the horizon. The Porte intends to organize a decided opposition against what they consider the encroachments of the Bible into their nationality. Their plan seems to be this: to make diligent search for the New Testament and Bibles in Turkish, and for their owners and readers; to confiscate the books; to frighten or punish (according to the degree of culpability) the individuals; and to exile those who have really made defection.

Art. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

Rev. Donald M'Donald, of Scotland, is the author of an able work, entitled, *Creation and the Fall.* More lately he has published a second work, from the press of T. & T. Clark, entitled an *Introduction to the Pentateuch.* It maintains ably the Mosaic authorship and historical authority of the Five Books.

Dr. A. P. Stanley (author of Sinai and Palestine and Life of Arnold) has published *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*, with an Introduction on the Study of Ecclesiastical History. Stanley is Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford.

Dr. Tulloch has published a volume, entitled, *English Puritanism and its Leaders.* The characters he portrays are Cromwell, Milton, Baxter, and Bunyan.

Bagster & Co. publish *A Methodization of the Hebrew Verb*, on an original plan, for the use of learners.

The Genetic Cycle in Organic Nature; or, The Succession of Forms in the Propagation of Plants and Animals. By George Ogilvie, Regius Professor in Aberdeen University, is published by Longman & Co. Professor Ogilvie is author of a previous work, entitled, *Master-Builder's Plan in Typical Forms of Animals.*

The Introduction of Christianity into Britain; an argument in favor of St. Paul's having visited the extreme Boundaries of the West. By Rev. B. W. Saville, A. M.

The first and second volumes of Lord Stanhope's *Life of the Younger Pitt* have appeared. The biographies hitherto of this, as of most other British statesmen, are very incomplete. Lord Stanhope has had access to documents hitherto unused, and his work, though unsatisfactory, is a great improvement upon its predecessors.

Bohn has published the first volume of the *Letters and Works of Lady Mary Montague.* By Lord Wharncliffe. It is a third edition with additions.

Murray advertises as "just ready," *The Gorilla Country;* Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa, with Accounts of the Cannibals and other Savage Tribes, and of the chase of the Gorilla, the Nest-building Ape, Chimpanzee, Hippopotamus, etc. By M. Paul Du Chaillu. With map and eighty illustrations. This work is awaited with high expectation by scientific men and the public generally.

A *Life of Professor Porson*, by the Rev. John Selby Walton, with a portrait, is promised by Longman & Co.

A *Life of Edward Irving*, in two volumes, by Mrs. Oliphant, is in preparation from Hurst & Blackett's press.

Professor Owen has published the *Posthumous Papers of Dr. John Hunter*, with an "Introductory Lecture on the Hunterian Collection of Fossil Remains."

Of *Darwin's Work on Species* six thousand copies have been sold in England. He has issued a new edition, with various additions and corrections. Prefixed is an "Historical Sketch of the recent Progress of Opinion on the Origin of Species."

The Oxford Essays and Reviews have called out the following publications:

The Dangers and Safeguards of Modern Theology, by the Bishop of London.

Scripture and Science not at Variance; with Remarks on the Historical Character, Plenary Inspiration, and surpassing importance of the Earlier Chapters of Genesis. By John H. Pratt, M. A., Archdeacon of Calcutta.

"Essays and Reviews" anticipated. Extracts from a work published in the year 1825, and attributed to the Lord Bishop of St. David's.

The "Essays and Reviews" and the People of England; a popular Refutation of the principal Propositions of the Essayists. With an appendix, containing the protest of the bishops and clergy, the proceedings in convocation, and all the documents and letters connected with the subject.

Sermons, chiefly on the Theory of Belief, by the late James Shergold Boone. This volume is highly commended "to the higher class of minds" by the *Literary Churchman*, as specially adapted to "the present crisis."

Dr. Temple (one of the authors of Essays and Reviews, and successor to Dr. Arnold at Rugby) has published *Sermons preached in Rugby School Chapel in* 1858, 1859, 1860. From M'Millan's press.

Henry Calderwood has published at the press of M'Millan & Co., a second edition of his *Philosophy of the Infinite;* a treatise on Man's Knowledge of the Infinite Being in answer to Sir William Hamilton and Mr. Mansel. To this edition are added an answer to Sir William Hamilton's letter to the author, and a Review of Mr. Mansel's Limits of Religious Thought. Mr. Calderwood is a clear thinker and often an eloquent writer. His work is abundantly worthy of republication in this country.

The *Westminster Review* notices, unfavorably to the institution it describes, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom*, by Rev. W. M. Mitchell, of Toronto, C. W. The same Review speaks with earnest contempt of "*Negroes and Negro Slavery;* the first an inferior race, the latter its normal condition; by J. H. Van Evrie, M. D., New York." It commends "*Secession, Concession, or Self-Possession—Which?* a letter addressed by a citizen of Massachusetts to Charles Sumner; published by Walker & Wise, Boston."

The *London Athenæum* says: "The first number of a new 'German Quarterly Review of English Theological Inquiry and Criticism' has appeared at Gotha, from the press of Herr Perthes. The work is conducted by Dr. Heidenheim, who resides, we believe, in England, and is a minister of the English Church. The purpose of the conductor is, not merely to discuss for the benefit of German theologians the development of doctrine in the Church to which he has attached himself, but to lay before German scholars the results of English enterprise and travel, so far as these tend to illustrate the Scripture records. Some of the inedited treasures of the British Museum are to appear in this Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift."

The *Athenæum* furnishes the following item of Egyptological intelligence: "M. Mariette is said to have made a new and important discovery in the ruins of Memphis; it is a list of sixty-three Egyptian kings, engraved on limestone. The Paris Library and the British Museum are in possession of similar tablets, but they are not near so complete as the one lately discovered, which is to find its place in the new Museum in Egypt. This tablet of Memphis will determine the Egyptian dynasties of the ante-pyramidical period."

GERMANY.

Professor A. Wuttke, of Berlin, has commenced the publication of a new Manual of Christian Ethics, (*Handbuch der Christlichen Sittenlehre*, Berlin, 1861,) the first volume of which has just appeared, while the second is announced to be published before the close of the year. The author has already favorably distinguished himself among the younger theological scholars of Germany by a work on paganism, and by a number of contributions to the leading evangelical journals of his country. With regard to the character of his new work, he announces that it will neither be so speculative as some of its predecessors, nor exclusively biblical; but that he has endeavored to give a manual of ethical theology, wholly resting on the basis of the Sacred Scriptures, and wrought into a scientific system, not through a foreign philosophy, but, as he calls it, through a self-development of the spirit of the Bible. A long introduction contains, besides other valuable discussions, a history of ethics in paganism, Judaism, and Christianity.

"*The Essence of the Christian Sermon according to the Prototype of the Apostolic Sermon* (*Das Wesen der Christlichen Predigt*, etc., Gotha, 1861) is the title of an important homiletic work by Rev. Mr. Beyer. The author divides his subject into three books: in the first he treats of "the sermon as the word of God;" in the second, of "the sermon as the word of God to the congregation;" and in the third, of "the word of God to the congregation as the expression of Christian personality." Throughout the subject is discussed, as the author announces, "with particular reference to the principal tendencies of modern theology." Simultaneously another contribution to the same branch of theology is published by Rev. Mr. Kirsch, under the title, "*The Popular Sermon*, (*Die Populäre Predigt, etc.*, Leipsic, 1861.)

The many admirers of the exegetical works of Professor Hengstenberg will

be glad to learn that this veteran theologian has published the first volume of a new commentary on the Gospel of John. Though it is the almost unanimous opinion of theologians that Dr. Hengstenberg has been hitherto, in his writtings on the New Testament, much less successful than in those on the Old, a new commentary by him on one of the Gospels will be hailed everywhere as an exegetical publication of great importance.

Another exegetical publication has been commenced by Professor Wieseler, of Kiel, under the title, *An Investigation of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in particular its Author and its Readers*, (*Eine Untersuchung über den Hebraeerbrief, etc.*, Kiel, 1861.) In the first part, which has appeared, the author shares the opinion of those who regard Barnabas as the author. The second part is to appear toward the close of the present year.

The great collective work on the *Lives and the Writings of the Fathers of the Reformed Church*, which has been in course of publication for several years, and of which we gave an account in the April number of the Methodist Quarterly Review, has met with so great a success as to encourage the publisher to make arrangements for the publication of a similar work on the Lutheran Church. The prospectus mentions the names of Dr. Lehnerdt, formerly Professor of Theology at Berlin, and now Superintendent-General of the province of Saxony; Dr. Schmidt, of the University of Strasburg; Dr. Uhlhorn, formerly of the University of Göttingen, and other distinguished theologians, as the editors. The first volume, containing the *Life and Select Writings of Melancthon*, by Dr. Schmidt, (*Philipp Melanchthon. Leben und ausgewählte Schriften.* Elberfeld, 1861,) has just appeared.

Simultaneously with it another work on '*The Lives of the Fathers of the Lutheran Church*," (*Das Leben der Altväter der Lutherischen Kirche.* Leipsic, 1861,) has been commenced by Rev. Mr. Meurer. According to the prospectus it is to contain nine volumes, and will include a greater number of biographies than the first-named work, which will limit itself to the biographies of the founders of the Church. The latter work is intended for all classes of readers, while the volumes of the former collection will aspire to a rank among the most thorough and erudite historical works of Germany.

On the history of the Hussites new information of great importance is given in "*The Reign of George of Podebrad*," by Max Jordan, (*Das Königthum Georg's von Podebrad.* Leipsic, 1861.) George of Podebrad, who, in 1458, was unanimously elected king of Bohemia, and died in 1471, was a zealous patron of the Hussites, who at that time were so conspicuous as the standard-bearers of the reformatory movements in the Roman Catholic Church. The author has had access to a large number of important documents which have never before been made use of. He represents his book as a contribution to the development of the modern state in opposition to the all-controlling supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church of the Middle Ages.

The third number of the *Studien und Kritiken* begins with some introductory remarks by the learned editor, Dr. Ullmann, respecting his resignation as President of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Board of the State Church of Baden. (This event is more fully referred to in the "Foreign Religious Intelligence" department of this number.) Dr. Ullmann promises to devote henceforth a much larger portion of his time than before to the editing of his celebrated quarterly. One of the next numbers of the "Studien" is to bring from his pen "Reminiscences of Dr. Umbreit," his departed friend and associate editor of the "Studien."

The number contains three longer articles, (*Abhandlungen*) viz.: 1. Lübker, *An Introduction to a Theology of Classic Antiquity.* 2. Piper, *Lost and Discovered Monuments and Manuscripts.* 3. Gerlach, *The Imprisonment and Conversion of Manasseh.* The first article is particularly valuable. The author, who, by a Dictionary of Classical Antiquity, and a number of other works, has gained the reputation of being one of the best classical scholars of Germany, discusses in an interesting and thorough manner the theological views of the Greeks concerning God, sin, eternity. The article quotes and reviews nearly the whole German and French literature bearing on the subject, and for this bibliographical completeness alone ought to be read by every one who wishes to obtain reliable information of the religion of the Greeks and Romans. In the second article, by

Professor Piper, of Berlin, many interesting contributions to Christian archæology are given. We noticed, in particular, a highly interesting description of a Greek table-picture, which represents in a series of scenes the entire history of the celebrated image of Christ, which the Saviour himself is said, according to an early tradition, to have sent to Abgarus, king of Edessa.

The second number of the quarterly *Zeitschrift für Historische Theologie* contains articles by Hochhuth on the *History of the Protestant Sects in the Church of Hesse*, and by Dr. Ebrard on "*The Outbreak of the First Religious War in France in* 1562." Besides it gives a short communication by Dr. Hartwig, evangelical pastor of Messina, Sicily, on the author of the work, *De modis uniendi ac reformandi ecclesiam*, and another on the Moscow manuscript of the Church History of Eusebius, by the distinguished Russian archeologian, Dr. E. de Muralt.

The number of the religious quarterlies of Germany (a complete list of which we gave in the April number of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, p. 330) has recently received an addition by the establishment of a *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Englisch-Theologische Forschung*, under the editorship of Dr. Heidenheim, in London. As the title indicates, the principal object of this journal will be to make the German theologians and the German Churches better acquainted with the contents and the spirit of the theological literature of England and America. The first number contains the following articles: 1. *Researches on the Samaritans*, by Dr. Heidenheim. 2. *Mormonism*, by Dr. Overbeck. 3. *On the Phenician Inscriptions of the British Museum*. 4. *Epistle of Meshalmah ben Ab Sechuah's to the Samaritans*. 5. *The Journals of England and their Theleogical Tendencies*, together with a review of seven theological works of England.

The gifted but fanatical High Lutheran Professor Vilmar, of Marburg, has commenced the publication of a new religious monthly called *Pastoral-Theologische Blätter*. The character of the editor warrants that the readers will find in it the most elegant German, a clear and forcible style, some powerful thoughts and sentences, and the most ultra developments of high-churchism that have ever grown upon Protestant soil.

FRANCE.

The "*Cours Complet de Patrologie*," published at Paris by Abbé Migne, has been recently completed. It is one of the grandest literary enterprises which the Christian world has ever seen since the invention of the art of printing, and, as such, well deserves a more extended notice. All the former great collective works of Roman Catholic literature, as the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, the Collections of Councils by Labbé and Mansi, the former collections of the Church fathers, the works of Cardinal Mai are nothing compared with it. The "*Cours de Patrologie*" of Abbé Migne comprises all the extant works and fragments of the ancient ecclesiastical writers in no less than three hundred and twenty-six large quarto volumes, two hundred and seventeen of which contain the Latin writers of the first twelve centuries from Tertullian to Innocent III., while the Greek writers from Barnabas to Photius are given in the other one hundred and nine volumes. All the volumes have been stereotyped, in order to enable the publisher to furnish at any time complete sets, and the purchaser to replace any volume that may have been lost.

The work is to be immediately followed by a number of "indexes," which are to comprise twelve volumes. For their compilation fifty persons have been engaged during five years, at an aggregate expense of about 500,000 francs. Each of the three hundred and twenty-six volumes is to be analyzed in these indexes two hundred and ten times. By means of these "indexes" it will be possible to refer at once to any of the ecclesiastical writers concerning each one of the doctrines of the Roman Church. Others refer to all the passages concerning music, geometry, and other sciences. By far the most valuable of the indexes, however, is the one which quotes for every single verse of the Bible, from the first of Genesis to the last of the Revelation, all the passages of the fathers which comment on it or refer to it. One of the most remarkable features in connection with this immense work is, that it has been carried through without any direct support from the government or other community. The

literary world owes it exclusively to the indefatigable labors of Abbé Migne, who has staked a large personal property on the execution of this great work of his life.

A new work on the life, the writings, and the age of Chrysostom, has been published, in three volumes, by Abbé Martin. (*St. Jean Chrysostome, Ses Œuvres et Son Siècle.* Montpellier, 1861.) This is the second monography on the great orator of the ancient Church, which we have received from France within the course of a year, the former being Albert, *Chrysostome comme Orateur Populaire.* (Paris, 1860.)

An interesting contribution to the Literature on Jansenism is the *Histoire du Jansénisme*, from its origin down to the year 1644, by the Père René Rapin, of the Company of Jesus. (Paris, 1861,) a work originally written in the latter half of the seventeenth century, but now for the first time revised and edited by the Abbé Domenech. The Père Rapin is the author of a great number of French and Latin theological, classical, and poetical works, one of the latter of which, entitled *Hortorum Libri IV.*, is the most celebrated of all for the purity of its Latinity, and has been translated into French and Italian, and published in England by J. Evelyn, jun., in 1673. The present work, on which he is said to have been employed during twenty years of his life, was never published by him, and has now been for the first time edited, with the permission of the Minister of Public Worship, from the MS. preserved in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, and prepared by Rapin himself for the use of the clergy of St. Sulpice.

The celebrated Rationalistic minister of Paris, Mr. Athanase Coquerel, has published a *Projet de Discipline pour les Eglises Reformées de France, presenté à la Commission du Conseil Central*, (Paris, 1861.) The question of a reorganization of the Reformed State Church occupies the minds of the French Protestants to so high a degree, that the Supreme Board of the Church, the Conseil Central, had commissioned a minister of the Church, Mr. Rollin, with preparing a draft of a new Church discipline. Mr. Rollin, in his turn, had requested Mr. Coquerel to present his views on the subject likewise in the form of a draft of a Church discipline, with which request he has complied by the above publication. We see from the review of the work in the *Archives Chrétiennes*, that Mr. Coquerel proposes, in place of a national synod, a central council, consisting of thirty-one members, all of whom the government shall have a right to appoint. Fortunately, as the same paper adds, no such scheme stands any chance of receiving the approbation of the Reformed Church; the current of public opinion becomes stronger and stronger in favor of a greater independence of the Church, a strong proof of which was given at the late meeting of the Pastoral Conference of Reformed Ministers at Paris, when a resolution was passed, by ninety votes against one, that a National Synod is the only proper ecclesiastical board that can authorize changes in the constitution or discipline of the Church.

Art. XI.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

American Theological Review, April, 1861.—1. Annihilation. 2. Slavery among the Ancient Hebrews. 3. Rothe's Address on Philip Melancthon. 4. The Old Testament in the New. 5. Christian Zeal. 6. The New Latitudinarians of England. 7. The Sinaitic Manuscript.

American Quarterly Church Review, April, 1861.—1. The See Bishopric. How shall we get it? 2. Hymns from Compilers' Hands. 3. John Wesley on Separation from the Church. 4. Early Annals of the Amer-

ican Church. 5. University of Trinity College, Canada. 6. Life and Writings of Bishop Doane. 7. The American Quarterly Church Review, and our National Crisis.

Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, April, 1861.—1. The Physical Training of Students. 2. The Mode of Baptism. 3. Covenant Education. 4. Rawlinson's Herodotus. 5. The Apostolic Benediction. 6. The Church and the Country.

Brownson's Quarterly Review, April, 1861.—1. Christ the Spirit. 2. Pope and Emperor. 3. Early Christianity in England. 4. Xavier de Ravignan. 5. The Monks of the West.

Christian Review, April, 1861.—1. Archetypes. 2. The Greek Church. 3. The Inspiration of the Apostles. 4. The New Trial of the Sinner. 5. Conant's Matthew. 6. Immateriality of the Soul. 7. Berkeley and his Works.

Danville Quarterly Review, March, 1861.—1. The Relative Doctrinal Tendencies of Presbyterianism and Congregationalism in America. 2. The Relation which Reason and Philosophy sustain to the Theology of Revelation. 3. The Mystery of Iniquity. 4. Our Country—Its Peril—Its Deliverance. 5. Immortality of the Soul. 6. Ulphilas. The Goths and their Language. 7. Nature and Revelation in Relation to the Origin of our Conception of a God. 8. Divine Sovereignty manifested in Divine Predestination—the only Security for the Use and Success of Means.

Evangelical Review, April, 1861.—1. The Ministerium Question. 2. Baccalaureate Address. 3. The Work of the Education Society. 4. The Lord's Prayer. 5. List of Publications by Lutherans in the United States. 6. Emmaus Orphan House. 7. A Proposed Plan for a General Union of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, etc. 8. Exposition of 2 Peter iii, 12.

Freewill Baptist Quarterly, April, 1861.—1. The Two Histories of the Creation—how Reconciled. 2. Liberty and Slavery. 3. Value of the Saxon Element in the Language of the Pulpit. 4. Agricultural Interests. 5. Man Conscious between Death and the Resurrection. 6. Of Deacons. 7. Parton's Life of Jackson. 8. Progress.

Mercersburg Review, April, 1861.—1. Jesus and the Resurrection. 2. The Early Introduction of Catechization in the Reformed Church. 3. The Antipodes, or the World Reversed. 4. Animal Magnetism and Hypnotism. 5. Notes on the Agamemnon of Æschylus. 6. The Relation of the Holy Ghost to the Natural World. 7. Slavery and the Bible.

National Quarterly Review, March, 1861.—1. Persian Poetry. 3. Americanisms. 3. Mexican Antiquities. 4. Modern Criticism. 5. Popular Botany. 6. The Saracenic Civilization in Spain. 7. Motley's United Netherlands. 3. The Lessons of Revolutions. 9. Quackery and the Quacked.

New Englander, April, 1861.—1. The Lives of the Haldanes, as illustrating the Rise of Congregationalism in Scotland. 2. The Present Attitude of the Church toward Critical and Scientific Inquiry. 3. The Acquisition of the Amoor. 4. Missions in India. 5. Motley's United Netherlands. 6. The Pulpit. 7. Guizot's General History of Civilization. 8. George Müller and the Life of Trust. 9. The Martyrs under Queen Elizabeth. 10. Dr. Bushnell's Christian Nurture. 11. Ralph Waldo Emerson on the Conduct of Life.

PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1861.—1. The Gallican Church. 2. City Churches. 3. The Imprecatory Psalms. 4. Philological Examination of Isaiah vi, 9, 10. 5. The Scepter of Judah. 6. The Relation of the Church to Reforms. 7. The Arrow-Headed Inscriptions. 8. Motley's History of the United Netherlands.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL QUARTERLY REVIEW AND CHURCH REGISTER, January and April, 1861.—1. Introductory Article. 2. The Old Testament Doctrine of a Future Life. 3. Reminiscences of the Revolution. Was General Lee a Traitor? 4. The Chronology of the Septuagint. 5. Historical Credibility of the Four Gospels. 6. The Tractarian Movement. 7. The Oxford Essays. Baden Powell on Miracles.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, April, 1861.—1. The Conflict of Modern Philosophy. 2. Thomas Carlyle. 3. Thomas Babington Macaulay. 4. Nast's Commentary. 5. Methodism in Canada. 6. Philological Study of the Latin Language. 7. Lady Maxwell. 8. Baptism and Church-Membership of Children.

THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY JOURNAL, April, 1861.—1. The Handwriting on the Wall, Daniel v. 2. The Autobiography of A. Carlisle, D. D. 3. Designation and Exposition of the Figures of Isaiah, Chapters lxiv, lxv, and lxvi. 4. The Sense of ὅπως ἄν, Acts iii, 19. 5. The Benefits of a Knowledge of the Purposes God has revealed in Respect to his Kingdom. 6. Pontius Pilate. 7. Indications that the Sedimentary Strata were formed Simultaneously, not in Succession. 8. R. F. Burton's Travels in the Lake Regions of Africa. 9. The Lessons Taught by the late Extraordinary Political Events, and the Catastrophes to which they are Tending. 10. The Study of the Prophetic Scriptures specially a Duty at the Present Time.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY AND GENERAL REVIEW, April, 1861.—1. The Man Christ Jesus as a Teacher. 2. A Glance at the Arena. 3. The Resurrection. 4. Hale's Ninety Days' Worth of Europe. 5. The Existence of Moral Evil not Incompatible with Divine Goodness. 6. The Jews and the Gentiles. 7. Spiritualism Nothing New. 8. Temptation.

UNIVERSITY QUARTERLY, April, 1861.—1. The Study of Law in Germany. 2. The Age Theory. 3. The Library of Brown University. 4. College Secret Societies. 5. Westminster Abbey. 6. Hugh Miller. 7. Professional Studies. 8. Aaron Burr. 9. The Study of Natural History in College. 10. The Pope as a Temporal Sovereign. 11. Theodore Parker. 12. Professional Life. 13. The Value of Literary Societies in Academical Education. 14. Relations of Truth to Scholarship. News Articles: Amherst College, Bowdoin College, Brown University, Columbia College, Columbia College Societies, Dartmouth College, Hamilton College, New York University Law School, Norwich University, Kenyon College, Trinity College, University of Vermont, Wesleyan University, Williams College, Yale College, University Quarterly Association.

SOUTHERN BAPTIST REVIEW, March, 1861.—1. The Angel of the Old Testament. 2. Napoleon III.—the Man of Prophecy. 3. Conant's Revision of Matthew. 4. Review of Abbey's Baptismal Demonstrations. 5. Perverted Reason, or the Organon of Heresy.

SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, April, 1861.—1. The Princeton Review on the State of the Country. 2. Coleridge. 3. Female Education. 4. The Trinity of the Godhead the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures. 5. Bunsen on the Bible. 6. A Vindication of Secession and the South.

English Reviews.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, January, 1861.—1. Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy of the Conditioned. 2. Views of the Early Christians on the Atonement. 3. Unitarian Tendencies. 4. The Theory of an Incarnation without a Fall. 5. The Life and Labors of Martin Luther. 6. The Lutheran Doctrine of Christ's Vicarious Death. 7. Melancthon and the Theology of the Church of England.——*April.*—1. Bateman's Life of Bishop Wilson. 2. Reason and Faith—Mansell and M'Cosh. 3. Didymus of Alexandria. 4. Vinet's History of Preaching among the French Reformed in the Seventeenth Century. 5. The Hebrew Monarchy—its Origin and Objects. 6. Autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle. 7. The Age, and its Characteristics of Renovation and Transition. 8. Worldly Literature and Christianity. 9. The Christian Element in Plato—Ackermann and Whewell. 10. The Oxford Essayists—their Relation to Christianity and to Strauss and Baur. 11. The Fulfillment of Prophecy.

The Eclectic, January, 1861.—1. The Reformers and their Opponents. 2. Life of Schleirmacher. 3. On Pain and its Uses. 4. The Opium Revenue of India. 5. Lavinia. 6. The Gospel Miracles. 7. Popular Physiology. 8. Vital, Moral, and Economic Statistics.——*March.*—1. George Fox. 2. Speaking to them in Parables. 3. George Wilson. 4. Motley's Story of the Netherlands. 5. The Dodges of Romanism.——*April.*—1. William Cowper. 2. Lord Macaulay's Last Volume. 3. A Part-View of Scottish Clerical Life. 4. La France Protestante.

Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record, January, 1861.—1. On the Epistles of St. Peter. 2. Mary Standing by the Cross of Jesus. 3. The Church History of Scotland. 4. The Chaldee of Daniel and Ezra. 5. Exegesis of Rom. viii, 18–25. 6. Origen's Commentary on Rom. viii, 18–25. 7. The Book of Judith and its Geography.——*April.*—1. The Early Development of our Lord Jesus Christ. 2. The First-Born, a Title of Jesus Christ. 3. Suggestions on the Doctrine of the Atonement, in Relation to Modern Opinions. 4. Modern Skeptical Writers—"Essays and Reviews." 5. Modern Skeptical Writers—On the Interpretation of Scripture, by Professor Jowett. 6. History of our Lord Jesus Christ, from the Time of his Birth to the Commencement of his Mission.

London Review, January, 1861.—1. The Theory of Development in St. Paul's Epistles. 2. Belgium under the Reign of Leopold I. 3. Taxation. 4. Early English Missions and Missionaries. 5. Russia in Asia. 6. William Pitt. 7. Cotton. 8. New Zealand. 9. Our National Defenses. 10. Varieties of Realism, Ancient and Modern.——*April.*—1. Cuneiform Evidences. 2. Church Music. 3. The Sea. 4. Tullian Husbandry. 5. Religious Liberty. 6. The Women of India and Ceylon. 7. Ghost-Lore and Table-Rapping. 8. Hymns and Hymn Books. 9. The Chinese Insurgents, and our Policy with respect to them.

National Review, January, 1861.—1. Chateaubriand. 2. Frederick the First, King of Italy. 3. The Statutes at Large. 4. Demosthenes. 5. Tests for the Public Service. 6. Uugenie de Guerin. 7. Old Creeds and New Beliefs. 8. The Growth of Italian Unity. 9. Ethical and Dogmatic Fiction. 10. The Autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle. 11. The Slave States and the Union.——*April.*—1. M. de Tocqueville. 2. The Diplomatic Service. 3. National Education. 4. Romance in

Japan. 5. Mr. Maine on Ancient Law. 6. Memoirs of Mrs. Piozzi. 7. Prussia and the German Confederation. 8. Port Royal. 9. Politics and Faith. 10. Plato: his Physics and Metaphysics. 11. The Author of Paul Ferroll. 12. Three Men and Three Eras: Washington, Jackson, Buchanan.

North British Review, May, 1861.—1. Present Movement in the Church of England. 2. Alexis de Tocqueville. 3. The Poems and Plays of Robert Browning. 4. Bishop Hurd and his Cotemporaries. 5. Railway Accidents. 6. Motley's United Netherlands. 7. Berkeley's Idealism. 8. Dr. John Brown's Horæ Subsecivæ. 9. The Educational Question in Scotland. 10. The Christian Architecture of Europe. 11. The American Secession.

Westminster Review, April, 1861.—1. Mr. Kingsley on the Study of History. 2. The Sicilian Revolution. 3. Voltaire's Romances and their Moral. 4. The Universities and Scientific Education. 5. Early Intercourse of England and Germany. 6. The Cotton Manufacture. 7. Maine on Ancient Law. 8. Eton. 9. Austria and her Reforms.

The doctrine of "sociology," so called, claims that so uniform are the operations of motives upon the actions of men that social regulations may be reduced to an exact science, and society be organized to a perfect model. It is a social theory built upon the doctrine of philosophic necessity. According to its teachings history moves in the path of destiny, and every individual moves as causations fix his motions. John Stuart Mill is didactic dispenser of this doctrine. Mr. Buckle exemplifies it in history, and the Westminster is its periodical champion. Mr. Kingsley, in his new Professorship of History at Cambridge, delivers an inaugural, assailing the Buckle doctrine, and the first article in the present Westminster returns the fire. It is a skillful argument for necessitarianism in the individual and fatalism in history.

From metaphysics to cotton the transition is not violent. The reviewer thinks that so great is the supply on hand and so numerous the sources, that the danger, though alarming, is not immediate.

On the whole, as far as this year is concerned there does not appear to be any imminent danger. As in 1857, the falling off in American supplies will be compensated by those from other places.

The political complications of the United States may, however, produce the most disastrous results in 1862. We have already enumerated the vast resources for cotton supply which are even now at our command. There is yet time to render them more productive, and we have had fair warning. We do not care again to refer to the consequences to be dreaded from a real dearth of cotton in our markets. One good consequence is to be anticipated from the present alarm: it will destroy forever the monopoly of the United States, and will convert our manufacturers to the judicious policy of free competition among many markets. The three years of unequaled prosperity which have now come to an end will give them strength to bear the season of trial which is before them. They have, however, produced an unjustified dilation of trade, the evil consequences of which may

be severely felt. The competition of the Continental manufactures is also assuming a menacing attitude. They are fast coming into rivalry with ours in their own markets. These symptoms of approaching danger should not be passed by unheeded. Every dark cloud, it is said, has its silver lining; and great as the storm may be which is now gathering round our cotton manufacture, we believe it to be strong enough to pass triumphantly through it; and though it may be temporarily shaken, we do not apprehend that it will receive any permanent injury.

British Quarterly Review, January, 1861.—1. The New Move in Oxford. 2. French Fiction—Its Better Aspects. 3. Abortive Legislation. 4. Coventry Patmore—Faithful Forever. 5. Chinese Characteristics. 6. Autobiography of Alexander Carlyle. 7. On the Origin of Life. 8. London in the Middle Ages.

The article on the Essays and Reviews, (which have been republished in this country under the title of Recent Inquiries in Theology, as noticed in our last number,) filling nearly eighty pages, and forming almost an elaborate treatise, is attributed to Isaac Taylor. It is able; but we should not have recognized his peculiar style. A very extensive volume, indeed, it would take thoroughly to refute all the minutiæ of skeptical objection, new and old, huddled into that conglomerate work. A cavil can be uttered in a line, which has again and again been repeated, which requires pages to refute. The writer of the present article is master of the varied field ranged by the essayists. His passage on Geology and Scripture, founded on Dr. Dawson's work, recently commended in our Book-table, brings into brief compass as satisfactory a view as we have seen.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, February, 1861.—1. School and College Life: its Romance and Reality. 2. Carthage and its Remains. 3. Spontaneous Generation. 4. The Transatlantic Telegraph—Iceland Route. 5. Norman Sinclair: An Autobiography. 6. Biographia Dramatica. 7. Judicial Puzzles—Eliza Fenning. 8. The Foreign Secretary.——*March.*—1. The Indian Civil Service; its Rise and Fall. 2. The Physical Geography of the Sea. 3. Lee's History of the Church of Scotland. 4. Iron-Clad Ships of War, and our Defenses. 5. Norman Sinclair: An Autobiography. 6. Recent Natural History Books. 7. Wilson's German Campaign of 1812. 8. The China War of 1860. ——*April.*—1. Spontaneous Combustion. 2. Italy: By Mark Monnier. 3. Americanisms. 4. Life in Central Africa. 5. The World of Weimar. 6. Norman Sinclair: An Autobiography. 7. General Patrick Gordon, the Russian Scot. 8. The Punjab in 1857.——*May.*—1. The Ministry and the Budget. 2. Mrs. Beauchamp's Vengeance. 3. Motley's History of the Netherlands. 4. The Euthanasia of the Ottoman Empire. 5. The Executor. 6. The Origin of Species—A New Song. 7. Life of the Right Hon. William Pitt, by Earl Stanhope.

The article on Spontaneous Generation traces the history of opinions on the subject, and analyzes the latest investigations. The ancient philosophers and the earlier Christian naturalists inferred

the doctrine of spontaneous generation from a superficial observation of obvious facts, and were unaware of any atheistic consequences deducible. Worms and insects appear so palpably to spring from putrifying substances that all casual observers would accept the appearance as fact. Redi, an eminent naturalist of Florence, instituted thorough investigations, and established the conviction in the scientific world that all animals are the product of parental generation. Yet ingenious men are still engaged in experiments upon the subject. M. Pouchet, a French savan, is a special advocate of the doctrine of spontaneous generation. The present article analyzes his experiments and arguments, and finds them unreliable. M. Pouchet is charged with prepossession, with careless experimentation, and with treating rebellious facts in a summary way. The verdict of science thus far, in regard to spontaneous regeneration, is pronounced to be "not proved and improbable."

The doctrine is fairly driven from every post but one. There are in the bodies of men and animals immense numbers of *parasites*, of infinitesimal magnitude, for whose origin it is very difficult to account.

The parasites are quite distinct in organization from all animals living elsewhere. They not only constitute a peculiar fauna, but many of them are peculiar to certain animals, and even to certain organs. In the brain there are forms never found in the intestine; in the liver there are forms never found in the muscles; in the muscles there are forms never found in the blood. Nor is this all. How they got from without into some of the places where they have been detected is quite inexplicable. They have been found in closed sacs, such as the chambers of the eye. They are found in the embryo while in the womb. This last fact has been doubted, but it has been frequently witnessed by very competent observers. We have ourselves found parasites in the fœtal kitten, and in the eye of a newborn kitten they will generally be found. Nay, Dr. Burnett, of America, states that he has found vegetal parasites even in the human ovum; they belonged to a species of conferva, similar to yeast, one four-thousandth of an inch in diameter. It is remarked by Allan Thomson, in his enumeration of the corroborative facts, that 'animals living in the same situations and feeding on the same substances have different kinds of entozoa, parasites. The ova of some of the entozoa, as for example those of the common worm, are so large that they could not pass through the largest of the capillary blood-vessels; the ova are so heavy that they could not be transmitted through the atmosphere; and the supposition of the passage of the ova from the parent to the offspring is opposed by the mechanical difficulty of the transmission, as well as by the facts that parent and child are not always affected with the same kinds of worms, and that, though the complaint of worms may be said to run in families, yet many escape, and one or more generations in the hereditary succession are frequently exempt from it.

The reviewer admits that with regard to this particular class of animals the difficulties are not yet fully solved.

Atheism does not seem to be any legitimate result of the doctrine of spontaneous generation. But without its admission, it seems difficult to see how Darwin's or Lamark's development, or

selective growth from a primary germ, are to get a start. That primal germ must possess organic life, and it must come into existence either by spontaneity or by miracle. Such a miracle would not be as imposing to the senses, but it would be as real as if an aggregation of matter should organize itself into the form of a human body and commence the functions of life and thought. And it is curious to note that the spontaneous generation of parasites would not help Mr. Darwin; for they presuppose the antecedent existence of highly organized living beings.

Edinburgh Review, April, 1861.—1. Dixon's Personal History of Lord Bacon. 2. The Republic of Andorre. 3. Political Diaries. 4. Eton College. 5. Remains of Alexis de Tocqueville. 6. Essays and Reviews. 7. Autobiography and Letters of Mrs. Piozzi. 8. The Fables of Babrius. 9. Forbes's Iceland. 10. Election of President Lincoln and its Consequences.

The writer of the tenth article coolly takes it for settled that a permanent severance of the American Union has arrived. "Even the most sanguine Federalists," he says, "scarcely venture to say more than that they hope for a reconstruction of the Union on a new basis, after a temporary separation of its component parts." This view of the matter arises from the fact that he wrote at a moment previous to the uprising of the Free States at the call of the President to an assertion in arms of the unity of the nation. The reviewer displays neither great breadth nor depth of view. He nevertheless appreciates the full magnitude of the apparent event, and entertains very cheerful views of the consequences of the separation both to America and the world. The following are his opening periods:—

There are at present four countries which stand at the head of the civilized world, and whose influence principally determines the march of modern civilization. Those four countries are France, Germany, England, and the United States. Russia, though a powerful military state, with an enormous territory, is still semi-oriental in its character. It has no science or literature, and little foreign trade: its language ranks among the barbarous dialects which no stranger voluntarily learns; its influence, which is chiefly of a coercive and deadening nature, is confined to its own population. The emancipation of the serfs—a great measure, now, we may hope, accomplished by the firmness and sincerity of the Emperor—may, in its consequences, alter the position of Russia with respect to the civilized world. Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian kingdoms, though they contain an enlightened and intelligent population, do not fill an important place in European progress; they contribute to it, however, by desultory and unconnected efforts. Italy and Spain, the head-quarters of that form of religion which, looking at its political and intellectual effects, we may denominate Mohammedan Christianity, have, under its paralyzing influence, lost the position which they formerly occupied in Europe. Their importance, both literary and political, has ceased; they are interesting chiefly from their historical associations. To use a modern metaphor, they are shunted into the sidings of civilization, while the express trains of more vigorous nations sweep by, and pass them unregarded. Spain, indeed, has begun lately to develop some material wealth; and we hope that the Italian

revolution—not having been conducted hitherto in a revolutionary spirit—may, through the wisdom and moderation of its leaders, be destined to combine Italy into one kingdom, to avert foreign interference, and thus to consolidate an independent native government, which will give free scope to the inherent, but suspended powers of Italian genius. With regard to the kingdom of Greece, whatever may be its future destinies, its emancipation from the barbarizing effects of a long-continued Turkish dominion is too recent to admit of its holding any prominent place in European civilization for the present.

Such being the nations which hold the primacy of the civilized world, anything which shakes the United States to its center, and which threatens to change its internal policy and its relations with foreign governments, is an event of first-rate importance.

His view of the prospects beyond disunion is thus expressed:—

We will only, in conclusion, express our opinion that the maintenance of the Union in perpetuity is impossible; and that the entire region from Niagara to Mexico, and from New York to California, cannot continue for many years to be governed by a single Federal Government. Dissolution, to some extent, and at no distant period, is, we believe, the 'manifest destiny' of the United States. Whenever this dissolution takes place, international law will regulate the relations of the new confederacies upon recognized principles; there will be, as in the Old World, conflicts of interests, mutual compromises, and a balance of power, but the superior energy, intelligence, and wealth of the Northern States must, as we think, cause their influence to preponderate, and thus will enable them to occupy all the temperate regions of North America, with a population cultivating the soil by means of free labor, and renouncing the institution of slavery. We cannot concur in the opinion of those who have expressed unmingled regret at the apparent dissolution of the Union. No doubt the comparative failure of so great an experiment in the progress of mankind is to be deplored; but we are by no means convinced that the progress of mankind and of rational liberty will not be advanced by this separation. Nothing could be more deplorable than a sanguinary contest between the two great sections of the American people; but we are convinced, for numerous reasons, that such a contest, if it takes place at all, will be of very short duration. On the other hand, we confidently believe that the perils of the commonwealth will call a higher class of men to the direction of public affairs, and that the fate of millions of freemen will not long be abandoned to the corrupt and incapable agencies which have lately governed it. The severance of the Union into two parts will beget in both of them a stronger sense of the obligations of international law, and a greater respect for their neighbors. The South will follow the broad path of commercial freedom uncontrolled by Northern protectionists. The North will follow the higher track of social freedom unfettered by Southern slaveholders. To each division of the Union a vast career of power, prosperity, and usefulness remains open; and if they have the good sense to abstain from mutual aggression, each of these two great countries may continue to play as important a part in the affairs of the world as when they were united by the slender tie of a Federal compact.

French Reviews.

Revue des Deux Mondes, Février 15, 1861.—1. La Comtesse d'Albany.—III.—L'Amie d'Alfieri et la Société Européenne. 2. Hegel et l'Hégélianisme d'Après les Derniers Travaux Publiés en Allemagne. 3. La Nationalité Bretonne dans l'Unité Française. 4. La Télégraphie Eléctrique en France.—De la Réforme du Service Eléctrique et de l'Abaissement des Tarifs. 5. Les Voyageurs en Orient.—VII.—De la Situation des Chrétiens en Turquie d'Après une Enquête du Gouvernement Anglais, première partie. 6. Histoire Naturelle de l'Homme.—Unité de l'Espèce Humaine.—V.—Origine des Variétés et Formation des Races dans les Etres Organisés. 7. Des Origines de la Gravure.—L'Archéologie et la

Critique dans l'Art.——*Mars* 1.—1. Trois Ministres de l'Empire Romain sous les Fils de Théodose.—II.—L'Eunuque Eutrope, première partie. 2. Philosophie Anglaise Contemporaine.—John Stuart Mill et son Système de Logique. 3. Statistique Morale.—Le Salaire et le Travail des Femmes.—IV.—L'Assistance et les Institutions de Prévoyance, dernière partie. 4. El Cachupin, Scènes et Récit de la Louisiane. 5. Histoire Naturelle de l'Homme.—Unité de l'Espèce Humaine.—VI.—Du Croisement dans les Etres Organisés. 6. La *Nemesis Divina*, Manuscrit Inédit de Linné. 7. La Question du Coton en Angleterre Depuis la Crise Américaine. 8. Portraits Poétiques.—Maurice de Guérin.——*Mars* 15.—1. Valvèdre, première partie. 2. L'Atelier de Phidias, Etude Tirée de l'Antique. 3. L'Expédition de Garibaldi dans les Deux-Siciles, Souvenirs et Impressions Personnelles.—I.—La Sicile. 4. L'Agitation Allemande et le Danemark. 5. De l'Exploitation de la Propriété Foncière et de la Vie Rurale en France. 6. Histoire Naturelle de l'Homme.—Unité de l'Espèce Humaine.—VII.—Les Theories Polygénistes, le Croisement des Groupes Humains. 7. Les Shikarees, Chasses dans l'Inde. 8. Poésie.—Le Rêve d'une Reine d'Asie.——*Avril* 1.—1. Valvèdre, seconde partie. 2. La Californie en 1860, ses Progrès et sa Transformation. 3. L'Expédition de Garibaldi dans les Deux-Siciles, Souvenirs et Impressions Personnelles.—II.—Les Calibres. 4. Histoire Naturelle de l'Homme.—Unité de l'Espèce Humaine.—VIII.—Les Théories Polygénistes et M. Agassiz, dernière partie. 5. La Politique du Libre Echange.—I.—Transformation Economique de l'Angleterre. 6. Les Souffrances d'un Penseur Italien.—Leopardi et sa Correspondance. 7. Les Voyageurs en Orient.—VIII.—des Turcs et de la Condition des Chrétiens en Turquie d'Après une Enquête Confidentielle du Gouvernment Anglais.——*Avril* 15.—1. Les Peintres Flamands et Hollandais en Flandre et en Hollande.—Rembrandt et Van Der Helst, les Hollandais. 2. L'Outrage du 4 Janvier, 1642, Histoire d'un Coup d'Etat Avorté, d'Après des Documens Nouveaux. 3. Valvèdre, troisième partie. 4. Le Mormonisme et les Etats-Unis. 5. L'Expédition de Garibaldi dans les Deux-Siciles, Souvenirs et Impressions Personnelles.—III.—Cosenza et la Basilicate. 6. La Russie dans le Caucase.—II.—Les Peuples Montagnards. 7. L'Echelle Mobile Devant le Corps Législatif. 8. La Littérature Nouvelle.—Des Caractères du Nouveau Roman.

Art. XII. — QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Human Destiny. A Critique on Universalism. By C. F. Hudson, author of "Debt and Grace as related to the Doctrine of a Future Life." 12mo., pp. 147. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1861.

The annihilation theory having been accused of affinity with Universalism, Mr. Hudson publishes the present volume to show the existing antagonism of the two. He claims that in the contest with Universalism he has "the advantage of position," not being obliged "to maintain the doctrine of eternal woe."

His argument is divided into Five Parts. In the first he shows

some of the present occasions of Universalism; in the second he maintains that there exist "radically," and so perhaps persistently, "bad men;" third, he adduces the Scripture argument against universal final happiness; fourth, he maintains the belief expressed in the early fathers to have been favorable to the "immortality" of a class, and opposed to Universalism; fifth, the argument from philosophy and reason.

There is, of course, not a little repetition of previous views marshalled to a new issue. Yet there is much that is new, written with calm clearness and independence of thinking. The following passage illustrates his peculiar view of the mode of the cessation of the souls of the persistently bad:

> I shall disclaim all opinion of a special or violent interposition on the part of God, in the final perishing of the wicked. My view is that the unrepenting sinner *destroys himself;* and though his self-destruction may not be complete in the death of the body, but in a second instalment of death, I shall still regard it not as miracle, but the natural process of the life divorced from an unloved God, languishing back to naught.
>
> This view also cuts off a frequent objection that final punishment is 'vindictive,' and that God is wrathful in a bad sense of the word. It also allows the opinion that physical death is not a crisis in the history of one's being, and that one who has not deliberately rejected God and virtue before the dying breath, may *embrace God and virtue thereafter.* Thus I hold, and have long held, the salvability of the heathen. The doctrine of an intermediate state without change, and of an appointed limit of probation on either side of the interval between death and resurrection, may still be true.
>
> I speak of 'persistently wicked' men. I do not *assume* that there are such, that being part of the argument. Nor do I desire to limit the power of God in this regard, but only to show that the soul may be so contaminated with sin that reformation would involve reconstruction, at the hazard of personal identity; or, that after a great sin the power of faith in God's forgiveness, or the possibility of happiness along with a faithful memory, may be gone.—Page 23.

He assumes the doctrine of the freedom of the will. The doctrine of the necessitated will he believes to be more uniformly held by Universalists than by the so-called Calvinists.

Twelve Sermons, delivered at Antioch College, by HORACE MANN. 12mo., pp. 314. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1861.

For the memory of Horace Mann we cherish no little respect. His character as an educationist, a philanthropist, a writer, a thinker, and a man, is of the noblest type. The heroic stand he took in opposition to Daniel Webster's suicidal treason against the cause of truth and freedom, the brilliant effect with which he laid bare the sophisms of that great apostate, his country and his state, in their mania for sordid compromise, did not at the time appreciate; but it stands in history, and the record will brighten with advancing time. It will hereafter be noted how little our so-called greatest statesmen comprehended their position, how paltry were

their temporizing expedients, how disastrous their groveling policy; while the men of moral bearing and high integrity were as superior in the wisdom of their counsels as they were in the purity of their purpose. Let the lesson stand recorded for future admonition.

These sermons bear the stamp of his vivid, individualistic, earnest mind. Our impression is, that they exhibit not the high polish of style of some of his former productions. There is much with which we cannot accord. Yet every page is redolent with fresh views of permanent topics. Every paragraph is alive with restless thought. His congenial reader will obtain not only new views of many accepted truths, but will receive a quickening impulse for farther thought on topics of highest interest to humanity.

The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments. Translated and arranged with Notes by LEICESTER AMBROSE SAWYER. Vol. 2. *The Later Prophets.* 12mo., pp. 384. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1861.

Mr. Sawyer published a new translation of the New Testament, which was received with so much severity by the critics that a man less sanguine or less confident of the goodness of his cause would have felt perhaps decisive discouragement. But the prosecution of his work through the prophets of the Old Testament shows that he "still lives." The present volume states by way of introduction the principles upon which he proceeds, which are in the main undeniably sound. The closing one third of the book is devoted to a defense of some of the questionable applications of his principles in his translation of the New Testament. Mr. Sawyer is an earnest thinker and a thorough scholar; and without indorsing all his views, we respect his single-hearted love of truth and his brave effort to advance the cause of accurate biblical knowledge.

Discourses on Sacramental Occasions. By ICHABOD SPENCER, D. D. With an Introduction by GARDINER SPRING, D. D. 12mo., pp. 468. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1861.

These are very rich discourses. They unfold those doctrines in which evangelical Christians coincide, and give expression to those experiences that belong to all truly spiritual Christian life. They may be safely recommended to the private Christian as a communion manual. They may be recommended to our ministry as a reminder how suggestive a topic, too much neglected in our Church, the communion is for pulpit discourse.

Dying Legacy to the People of his beloved charge. By NICHOLAS MURRAY, D. D., Feb. 4th, 1861. 18mo., pp. 78. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The genial piety, the manly liberality, the popular talent of Dr. Nicholas Murray gave him a high place in the public estimation,

and in the community where he lived. His decease was felt by all classes and denominations as a common loss. The Legacy before us consists of four sermons upon, respectively, A Future World, A Personal God, The Soul and the Intermediate State. For a fifth discourse there is a text and a title—The Resurrection; "but," says the Introduction, "God, in his inscrutable providence, has left this subject open to pastor and people." The hand that should have written is mouldering; the spirit that should have dictated it has ascended.

Little Footprints in Bible Lands; or, Simple Lessons in Sacred History and Geography, for the use of Palestine Classes and Sabbath-Schools. By J. H. VINCENT. With an Introduction by Rev. T. M. EDDY. 12mo., pp. 139. New York: Carlton & Porter.

The interior of this little work has a dry, catechetical look; but we can easily believe the assurance of Dr. Eddy, made from experience, that in the hands of a teacher of proper enthusiasm and intelligence, its exercises would abound in interest. The result would be to improve our youth in one of the most important and interesting branches of Scripture knowledge; a branch serving to give reality and zest to all the other branches, a clear knowledge of Scripture lands in the light of Scripture history. This method introduced into our schools would be a most important step of improvement.

Hebrew Men and Times, from the Patriarchs to the Messiah. by JOHN HENRY ALLEN. 12mo., pp. 435. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co.

Mr. Allen has undertaken his work from a genuine love of his subject, and it is performed in a graceful and pleasing style. His standpoint is neological. His sources, besides the sacred books themselves, are Ewald's Geschichte des Volkes Israel, Francis W. Newman's History of the Hebrew Monarchy, and Bunsen's "Bibelwerk." He shows a fine sensibility to the poetic and picturesque phases of his subject. He exhibits no little philosophical skill in tracing the historical development of brighter and better religious thought through the Jewish ages up to the Christian. His faith in the supernatural is minimum if not nihil. It is a very available and agreeable manual for any one who wishes to glance at that aspect of the great subject.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Currents and Counter-Currents in Medical Science. With other Addresses and Essays. By OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, Parkman Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in Harvard University. 12mo., pp. 486. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1861.

Whatever attacks the aggressions of the brilliant Parkman Professor may provoke, he is able to make sure of the fair play of

being generally and generously read. The registry of his name or productions on the Index Expurgatorius would only insure him a brisker sale and a wider audience. Commingled heterodoxy, mischief, and fun put up by a skillful hand, and served in sweetened or gilded doses, are sure of a very general swallow. He is evidently endowed with that sense of enjoyment, without a very poignant sense of responsibility, which enables him to smile genially over triumphs viewed by many of his opponents as unfavorable to human well-being.

The large share of the present volume embraces a powerful onslaught upon Homeopathy. And yet in the perusal we are tempted to suspect that his ostentatious and extended harangues against that system are but a pretext for certain brief but very fatal admissions against the Materia Medica of which he stands professional advocate. He admits that said Materia Medica entire, with the exception of a brief catalogue of specifics, might as well be sunk in the ocean. If so, then the adoption of Homeopathy is but the substitution of a *fraus pia* for a *fraus nefanda*. Our own use for the first half of our life, and disuse for the last half, of the whole catalogue of pukes and purgatives, both for our own case and for all whose health is under our care, have rendered us permanently suspicious that the entire system is a superstition as noxious as it is nasty. We have not the slightest doubt that the disappearance of disease, of either acute form or mild, is as frequent, to say the least, and as marked, in the hands of the dispenser of the glob. sac. as of the calomel and jalap. Whither we tend we are unable to say; but we are evidently in a bad way. Perhaps glob. sac. and pilulæ farinaceæ are the half-way house to nothing at all! That result the Parkman Professor apparently anticipates; and he has carefully provided a full page of assurance that after medicine has pretty much ceased to exist, the necessity for a Hygienic profession will none the less fully remain.

The main value of the volume lies in the article on Vital Mechanics. The Professor here discusses, with the exactness of a savan and the brilliancy of the poet, some of the deepest questions of philosophy in a bold yet reverent and serious spirit. The main question is, Can the phenomena of vitality be accounted for from the general laws of surrounding nature without a special vital principle? He argues the question by both an ascending and a descending process; by the former he attains an affirmative reply, a reply which, however, is subsequently invalidated if not reversed by the results of the latter process. Starting from the lower ground, he

finds for every vital process a parallel out of the sphere of life. Life itself is found to be but the assemblage of phenomena scattered through inorganic nature. But then comes the great question of the *first origination* of the living organism. He excludes, under this question, the theory of spontaneous generation; not as dangerous, but as proofless. He excludes the theory of development, and, by parity, of natural selection; for the geologic record clearly shows, through successive periods, the uprising of new forms of full organic life without parentage or immediate ancestry. For this sudden high organization there is, by the ascending process, no accounting. He, indeed, draws up an imaginative programme, showing how it might be effected so far as vegetation is concerned. In the proper conditions, vegetation, like crystallization, may be flung out into form, and once begun, may be continued by the ordinary laws of vital action. But coming to the origination of the higher forms of organized life, the Parkman Professor furnishes a reply consisting essentially of a dexterous collapse. Ascending from the grounds of material nature, there is no fairly imaginable method of accounting for the sudden uprise of complex forms attested by the revelations of geology.

He next, assuming the Creator, institutes the descending process. He begins by making a fine generalization, distinguishing the objects of nature into two classes, namely, those to which the Deity sustains active relations alone, and those to which his relations are passive as well as active. The former objects simply operate as actuated by divine power; the latter have a portion of self-action, to which the Deity stands neutral. The latter are super-material. Ascending, material nature cannot attain their height. There is nothing in inorganic nature that can parallel the phenomena of self- active thought. This can be furnished only by the descending process from God to nature. The act of introducing such a self-actively thinking being into nature is equivalent to the *miracle* of Theology. But soul being accepted as from above, a new and easier light is poured down upon the vital phenomena. The rigidity of the vital operations, as borrowed from surrounding nature, is fused, and they become more truly lifelike.

We could wish that not merely one article but the whole volume had been in this grand field of thought. Dr. Holmes is little bound by prescriptive authority, by fear of logical or moral consequences, or by foregone conclusions. He is neither a timid nor a non-committal, but a positive and outspoken thinker; and as such, his results possess something of the reliability of a fresh authority.

Liberalistic as appear some of his views of conversational veracity, he has evidently a most serious reverence for absolute scientific and moral TRUTH. He is not amusing his readers with mere beauty or ingenuity of speculation. He abjures all fancy-colored haziness and all sham profundity. He shows no propensity for dreamy pantheism, or for a degrading materialism. He recognizes the spiritual nature of man as a soul, the free nature of man as an agent. His deity is not a Nature, of feminine gender, but a personal, ever-living God. And he clothes his philosophy in a style vivid with the fancy of a poet, but a fancy subdued to the severest subserviency to the clearest, freshest, most forcible expression of the thought.

History, Biography, and Topography.

History of Latin Christianity, including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicolas V. By HENRY HART MILMAN, D. D., Dean of St. Paul's. In eight volumes. Vols. 4–8. 12mo., pp. 555. New York: Sheldon & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

We have repeatedly called attention to this great work. It has been put through the press by the enterprising publishers at the rate of a volume a month. It is now completed. It is an honor to English authorship, and it is presented to the American public in a form honorable to the American publishers. At a time when public affairs have so much diminished the number of issues from the press, this noble publication is specially entitled to the notice of scholars and the general religious public. To its breadth of philosophic view, its lofty judicial tone of historic impartiality, its pictorial power of narration, its eloquent, transparent style, we have borne ample testimony.

Henry Hart Milman is the son of Sir Francis Milman, Physician to George III. He was born in 1791, was educated at Eaton and at Brazen Nose College, Oxford. He subsequently became a Fellow at that University. In 1815 he produced his drama of Fazio. He took orders in 1817, and afterward published "Samor, the Lord of the Bright City," a heroic poem possessing a high order of poetical finish, founded upon some passages in the history of ancient Britain. After the publication of the "Fall of Jerusalem," a dramatic poem, he was appointed Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. In this position he published three other dramatic poems, "The Martyr of Antioch," "Belshazzar," and "Anne Boleyn." The poetry of Milman is characterized by an elevated imagination and a chaste style, yet it is wanting in an

intense poetic spirit. His genius is more rhetorical than poetical. His imaginative faculty transferred to prose, exerts its full power in giving to his historical productions a rich pictorial and living interest.

His first production in the historic field, published in 1829, was his "History of the Jews." This was reissued in this country by the Harpers, and forms three serial volumes of their Family Library. It placed the results of modern research before the public in popular form. Some complaints have been uttered against it as too much tinged with naturalism; but Milman cannot be ranked with the Neologists. His second and greater historical work was issued in 1840, namely, a "History of Christianity from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire." This work, embracing three volumes, was republished by the Harpers in a single large octavo. Some traces, perhaps, the style of this work exhibits of the author's study of Gibbon. It is elaborate, graphic, philosophical, leading the reader captive in its stately march. It takes full issue with the mythicism of Straus, then scarcely known in this country. It accords full faith to the evangelical miraculous history of Jesus in a complete life of the Saviour, with which the work commences. There is little, if anything, indeed, which ought not to meet the demands of the most uncompromising orthodoxy. Like the "History of Latin Christianity," it is complete in itself, and yet one is the appropriate chronological successor of the other. This last must be pronounced his greatest, his truly monumental work. Milman is at present Dean of St. Paul's, to which position he was preferred in 1849. He has besides contributed numerous articles to the "Quarterly Review," has published a sumptuously illustrated edition of Horace, and an annotated edition of Gibbon.

We can adorn our page with but a single specimen of the work under notice.

The essential inherent supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal power, as of the soul over the body, as of eternity over time, as of Christ over Cesar, as of God over man, was now an integral part of Christianity. There was a shuddering sense of impiety in all resistance to this ever-present rule; it required either the utmost strength of mind, desperate courage, or desperate recklessness, to confront the fatal and undefined consequences of such resistance. The assertion of these powers by the Church had been, however intermittingly, yet constantly growing, and had now fully grown into determinate acts. The Popes had not merely claimed, they had established many precedents of their right to excommunicate sovereigns, and so of virtually releasing subjects from their allegiance to a king under sentence of outlawry; to call sovereigns to account not merely for flagrant outrages on the Church, but for moral delinquencies, especially those connected with marriage and concubinage; to receive kingdoms by the cession of their sovereigns as feudal fiefs; to grant kingdoms which had no legitimate lord, or of which the lordship was doubtful and contested, or such as were conquered

from infidels, barbarians, or heretics: as to the empire, to interfere in the election as judge both in the first and last resort. Ideas obtain authority and dominion, not altogether from their intrinsic truth, but rather from their constant asseveration, especially when they fall in with the common hopes and fears, the wants and necessities of human nature. The mass of mankind have neither leisure nor ability to examine them; they fatigue, and so compel the world into their acceptance; more particularly if it is the duty, the passion, and the interest of one great associated body to perpetuate them, while it is neither to the peculiar function, nor the manifest advantage of any large class or order to refute them. The Pope had, throughout the strife, an organized body of allies in the camp of the enemy; the King or Emperor none, at least none below the nobles, who would not have preferred the triumph of the spiritual power. If these ideas are favored by ambiguity of language, their progress is more sure, their extirpation from the mind of man infinitely more difficult. The Latin clergy had been busy for many centuries in asserting, under the specious name of their liberty, the supremacy of the Church, which was their own supremacy; for several centuries in asserting the autocracy of the Pope as Head of the Church. This, which was true, at least on the acknowledged principles of the time, in a certain degree, was easily extended to its utmost limits; and when it had become part of the habitual belief, it required some palpable abuse, some startling oppugnancy to the common sense of mankind, to awaken suspicion, to rouse the mind to the consideration of its groundwork, and to decompose the splendid fallacy.

Splendid indeed it was, as harmonizing with man's natural sentiment of order. The unity of the vast Christian republic was an imposing conception, which, even now that history has shown its hopeless impossibility, still infatuates lofty minds; its impossibility, since it demands for its Head not merely that infallibility in doctrine so boldly claimed in later times, but absolute impeccability in every one of its possessors; more than impeccability, an all-commanding, indefeasible, unquestionable majesty of virtue, holiness, and wisdom. Without this it is a baseless tyranny, a senseless usurpation. In those days it struck in with the whole feudal system, which was one of strict gradation and subordination; to the hierarchy of Church and State was equally wanting the Crown, the Sovereign Liege Lord.—Vol. iv, p. 460.

Memoir of Nathaniel Emmons, with Sketches of his Friends and Pupils. By Edwards A. Park. 8vo., pp. 468. Boston: Congregational Board of Publication. 1861.

It is a great man, Mr. Professor Park, whose biography needs so big a book! Near five hundred octavo pages between covers assure us at a glance of a magnificent subject of narration or a magnificent display of waste paper. Such were our anticipations at taking this massy volume from our table, and proceeding, in violation of Sidney Smith's rule, to read a trifle before reviewing. The result predicted by Sydney from so preposterous a course actually followed. We contracted a "prejudice," perhaps we may say rather a decided passion, for "old Dr. Emmons."

Whoso sails, or rather steams, down the Connecticut river, nigh unto Middletown, will find himself involved, unless very careful, in a snarl of "Haddams" as numerous and almost as perplexing as the intricacies of "New England divinity." There are, if we mistake not, East Haddam and West Haddam, Old Haddam and Young Haddam, Middle Haddam and Haddam Neck, besides, perhaps, others too tedious to mention and more tedious to inhabit,

all places very fertile in suggestions to emigrate. Here it was predestinated, without any antecedent demerit on his part, that Emmons should be born. In due time he graduated, of course, at Yale, studied divinity under Dr. Smalley, and finally was settled in a small town in Massachusetts, mentioned in the Gazetteers under the name of Franklin. Here Emmons lived, died, and here stands his monument. His life, extending from 1745 to 1840, drawing a line from antiquity to our own period, lacked but half a decade of a century. Sixty-eight years in one place was his unbroken ministry. Sheridan tells us of a mythological personage who sat so long in a seat that he grew to it; and Hercules, in pulling him from his sedentary position, "left the sitting man behind." Twice in the course of that long period did Emmons, under a temporary feeling that he had too little the heart of the people to be able further to benefit them, attempt the herculean task of withdrawing himself from his seat, and twice did the peremptory refusal of his people veto his "bold" procedure. His people, how little demonstrative soever their affections may have been, knew the tall dimensions of the colossus upon their pedestal.

Dr. Emmons is confessedly a "representative man," and as such reflects no discredit upon his class. Of a life so destitnte of external event as his, there could be no other history than a record of utterances, a tracing of mental development, and a portraiture of characteristics. By Dr. Park's skillful and affectionate hand the work is done with a fine effect. The pastor of the little town of Franklin magnified his office by the mental and moral magnitude of its occupant.

The workings of a great mind are as truly distinguishable from those of an ordinary one as the operations of a structure of stupendous timbers from those of a hand-machine. So conspicuous was this in Emmons that his parsonage became the oracle whither countless inquirers in the walks of high theological thought resorted for responses. His mind, early roused to the investigation of the relations of the great truths of philosophic and Scripture theology to each other, was ever in an active exploration into their profound recesses. The energy and clearness of his researches were equaled by his extraordinary power of expression. He had the talent, original and incommunicable, of compressing a large volume of truth in a concise expression; so concise, indeed, as to possess all the brilliancy of *wit*, but so solid with wisdom as rather to be degraded by the application of that term.

Emmons had a higher faith, both in the attainability and the practical power of a consistent, systematic theology, than our day

seems inclined to entertain. His fundamental maxim seemed to be that it is in the power of TRUTH to save the world; and the process is to be effected by the *ascertainment and exhibition of truth.* This is a high and honorable maxim; conceivable and retainable as a principle of life's whole action but by one of the noblest of the sons of men. In his calm yet unselfish enthusiasm the pastor of Franklin believed himself so to have tried systematic theology as by fire, that the pure golden ingot had emerged. There is to be a millennium; and that millennium is to be ushered into existence by the sweetly compulsory power of this truth, and finally surmounted with its crown. The accident that Franklin should be the spot where pure truth leaped out of her drossy envelopments, and that her pastor's crucible was the instrument, excited no vain gratulations; for in the presence of truth itself what other joy has a right to raise an emotion?

Of the theology itself, as briefly presented and skillfully and lovingly defended by Professor Park, we are too discouraged to speak at any length. Emmons is claimed, and claimed himself, as being "positively" and eminently Calvinistic. Of four brother pastors he could say, "The first is Calvinisticalish, the second is Calvinistical, the third Calvinistic, the fourth a Calvinist. For my part, I wish to be either something or nothing in theology. I hate to be somethingish." Now of this man's theology, so explicit and well-defined, such different views are taken and such opposite representations made by his own compeers, that *we* hardly dare attempt a statement. The moment we poor Arminians undertake to *represent* any Calvinism of any shade, we are forthwith snapped up for *misrepresenting* it. Another source of discouragement is the fact that the entire class of theology or theologies to which it belongs seems to us to be in a hopeless state of disarrangement, not to say derangement, arising from *one primal false assumption.* The assumption of a *necessitated will*, planted by the relentless hand of Edwards as the initial point of what our Calvinistic friends somewhat assumingly style "New England Theology," involves the necessity of errors, and erroneous solutions of errors, without number. It resembles the assumption of the earth as the center of the astronomic system, and involves theology in all the complexities of a Ptolemaic confusion.

But it requires no agreement with his theological positions to enable us to appreciate and revere the pure heart, the clear intellect, the firm purpose, the consistent life, the reverent piety, the grand soul of Nathaniel Emmons. His biography is a picture, commemorative of a peculiar and primitive period of New England

Christian institutions and history. It is a pleasing picture, and we render our thanks to Professor Park for making it a liberal and full-sized portrait.

Annals of the American Methodist Pulpit; or, Commemorative Notices of distinguished Clergymen of the Methodist Denomination in the United States from its commencement to the close of the year 1855. With an Historical Introduction. By Wm. B. Sprague, D. D. 8vo., pp. 846. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1861.

Dr. Sprague's volume of Methodist clerical biography opens with a well written but brief view of American Methodism, comprehending all its divisions, North and South, Episcopal, Protestant, and Wesleyan. It proceeds with biographies in chronological order, commencing with Asbury and closing with those whose demise took place in 1855. The main body of the memoirs appears to be from Dr. Sprague's own pen. To these, however, many biographical letters are added, addressed to him at his request by eminent living acquaintances of the deceased subjects. These, while they impart something of a documentary and crude look to the work, add to its interest by furnishing fresh recollections from valued contributors who seldom wield the pen, and whose biographies are yet to be written. Of these we may specially mention the venerable Laban Clark, Samuel Luckey, Alfred Griffith, and David Kilburn. An interesting memoir of George Dougherty is furnished by Dr. Lovick Pierce. Dr. Hibbard has given some valuable reminiscences of his father, Billy Hibbard. An elegantly written portraiture of Asa Shinn is furnished by Dr. Lipscombe.

The best critics in Methodist history pronounce the work remarkably accurate, approving the faithfulness of Dr. Sprague in the performance of his arduous work. We heartily recommend it to our preachers and people with but one reserve. The closing letter in regard to Maffit by Professor Mitchell, we trust, in compliance with what will be a very unanimous wish, Dr. Sprague will exclude from future editions. Dr. Sprague's own part of the biography of that gentleman is satisfactory. Scores of living men there are who could have further done requisite justice, lenient or severe, to the subject, without calling in the aid of so injudicious a pen. Some sympathy every writer should have with his subject. Gaping, soulless, eaves-dropping curiosity a thoughtful mind might thoughtlessly indulge; but we can hardly conceive any but a very thoughtless man as parading its exhibition before the public. Mr. M. gives a very unfavorable picture of Maffit, a still more unfavorable one of himself.

Life Among the Chinese, with characteristic Sketches and Incidents of Missionary Operations and Prospects in China. By Rev. R. S. MACLAY, M. A., thirteen years Missionary to China from the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo., pp. 400. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1861.

Every minister, itinerant or local, of the Methodist Episcopal Church will perform a pleasant and most profitable duty in procuring and studying this picture of living China. Such an extended acceptance and perusal of the work would awaken an interest which, however exciting or intense, could hardly become commensurate with the importance of this stupendous yet hopeful field of missionary enterprise. Our faithful missionary has well performed his double work of unfolding the Gospel to opening China, and of unfolding the work of Chinese conversion to Christian America. The volume cannot be read by our Church without kindling a flame of sympathy for the great mission. Especially should our young men and our candidates for the Christian ministry lift up their eyes upon these fields ready for the harvest.

Mr. Maclay commences with a general view of the geographical and moral condition of China, her religious faiths, her history, government, laws, and institutions. He next gives us a picture of the Christian status in China, our churches, schools, and operations, with entertaining and characteristic sketches and pictures of missionary life. The anecdotes of missionary and native adventure and intercourse, the struggles between the old and new faiths, the forms which skepticism assumes among these semi-civilized thinkers, furnish food for thought to the Christian philosopher.

Mr. Maclay concludes his book with an exhibit of the grounds of confidence in the work of Chinese Christianization, and an earnest and well-sustained appeal to the Methodist Episcopal Church to gird on her armor for this great special enterprise. The manifest tokens from Providence in breaking away all opposition and opening the doors of this great empire, the attitude of earnest inquiry and expectation of great coming changes among the people, the much that has been done in preparing the linguistic and other apparatus, in establishing posts, and initiating the practical work, all furnish cheering omens to the laborer that a stupendous victory will crown his toil. Let the appeal of the pleader for China be everywhere heard.

The Christian Maiden. Memorials of Eliza Hessel. By JOSHUA PRIESTLEY. Slightly abridged from the second London edition. With a portrait. 12mo., pp. 357. New York: Carlton & Porter.

We are not partial to biographies and "memorials." We opened this with the mental exclamation, "The usual assemblage of plati-

tudes we suppose." We were, however, agreeably mistaken, for we found freshness, piquancy, and worth, the record of an independent, noble, and youthful life, written by one who was willing to lose himself in his subject.

It is almost impossible to display the smoothness of romance in the portraiture of real life. Here, at first, we experienced the *jolting* sensation common in passing through works of this rather uneven kind; but gradually we forgot all the inequalities, so fully did we come into sympathy with our traveling companion, and so interested in her newly opening views. There is a refined elegance in all her utterances. Her letters are gems. Her notices of books would do no discredit to the editors of the Quarterlies.

Those young ladies who covet companionship with the truly good and truly refined of their own age and sex, may here find their aspirations gratified; and communion with this "Christian Maiden" will be of more real service to them than all the beautiful theories of "True Women," "Young Ladies' Companions," etc., so popular at the present day. To use an expression of her own in reference to another, "She had to die, to show thousands how to live." J.

The History of England. From the Accession of James II. By Lord Macaulay. Vol. V. Edited by his sister, Lady Trevelyan. With a complete Index to the entire work. 12mo., pp. 293. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

There is a melancholy interest in this incomplete volume done up with reverent care by the hand of a surviving sister. The closing sentence of the great work, by its very abrupt finality, induces us to hold our hand as if listening still for more. Macaulay is gathered to the illustrious dead of Westminster, and his work takes its place among the master products of historic genius.

The present volume embraces three chapters. It wants the last touches of the original master hand. It closes with the death of William the Third.

Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk, containing Memorials of the Man, and Events of his Time. 12mo., pp. 471. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1861.

"Well, the grandest demi-god I ever saw," said Sir Walter Scott, "was Dr. Carlyle, minister of Musselburgh, commonly called *Jupiter Carlyle*, from having sat more than once for the king to Gavin Hamilton, and a shrewd, clever old carle was he." His memoir, commenced at the age of seventy-nine, and abruptly closed by death, is tinged with a Herodotean simplicity, sustaining its interest less by the events of the hero's life than by the charac-

ters with whom he associated. Of these his notices, sketched with a running pen and without any attempt at artistic portraiture, have given no little popularity to the work. Hardly a chapter which does not abound with reminiscences of notabilities whom Scotland has furnished to literature or to history. Among them we enumerate Hugh Blair, Robertson the historian, Hutcheson the metaphysician, Home, author of "Douglas," Charles Townshend, John Wilkes, Adam Smith, and David Hume.

The Life and Career of Major John André, Adjutant-General of the British Army in America. By WINTHROP SARGENT. With a portrait, from a miniature by himself. 16mo., pp. 471. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

This book represents André as an educated, agreeable youth, with the romance of the hills of Switzerland, and the music of the German nature breathing upon him through his ancestry. His life was a scene of successive captivities and betrayals, first of heart, then of person.

Many incidents of the Revolution are brought in, interesting in themselves; but it puzzles one to know how they can be possibly connected with Major André. However, by means of "conjectures" and "perhaps," there are ideal links; and, altogether, we may pronounce the book a timely one, as the national mind is ready for anything which looks toward war. J.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

The Ordeal of Free Labor in the British West Indies. By WM. G. SEWELL. 12mo., pp. 325. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

We have perused Mr. Sewell's book with no ordinary satisfaction. It comprises a series of letters written by him from the British West India Islands to the editor of the New York Times. Mr. S. visited those islands with the purpose of ascertaining from personal observation what were the results there produced by emancipation. He abjured all regard to inferences in application to slavery in our States or elsewhere. He disclaims any particular sympathy with abolitionists, a fact attested by his incorrect statement of the views and feelings of that class of philanthropists. His purpose was to ascertain, by direct observation, the state of things as it is, the history and prospects of the islands, and thence to answer the question, What have been the results of the great emancipation movement? We feel under no obligation to deny that a large share of our gratification arises, not only from the state and history of things he unfolds, but from the resistless inferences he affords in favor of

antislaveryism. We object not to Mr. Sewell's ignoring the business of making out a verdict against American slavery from West India emancipation. He occupies the stand of the witness, not the jury box. But for ourselves we rejoice to record that his testimony verifies the verdict he refuses to pronounce. Beyond all further question his statement furnishes a decisive vindication of the great emancipation movement in the islands, a clearance of the free negro character from many calumnies invented to justify slavery, and a cheering proof that freedom is not only the birthright, but a high source of well-being to the humblest varieties of our race. A dark point in our hopes for the future of our humanity would it be if the facts were otherwise. Let the record, then, stand; and let the proclamation go forth, that the experiment of freedom in these isles is not, as the advocates of bondage have so boldly asserted, a failure, but a success propitious to the highest hopes of the friends of freedom and righteousness. We recommend Mr. Sewell's book to general perusal. We have room for a few of his closing lines:

> But freedom, when allowed fair play, injured the prosperity of none of these West Indian colonies. It saved them from a far deeper and more lasting depression than any they have yet known. It was a boon conferred upon all classes of society: upon planter and upon laborer: upon all interests: upon commerce and agriculture—upon industry and education—upon morality and religion. And if a perfect measure of success remains to be achieved, let not freedom be condemned; for the obstacles to overcome were great, and the workers were few and unwilling. Let it be remembered, that a generation born in the night of slavery has not yet passed away, and that men who were taught to believe in that idol and its creations still control the destinies of these distant colonies. Reluctantly they learned the lesson forced upon them; slowly their opposition yielded to the dawning of conviction; but now that the meridian of truth has been reached, we may hope that light will dispel all the shadows of slavery, and confound the logic of its champions when they falsely assert that emancipation has ruined the British islands.—Page 324.

The National Controversy; or, the Voice of the Fathers upon the State of the Country. By Joseph C. Stiles. 16mo., pp. 108. New York: Rudd & Carleton. 1861.

The advocates of slavery and the advocates of Popery have many striking resemblances both in their character and their cause. One trait they possess in common is suggested by Mr. Stiles's book, which is this: they condescend to reason with you only when they are unable to murder you. The Jesuit unable to bring the heretic to the Inquisition, the pro-slaveryist unable to inflict Lynch law upon the abolitionist, condescends each to resort to what he considers logic. The heroic impudence of Mr. Stiles might be apparent even to himself if he could but ask himself what would be the fate of the abolitionist in the South who should there attempt to attack slavery as he attacks antislaveryism in the North. In this

light, the very existence of his book demonstrates its own falsehood. Des Cartes' famous argument, *cogito, ergo sum*, is hardly more concise than ours. Mr. Stiles's book exists; therefore it is untrue.

Educational.

Second Standard Phonographic Reader. Engraved by CHAUNCEY B. THORNE. 12mo., pp. 184. Andrew J. Graham, Phonetic Depot, New York.

This elegant little volume is the fourth in a series of phonographic works constructed by Mr. Graham and engraved by the skillful hand of Mr. Thorne. It mounts into an upper story of the phonographic structure where we are not familiar, namely, the reporting style. Mr. Graham has introduced some modifications of his own into phonography, which have not been fully adopted by the catholic body of phonographers, though we are told by professional reporters that many if not all his modifications add rapidity to the practiced hand. A schism in the phonographic system is in itself undesirable; but the variations are not so great but that any student can easily master both and practice either. They are not so great, indeed, as Mr. Pitman has lately proposed, though happily we are not obliged to say introduced into the system.

Belles Lettres and Classical.

A Compendium of Classical Literature, comprising choice Extracts translated from the best Greek and Roman Writers, with Biographical Sketches, accounts of their works, and notes directing to the best editions and translations. Part I. From Homer to Longinus. Part II. From Plautus to Boëthius. By CHARLES DEXTER CLEVELAND. 12mo., pp. 622. Philadelphia: E. C. & J. Biddle & Co. 1861.

Professor Cleveland has completed in the present volume his series of specimens from English, American, and classical literatures. The works are printed and bound in uniform and appropriate style, and serve not only as standards in themselves, but as means of comparing the ancient and the modern modes of thought. The specimens here given are from the best translators, and the author has been on the alert to obtain the latest results. It may be commended both to the classical scholar and the English reader.

Juvenile.

Glen Morris Stories. Dick Duncan. 18mo., pp. 256. Guy Carlton. 18mo., pp. 254. By Francis Forrester, Esq., author of "My Uncle Toby's Library." New York: Howe & Ferry. Boston: Brown & Ferry. 1861.

Our latest intelligence from the vivacious population of Young America is, that Francis Forrester, Esq., is a very great man. If

he were not above the requisite age they would elect him President. With them he is as superior in fame to President Lincoln as Noah Webster was to Daniel Webster. We left that country a good many years ago never to return; but it is pleasant to hear of the excitements prevalent there, among which calls for Mr. Forrester's "next book" are not the least animated.

Miscellaneous.

The following works our space does not allow us to notice in full:

The Shadowy Land and other Poems. By Rev. GURDON HUNTINGTON, A. M. 8vo., pp. 508. New York: Jas. Miller. 1861.

The New Testament Standard of Piety. By WM. MCDONALD. 12mo., pp. 270. Boston: H. V. Degen & Son. 1861.

The New American Encyclopedia. Edited by G. RIPLEY & C. A. DANA. Vol. 12. Mozambique—Parr. 8vo., pp. 798. New York: Appleton & Co.

Little Mary: An Illustration of the Power of Jesus to save even the Youngest. With an Introduction by BARON STOW, D. D. 18mo., pp. 610. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1861.

Silas Marner, the Weaver of Raveloe. By the author of "Adam Bede," "The Mill on the Floss," etc. 16mo., pp. 265. Harper & Brothers.

Trumps. A Novel. By GEORGE WM. CURTIS. Splendidly illustrated by AUGUSTUS HOPPEN. 12mo., pp. 502. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Studies from Life. By the author of "John Halifax, Gentleman," "A Life for a Life," etc. 12mo., pp. 290. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Pamphlets.

The Problem of Life. A Funeral Discourse on the occasion of the death of Hon. JOHN M'LEAN, LL.D., one of the Associate Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. Preached in Wesley Chapel, Cincinnati, at the joint request of the Pastor and the family of the deceased. By Rev. D. W. CLARK, D. D. Published by request. 12mo., pp. 30. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern. 1861.

Dr. Clarke draws an eloquent and truthful portraiture of the eminent Christian jurist.

Eulogy on John W. Francis, delivered before the New York Medico-Chirurgical College March 7th, 1861. By AUGUSTUS K. GARDNER, A. M., M. D., Professor of Classical Midwifery and Diseases of Females in the New York Medical College. 8vo., pp. 24. New York: Published by order of the College. 1861.

Antidote to Rev. H. J. Van Dyke's Pro-Slavery Discourse. By Rev. WM. H. BOOLE. Delivered in the M. E. Church, Mount Vernon, N. Y. 8vo., pp. 34. New York: Edmund Jones & Co. 1861.

Objects and Plans of an Institute of Technology, including a Society of Arts, a Museum of Arts, and a School of Industrial Science proposed to be established in Boston. Prepared by direction of the Committee. 8vo., pp. 29. Boston: Printed by John Wilson & Son. 1860.

"*The Perfect Man.*" A Sermon delivered in the M. E. Church at Beverley, N. J., on Sabbath morning, February 18th, 1860. By the Rev. RULIFF V. LAWRENCE, of the N. J. Conference. 8vo., pp. 16. Published by request.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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Art. I.—HAMILTON'S LECTURES ON LOGIC.

Lectures on Logic. By Sir William Hamilton, Bart., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Edited by the Rev. H. L. Mansel, B.D., LL.D., Waynefleet Professor of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, Oxford, and John Veitch, M. A., Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics, St. Andrews. 8vo. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860.

Within the last thirty-five years the study of logic has greatly revived in Great Britain, where for a long period it had been nearly neglected or inadequately pursued. The new interest awakened in the subject was largely due to the publication of Whately's *Elements of Logic;* for, erroneous and imperfect as this work was, it was greatly superior to any previous treatise on this branch of knowledge in the English language, at least for a long period. Several works of more or less value have followed at intervals; but the general interest in the science at present existing is chiefly, if not solely, indebted to the works of J. Stuart Mill and Sir William Hamilton, writers who, nevertheless, represent nearly opposite tendencies of the study. In the profound and comprehensive work of Mr. Mill, logic is represented as "a study of *things* in their natural order, with a view to the discovery of systematic methods for bringing our thoughts into harmony with that order;" "the *rationale* of the conditions for extracting real science from the things about which we may think." With

Hamilton it is a study of *thoughts* abstract from their connection with things—the *rationale* of the conditions under which we must think about anything. The discussion of the subject here involved respecting the proper province of logic will be referred to further on.

We have no need to certify the superiority of Sir William Hamilton as a philosophical writer. Doubtless there are few who, however they may dissent from some of his doctrines, will deny that he occupies the most influential position, within his chosen sphere, of any writer of the present age. His extraordinary erudition, his familiar acquaintance with all that is best in the best writers of all times and nations, his thorough command of his own vast resources, his discriminating judgment preventing any subserviency to the valuable opinions of which he was yet ready to avail himself, and the clearness, precision, and force with which he conveys his doctrines, compel the recognition of his pre-eminence among the philosophic thinkers of the present century.

There are several treatises of his on logic, which have been published either in separate dissertations, or in connection with his philosophical discussions. There are also fragments showing that he meditated a great work on the subject, which would scarcely have been inferior to any since the days of Aristotle. This project, like others of our author, was never consummated.

It is with lively satisfaction that we hail the appearance of the volume before us, and its prompt republication in this country in a form so handsome and convenient. The lectures are thirty-five in number. They were delivered to the undergraduates of the University, and are a model of instruction by means of lectures. Of course, there are many abstruse discussions and speculations which could not be contained in such a series.

Of the lectures the first four are introductory, and contain the definition of logic, a statement of its utility, and its divisions. The remainder of the course is in two parts—Pure or Formal Logic, and Modified Logic. The former the author regards as the exclusively legitimate province of logical study, and on this there are twenty-two lectures. On the latter there are only nine, and these are avowedly supplementary. After the introduction there are two lectures embracing a statement

of the axioms and postulates of logic, accompanied by a copious historical and critical commentary. These two lectures are a great improvement on most of the British manuals on logic, inasmuch as in the latter these first principles are in a certain sort taken for granted, though not expressly stated; thus confusing the student in the beginning of his study by vague uncertainties.

The next six lectures contain an analysis, partly formal and partly psychological, of Conception. These lectures are perhaps, as a whole, the most valuable, certainly the most interesting, in the volume. The remaining lectures, before coming to the division of modified logic, are devoted to the process of propositions and syllogisms, and to the doctrine of methodology.

The appendix occupies nearly a quarter of the volume, and contains a more thorough discussion of certain recondite principles, and especially of doctrines relating to logical processes.

There has been much controversy as to the proper object-matter of logic, and especially as to whether it is a science or an art; a question all the more unlikely to be settled from the total want of agreement as to the limitation of these terms in their relation to each other. Plato and the Platonists regarded it as a science; but with them it covered nearly all the ground occupied by metaphysics. Aristotle himself does not define it; but many of his ancient followers, as well as some since the revival of letters, deny it to be either science or art. The Stoics generally, as also the Arabian and Latin schoolmen, viewed it as a science. The Ramists, many of the later Aristotelians, and a majority of the Cartesians, maintained it to be an art; though a party was found who regarded it as both science and art. In Germany, since Leibnitz, it has been almost universally regarded as a science. Sir William Hamilton remarks that, so far as logic is concerned, the decision is not of the very smallest import. "The controversy was, in fact, only about what was properly an art and what was properly a science; and as men attached one meaning or another to these terms, so did they affirm logic to be an art or a science, or both, or neither." Whately considers it in its most extensive sense to be "the science and also the art of reasoning." But he evidently confuses the distinction of science theoretical and science practical, with the distinction of science and art.

Hamilton regards logic, as to its genus, a science; not, however, intending by this "to give it more than the general denomination of a branch of knowledge." He defines it as "the Science of the Laws of Thought as Thought." To an explication of this definition the most of two lectures is devoted. There is a full and clear statement of the meaning, history, and synonyms of the word logic, also extended remarks on its genus as a science. Then follow the author's views of the province of logic, its object-matter, or what is meant by saying it is conversant about the laws of thought as thought. Thought, in its wider meaning, is used to denote every cognitive act whatever. With Descartes and his disciples it embraces every mental modification of which we are conscious, including the feelings, volitions, and desires. "In the more limited meaning it denotes only the acts of the understanding properly so called; that is, of the faculty of comparison, or that which is distinguished as the elaborative or discursive faculty." In this latter signification the term is used in these lectures. Thus logic, in its pure state, has nothing directly to do with the rude materials of knowledge, other than to suppose them in possession. It takes no account of memory, imagination, or the laws of association; nor even of the laws of intelligence as given in the regulative faculty. Excluding these, we have for thought proper the following statement:

> All thought is a comparison, a recognition of similarity or difference; a conjunction or disjunction; in other words, a synthesis or analysis of its objects. In conception, that is, in the formation of concepts, (or general notions,) it compares, disjoins, or conjoins attributes; in an act of judgment it compares, disjoins, or conjoins concepts; in reasoning it compares, disjoins, or conjoins judgments. In each step of this process there is one essential element: to think, to compare, to conjoin, or disjoin, it is necessary to recognize one thing through or under another; and therefore, in defining thought proper, we may either define it as an act of comparison or as a recognition of one notion in or under another. It is in performing this act of thinkiug a thing under a general notion that we are said to understand or comprehend it. For example: an object is presented, say a book; this object determines an impression, and I am even conscious of the impression, but without recognizing to myself what the thing is; in that case there is only a perception, and not properly a thought. But suppose I do recognize it for what it is, in other words, compare it with and reduce it under a certain concept class, or complement

of attributes, which I call *book;* in that case there is more than perception—there is a thought.—P. 10.

So much for thought proper. By thought, as thought, is meant the *form* of thought as distinguished from the object thought of. "When I think that the book before me is a folio, the matter of this thought is book and folio; the form of it is a judgment." It is by neglecting this discrimination that much confusion has existed as to the legitimate province of logic, and in the prosecution of its study.

By the laws of thought as thought, or the formal laws of thought, logic discriminates its field from that of other sciences. Psychology as well as logic is conversant about the phenomena of formal thought. By speculative analysis the phenomena of the formal or subjective phases of thought may be separated into two kinds. They are either the contingent, that is, such as may or may not appear; or they are such as are necessary, that is, such as cannot but appear. These phenomena, considered as manifestations in general, belong to the science of empirical or historical Psychology. But when separated into necessary or contingent forms of thought, the former becomes the peculiar object-matter of logic.

When we say that logic is the science of the necessary powers of thought, this quality of *necessity* implies four conditions. (*a.*) It is subjectively, not objectively determined. (*b.*) It is original and not acquired. For if acquired, there must have been a time when it did not exist, and thus we could conceive the possibility of its not existing now, which vitiates its necessity. (*c.*) It must be universal; that is, it *always* necessitates, otherwise it would be contingent. (*d.*) It is a law; "for a law is that which applies to all cases without exception, and from which a deviation is ever and everywhere impossible, or at least unallowed." Logic is thus distinguished from the other philosophical sciences as the science of the necessary forms of thought.

As has been all along implied, our author differs from many of his predecessors respecting the utility of logic. He has a thorough examination of the uses claimed for it by a great variety of writers, and a brief but conclusive discussion of the principles on which they are severally based. The errors in general concerning the utilities of logic arise from the errors

concerning its object-matter. Hence, from the fact that it was supposed to have to do with the *matter* of thought, followed the opinion that it was an instrument of scientific discovery. Thus it was long styled the art of arts and science of sciences. Many works on the subject had the fanciful titles, implying this notion, of *Via ad Veritatem*, *Cynosura Veritatis*, *Caput et Apex Philosophiæ*, *Heuristica sive Introductio ad Artem Inveniendi*, etc. It was held by many to be the infallible corrector of our intellectual vices and the invigorator of our intellectual imbecility. Hence treatises designated as *The Light-house of the Intellect*, *The Medicine of the Mind*, *The Art of Thinking*, etc., were common. Our author, while admitting that there is here a mixture of truth with error, thinks that logic may be styled an instrument or organon of the other sciences in the sense that it may determine their scientific form; that is, may be a formal instrument. It cannot properly be denominated an art of discovery, "for discovery or invention is not to be taught by rules." It evolves nothing new, and does not amplify our knowledge of facts. "Logic is thus not creative; it is only plastic, only formative, in relation to our knowledge." So, too, it is a medicine of the mind only so far as it corrects formal errors, while material errors lie beyond its reach. An extension of any science through logic is absolutely impossible. It only enables us to render what is already obtained more intelligible by analysis and arrangement. It is "only the negative condition of truth." It is positively beneficial in that it gives, to a certain extent, dominion over our thoughts, supplies in part the criterion of truth from error, invigorates the understanding, and affords a scientific nomenclature.

On the division of logic Hamilton is very full and clear. His views are many of them peculiar to himself. Logic is divided either according to its kinds or its parts. Considered by relation to the mind, it is viewed as Objective and Subjective, or Systematic and Habitual. "By objective or systematic logic is meant that complement of doctrines of which logic is made up; by subjective or habitual logic is meant the speculative knowledge of those doctrines which any individual, as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, etc., may possess, and the practical dexterity with which he is able to apply them."

In the second place, logic, by relation to its application or non-application to objects, is divided into abstract or general, and concrete or special. "The former of these is one, and belongs alone to philosophy, that is, to the science of the universal principles of knowledge. The latter is as manifold as the sciences to which it is subservient, and of which, in fact, it constitutes a part, namely, their methodology."

General or abstract logic, with which only we have to do, is divided into pure and modified. "Pure logic considers the laws of thought proper, as contained *a priori* in the nature of pure intelligence itself. Modified logic, again, exhibits these laws as modified in their actual applications by certain general circumstances, external and internal, contingent in themselves, but by which human thought is always more or less influenced in its manifestations." The latter, to be sure, our author denies to be entitled to the dignity of an essential part of general logic, far less of a co-ordinate species as opposed to pure or abstract logic. He is compelled to take this view by his definition of logic as confined exclusively to "what is necessary" in the phenomena of thought. Still he justifies the introduction of modified logic into his course on the ground of its utility, and the example of predecessors, while he protests against its recognition as a part of the science.

The conspectus of the course (pp. 46, 47) is too long to copy entire, though it is difficult to convey an adequate notion of it by any brief abridgement. We may be able, however, to present such parts as will serve to explain the tabular view herewith furnished.

Logic, as the science of thought, must consider the conditions of the possibility of thought. But as the end of thought is not merely to think, but to think well, it must display not only the laws of thinking, but of thinking well. Thus logic naturally falls into two parts. 1. The conditions of mere thinking are given in certain elementary requisites. The part which investigates these is styled "Stoicheiology, or doctrine of elements." 2. The part which analyzes and considers the methods of perfect thinking is called its "Methodology, or doctrine of method." Thus PURE LOGIC divides into Stoicheiology and Methodology. Stoicheiology is divided into two parts. First, the Noetic—Nomology—the fundamental laws of

thinking. Second, the laws of thinking as governing the products of thought in its three gradations of Conception, (or simple apprehension,) Judgment, and Reasoning—Dianoëtic—Dynamic.

Logical Methodology is divided into as many parts as there are methods, and there are as many methods as there are different qualities in the end to be differently accomplished. The perfection of thought consists of three virtues: clear thinking, distinct thinking, and connected thinking. Under the first are set forth the doctrine of illustration or definition. Under the second the doctrine of division. Under the third the doctrine of proof. But these parts are only three particular applications of method, constituting each a special methodology. This, of course, supposes a previous consideration of method in general. "Logical methodology, therefore, will consist of two parts, of a general and of a special, the special being subdivided as above stated."

Modified Logic falls into three parts. The first treats of truth and error, and of the highest laws for their discrimination—Alethiology. The second treats of the impediments to thinking, as arising, 1, from the mind; 2, from the body; or, 3, from external circumstances. The third part treats of the aids or subsidiaries of thinking, as 1, the acquisition, and 2, the communication of knowledge.

TABULAR VIEW OF THE DIVISIONS OF LOGIC.

General or Abstract Logic.
- I. Pure.
  - i. Stoicheiology.
    - 1. Noetic—Nomology.
    - 2. Dianoëtic—Dynamic.
      - *a.* Conception.
      - *b.* Judgment.
      - *c.* Reasoning.
  - ii. Methodology.
    - Clear Thinking—1. Definition.
    - Distinct Thinking—2. Division.
    - Connected Thinking—3. Probation or Proving.
- II. Modified.
  - i. Truth and Error, Certainty and Illusion.
  - ii. Impediments to Thinking, with Remedies.—These Impediments arise from,
    - 1. The Mind.
    - 2. The Body.
    - 3. External Circumstances.
  - iii. Aids or subsidiaries to Thinking, through
    - 1. The Acquisition of Knowledge.
    - 2. The Communication of Knowledge.

The axioms and postulates of logic, as already stated, are, in a large proportion of the works on this subject, neglected, or, at least, only recognized by implication. The fundamental laws of thought as commonly received are four: 1. The law of identity; 2. The law of contradiction; 3. The law of excluded middle; and, 4. The law of reason and consequent or of sufficient reason. Our author devotes much space to the consideration of these, both severally and in their mutual relations. He gives a critical detail of their history, and forcibly states his own views in regard to their deduction, number, and arrangement. Without following him through the whole discussion, we may touch upon two or three interesting points. These laws "naturally fall into two classes. The first of these classes consists of the three principles of identity, contradiction, and excluded middle; the second comprehends the principle of reason and consequent alone. Their classification is founded both on the different reciprocal connection of the laws, and on the different nature of their results." As to the former, it is evident that the first three stand in a far more proximate relation to each other than to the fourth. The first three are not reducible to a higher unity; yet so intimate is their connection that each supposes the other. This intimacy of relation does not subsist between the fourth and the others, and they do not in the same necessary manner suggest each other in thought. In the second place, the two classes are distinguished by the difference of end which they severally accomplish. The difference of result consists in this: "Whatever violates the laws, whether of identity, of contradiction, or of excluded middle, we feel to be absolutely impossible, not only in thought, but in existence. Thus we cannot attribute even to Omnipotence the power of making a thing different from itself, of making a thing at once to be and not to be, of making a thing neither to be nor not to be. . . . . Very different is the result of the law of reason and consequent. This principle merely excludes from the sphere of positive thought what we cannot comprehend; for whatever we comprehend, that through which we comprehend it is its reason." What, therefore, violates this law we must regard as unthinkable, but not necessarily as nonexistent. Here the author hinges upon one of his favorite topics, in fact, a prominent feature in his philosophy of the con-

ditioned. That is, all that we can positively think lies between two opposite poles of thought, which, as exclusive of each other, cannot, on the principles of identity and contradiction, both be true, but of which, on the principle of excluded middle, one or the other must. This is illustrated by the attempt to conceive of space either as a totality, an absolute, bounded whole, or as infinite. Leaving the former, can we comprehend the possibility of infinite or unlimited space? "To suppose this, is a direct contradiction in terms; it is to comprehend the incomprehensible. We think, we conceive, we comprehend a thing only as we think it within or under something else; but to do this of the infinite is to the infinite as finite, which is contradictory and absurd." The infinite is a negative term, a negation of a notion or quality. But there must be positive qualities in order to real thought. A negative concept is inconceivable. Yet no one doubts the existence of the infinite. By the law of reason and consequent it simply becomes unthinkable. Thus "the laws of identity, contradiction, and excluded middle are, therefore, not only logical but metaphysical principles; the law of reason and consequent, a logical principle alone; a doctrine, however, which is the converse of what is generally taught." Perhaps we ought to say that subsequent speculation led Hamilton to modify these views materially, and in his discussions to materially diminish the importance of the law of reason and consequent as a logical principle.

He signalizes only one postulate as requisite to his purpose. It is as follows:

> The only postulate of logic which requires an articulate announcement is the demand, that before dealing with a judgment or reasoning expressed in language, the import of its terms should be fully understood; in other words, logic postulates to be allowed to state explicitly in language all that is implicitly contained in thought.—P. 81.

In order to anything like a proper apprehension of Hamilton's logical system, a thorough understanding of the term *concept*, as he uses it, is requisite. It furnishes a clew which will guide through what would otherwise be a more than Dædalian maze. This word is with our author something like what *connote* is with Mill, only perhaps more important and significant. He uses the term to designate the product of

thought in *conception*. With most of our writers there has been only one term for both the act and the product of conception. This word *conception*, too, has had annexed to it a meaning in most of our popular text-books, in England as well as in this country, which is quite unphilosophical and unsatisfactory. The Scottish philosophers generally use the term to denote the representation in the mind of the absent objects of perception. Even Reid vacillates between making it a synonym for imagination, and comprehending under it not only imagination, but understanding and the object of understanding. At all events, the term, as used in many of the treatises studied in our high schools and colleges, is a very slippery one, constantly confounding itself in the student's mind with both memory and imagination. With Hamilton *conception* is the gathering into unity of the various qualities which an object has in common with other objects. The resulting product of that mental act is a concept.

> In our consciousness—apprehension—of an individual object, there may be distinguished the two following cognitions: 1. The immediate and irrespective knowledge we have of the individual object, as a complement of certain qualities or characters considered simply as belonging to itself. 2. The mediate and relative knowledge we have of the object, as comprising qualities or characters common to it with other objects.
>
> The former of these cognitions is that contained in the presentations of sense, external and internal, and representations of imagination. They are only of the individual or singular. The latter is that contained in the concepts of the understanding, and is a knowledge of the common, general, or universal. The conceiving an object is, therefore, its recognition mediately through a concept; and a concept is the cognition or idea of the general character or characters, point or points, in which a plurality of objects coincide.—P. 87.

Thus we think of the individual Socrates as the complement of certain characters or qualities. We think also of Charlemagne, of William the Silent, of Shakspeare, of Voltaire as individuals, each being the complement of certain qualities. Some of these qualities are peculiar to each, some are common to all. Let us say that a certain set of these qualities may be expressed by the term European. This is a concept, a common term, in which are *taken together* several characters which, though not fully descriptive of any one, are applicable to all.

We might add other individuals, as Toussaint, Neena Sahib, Red Jacket, and Tae Ping. These all, in common with the former, have certain qualities which, though not enough to make up the complement of which European is an expression, are nevertheless sufficient to form the concept *man.* We may now add tiger, antelope, boa constrictor, eagle, whale, etc., and find still common qualities which may be again grouped under the concept *animal.* It will be seen that the larger the variety of individuals embraced under the common term, the fewer will be the qualities of which it indicates the sum. So there are not only concepts of individuals, but also concepts of concepts, and concepts of these, till we are able to embrace in one highest concept all things under the single common attribute of being or existence.

Pure logic, like pure mathematics, is a science of quantity. With the formal logician concepts are quantities which stand in fixed quantitative relations to other concepts. These quantitative relations are expressed in propositions and syllogisms, deduced by means of axioms from the concept or common term. Hence the vital importance to the logical student of a thorough understanding of the doctrine of concepts. As we have intimated, most of the writers on the science in our language have neglected this. Our author's treatment of it is one of the peculiar features of his system of instruction, and the lectures devoted to it are among the most valuable and interesting of the series. It is true, the analysis is partly psychological, and so far forms the metaphysical groundwork out of which our author's logical structure rises. The recent work of Mr. Mansel* treats this branch of the subject more fully and exclusively, and is a work of great philosophical subtilty.

The doctrine of concepts being thoroughly understood, that of judgments and reasonings follows naturally and easily. These products are, in fact, identical in kind, though of different degrees. They are all equally the results of the same faculty of comparison, but they form three classes, "as the act,

* *Prolegomena Logica:* An Inquiry into the Psychological Character of Logical Processes. By Henry Langueville Mansel, B. D., LL.D., Waynefleet Professor of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, Oxford; Editor of Sir William Hamilton's Lectures; Author of "Limits of Religious Thought," etc., etc. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

and, consequently, the result of the act is of greater or less simplicity." A concept is an undeveloped judgment. "Again, a reasoning is a judgment; for a reason is only the affirmation of the connection of two things with a third, and through that with each other. It is thus only the same function of thought which is at work in conception, judgment, and reasoning, and these express no real, no essential distinction of operation, but denote only the different relations in which we may regard the indivisible act of thought." It is thus easily seen how the doctrine of the proposition and of the syllogism arise out of that of the concept. But of these more hereafter.

It is needful here to advert to one of the most vital features of Hamilton's logical system. This is the twofold relation of the concept in respect to its quantity. The application of the correlation of the two quantities of concepts to the theory of judgment and reasoning has scarcely been attempted by any previous logician, and as used by Sir William Hamilton, is of no small import. The quantity of a concept is of two kinds. It may be viewed as representing a class of objects or a bundle of attributes. The former is its *extent*, the latter its *content*—the external or extensive quantity, and the internal or intensive. The latter quantity is determined by the greater or smaller number of constituent characters contained in the concept; the former by the greater or smaller number of classified concepts or realities contained under it. The exposition of the comprehension or content of a concept is its definition, and a simple notion* is indefinable. The exposition of the extension of a concept or notion is its division, and an individual notion cannot be divided.

The internal quantity of a notion, its intension or comprehension, is made up of those different attributes of which the concept is the conceived sum; that is, the various characters connected by the concept itself into a single whole in thought. The external quantity of a notion or its extension is, on the other hand, made up of the number of objects which are thought mediately through a concept. For example, the attributes *rational*, *sensible*, *moral*, etc., go to constitute the intension or internal quantity of the concept *man;* whereas the attributes *European*, *American*, *philosopher*, *tailor*, etc., go to make up a concept of this or that individ-

* The term *concept* and *notion* are employed by Hamilton as convertible, since they denote the same thing, though in a different point of view.

ual man. These two quantities are not convertible. On the contrary, they are in the inverse ratio of each other. The greater the depth or comprehension of a notion, the less its breadth or extension, and *vice versa.* You will observe, likewise, a distinction which has been taken by the best logicians. Both quantities are said *to contain;* but the quantity of extension is said to contain *under* it, the quantity of comprehension to contain *in* it.

By the intension, comprehension, or depth of a notion, we think the most qualities of the fewest objects; whereas, by the extension or breadth of a concept, we think the fewest qualities of the most objects. In other words, by the former we say the most of the least; by the latter, the least of the most.—P. 101.

Thus the individual Shakspeare, for instance, has all the attributes common to all men. He has also some not common to all men, but common to all Englishmen. Again, he has certain attributes not common to all Englishmen, but common to poets. He has, moreover, certain qualities peculiar to himself, and which distinguish him from every other individual. That is, the *intensive* quantity of the term Shakspeare is very large. On the other hand, its *extensive* quantity is very small, inasmuch as it embraces under it only one individual, which is indivisible into classes or inferior concepts. Let us now take a concept at the opposite extreme—that of being. Here we have only a single attribute, a simple notion, and therefore indefinable. But under it are contained multitudinous kinds, classes, orders, and individuals. The *extent* is at its maximum, the *intent* at its minimum. By taking a concept anywhere between these extremes, we can observe both its comprehension and its extension.

This feature is, of course, prominent in the doctrine of judgment, since a judgment is only an explicit or developed concept. Our author takes the first great distinction of judgment from the relation of whole and parts. The proposition is comprehensive or extensive according as the subject—the determined notion, or the predicate—the determining notion, is viewed as the containing whole. By writers generally the subject of a proposition is represented as *contained under* the predicate—a concept embraced in a more general concept; yet clearly the subject may be regarded as a term which comprehends or *contains in* it the predicate as one of its attributes.

Thus "man is mortal," as an extensive proposition, means

"man is contained under the class mortal." As an intensive proposition, it signifies "man contains among its other attributes that of mortal." The form of the proposition does not indicate whether it is to be viewed as of an extensive or intensive purport. "It is only when propositions are connected together into syllogisms that it becomes evident whether the subject or the predicate be the whole, in or under which the other is contained; and it is only as constituting two different, two contrasted forms of reasoning—forms the most general, as under each of these every other is included—that the distinction becomes necessary in regard to concepts and propositions."

This theory, as applied to the doctrine of reasonings, the third division of the products of thought, furnishes in a large measure the ground of the division of syllogisms. Reasoning is defined as "an act of mediate comparison or judgment, for to reason is to recognize that two notions stand to each other in the relation of a whole and its parts, through a recognition that these notions severally stand in the same relation to a third." For instance, suppose a doubt to exist as to which of the contradictory predicates *free agent* or *necessary agent* must be predicated of the subject *man*. These terms do not in themselves afford a solution of the doubt. Suppose the notion *morally responsible agent* to be suggested, and that it is otherwise known, that this is necessarily a free agent. We now have the proposition, *Every morally responsible agent is a free agent.* This does not solve the doubt, but it furnishes a predicate which pertains to the concept *man*. Thus we can say, *man is a morally responsible agent.* Now, knowing that *free agent* contains under it *morally responsible agent*, and that the latter contains under it *man*, we, on the principle that a part of a part is a part of the whole, are compelled to think that *free agent* contains under it *man*.

The relations given above are in the quantity of extension. But inasmuch as every concept has not only the quantity of extension, but also that of comprehension, and as these two quantities stand to each other in the ratio of inversion, it is evident that if notions bear a certain relation to each other in the one quantity, they bear a counter relation in the other. The example just given stands thus:

All responsible agents are free agents;
But man is a morally responsible agent;
Therefore, man is a free agent.

Which may be more fully enounced:

The notion responsible agent is contained under the notion free agent;
But the notion man is contained under the notion responsible agent;
Therefore, on the principle that the part of a part is a part of the whole, the notion man is also contained under the notion free agent.

Now, according to the doctrine of the relation of the two quantities, we may invert the process, making the process which in extension were wholes, in comprehension parts, and *vice versa*, and obtain the same result. Thus:

Man is a responsible agent;
But a responsible agent is a free agent;
Therefore, man is a free agent.

Or more fully:

The notion man comprehends in it the notion responsible agent;
But the notion responsible agent comprehends in it the notion free agent;
Therefore, on the principle that the part of a part is a part of the whole, the notion man also comprehends in it the notion free agent.

This theory of the division of reasonings is fully treated by our author under the various subaltern classes of syllogisms, showing that each is capable of being cast in the mould of either quantity, and not, as the logicians suppose, in that of extensive quantity alone.

Whatever may be thought of the practical value of this doctrine concerning the quantity of concepts, and it may be admitted that Sir William Hamilton has not fully applied the theory in all its bearings; still it will be conceded that it supplies much that was evidently wanting to complete the science of logic, and at the same time adapts the syllogism better to the wants of modern science in general. Indeed, perhaps one great reason why the logicians from Aristotle down have failed to recognize the twofold character of the quantity of concepts, is that in ancient science words were primarily significant of *classes;* whereas in modern times they more directly indicate *attributes.* Thus the quantity of comprehension becomes vastly important, and affords largely increased facilities to logic as the science of the sciences.

The most important innovation made by Hamilton, as is

well known to logical students, is the quantification of the predicate, a doctrine which naturally enough connects itself with views already presented. As applied by him, it tends powerfully to the expression and simplification of the logical system. It is the grand peculiarity of the new analytic, and really requires a reorganization of the whole scheme of logical forms. As already intimated, this movement was only in part carried out by our author. The doctrine is not discussed in the Lectures, they containing only a faint hint of it, the subject doubtless being regarded as too abstruse for a class of undergraduates. It is, however, treated largely in the Appendix, as also in the Discussions. We do not propose to examine it here in detail, or to do more than briefly indicate its character.

Previous writers on logic have usually maintained that affirmative propositions distribute the subject, and negative propositions the predicate. Thus, in the universal affirmative "All men are animals," we do not mean that "all men" are "all animals." We take into account the quantity of the subject, but not that of the predicate. It would not do, of course, to convert the proposition so as to say, "All animals are men." We must restrict the wider term and say, "Some animals are men." In the first proposition we *think*, though we do not *say*, "All men are some animals." Hamilton insists that, in addition to the generally admitted four kinds of propositions, we may have four others; that is, there may be affirmative propositions with or without the subject distributed, and negative propositions with or without the predicate distributed. Thus:

Toto-total: All S. is all P.
Toto-partial: All S. is some P.
Parti-total: Some S. is all P.
Parti-partial: Some S. is some P.
Toto-total: All S. is not all P.
Toto-partial: All S. is not some P.
Parti-total: Some S. is not all P.
Parti-partial: Some S. is not some P.

Here is observed the extensive application of his single postulate previously referred to.

To state explicitly what is thought implicitly. In other words, to determine what is meant before proceeding to deal with the meaning. Thus in the proposition *men are animals*, we should be allowed to determine whether the term *men* means *all* or *some*

men, whether the term *animals* means *all* or *some animals;* in short, to quantify both the subject and predicate of the proposition. This postulate applies both to propositions and to syllogisms.—P. 512.

The views of Inductive Reasoning presented in this volume are worthy of particular attention. The author criticises with much severity the teachings of previous logicians on this topic, charging that almost all, with the exception of Aristotle, have advanced doctrines utterly erroneous. They have usually regarded induction not as regulated by the necessary laws of thought, but as determined by the probabilities and presumptions of the sciences from which its matter has been accidentally borrowed. All inductive reasoning is from the parts to the whole; but this reasoning is one thing in the material and objective sciences, and quite another in the science of logic. In the former take the following example:

> This, that, and the other magnet attract iron;
> But this, that, and the other magnet represent all magnets;
> Therefore, all magnets attract iron.

In this syllogism the minor premise is founded on the principle that nature is uniform and constant, and on this general principle the reasoner is physically warranted in making a few parts equivalent to the whole. But as a logician he knows nothing of any principles except the laws of thought. The induction of the objective philosopher, in so far as it is formal, is, in fact, deductive. But there is a process of purely inductive reasoning, which is governed by its own laws, and which is equally necessary and independent as the other.

The rule by which the deductive syllogism is governed is: What belongs or does not belong to the containing whole, belongs or does not belong to each and all of the contained parts. The rule by which the inductive syllogism is governed is: What belongs or does not belong to all the constituted parts, belongs or does not belong to the constituted whole. These rules exclusively determine all formal inference; whatever transcends or violates them, transcends or violates logic. Both are equally absolute. It would not be less illegal to infer by the deductive syllogism an attribute belonging to the whole of something it was not conceived to contain as a part, than by the inductive to conclude of the whole what is not conceived as a predicate of all its constituent parts. In either case, the consequent is not thought as determined by the antecedent; the premises do not involve the conclusion.

To take the example previously adduced as an illustration of a material or philosophical induction, it would be thus expressed as a formal or logical:

> This, that, and the other magnet attract iron;
> But this, that, and the other magnet are all magnets;
> Therefore, all magnets attract iron.

Here the inference is determined exclusively by a law of thought. In the subsumption it is said, *this, that, and the other magnet, etc., are all magnets.* This means, *this, that, and the other magnet are*, that is, *constitute*, or rather *are conceived to constitute all magnets*, that is, *the whole, the class, the genus magnet.* If, therefore, explicitly enounced, it will be as follows: *This, that, and the other magnet are conceived to constitute the whole class magnet.* The conclusion is, *Therefore, all magnets* attract *iron.* This, if explicated, will give: *Therefore, the whole class magnet is conceived to attract iron.* The whole syllogism, therefore, as a logical induction, will be:

This, that, and the other magnet attract iron;
But this, that, and the other magnet, etc., are conceived to constitute the genus magnet;
Therefore the genus magnet attracts iron.—Pp. 227, 228.

Some have been misled by the objection that the subsumption or minor premise, "This, that, and the other magnet are all magnets," is manifestly false. But this objection is incompetent, as wholly extra-logical. It is not the business of the logician to ascertain the truth or the falsity of his premises. His office does not commence till the premises are furnished, and if they be impossible or false, it is not his business to take any account. He reasons *from* them, not *about* them. In the example above, the subsumption has already been explained to mean, not that *this, that, and the other*, etc., really *are all*, but that they are *thought* so to be. The inference proceeding on this supposition is a necessary one.

We must pass unnoticed much that is fresh, interesting, and suggestive in its style of treatment, as well as some that is original in thought. On the figure of syllogism we tarry a moment. The four figures commonly recognized by logicians are carefully set forth in all their moods, with the cabalistic literal notation familiar to all students of the science. What is more, they are amply and instructively illustrated by means of diagrams representing the three notions of a syllogism, as

including, excluding, or partially including and excluding one another, like so many mathematical quantities. But while presenting these figures and thoroughly explicating them, Hamilton dissents from the doctrine commonly prevailing among the logicians concerning them, and criticises them with much force. The fourth figure was not contemplated by Aristotle, and many writers since it was innovated have striven to disallow it. Its inference, however, has never been invalidated, though felt to be tortuous and perverse. This incompetence on the part of the logicians he avers to come from their neglect of the doctrine of the two quantities in which reasonings may be cast. A cross inference is practicable from one of these quantities to the other in the formation of a syllogism. This is just what takes place in the fourth figure, an occult reasoning being carried on in the mind. This hybrid inference is immaterial, useless, and *logically* invalid, though valid in itself. It is therefore rejected.

But it is further maintained that the second and third, as well as the fourth figures, are only accidental modifications of the first. We cannot do more than present the following paragraph on this point:

> The three last . . . figures are merely hybrid or mixed reasonings, in which the steps of the process are only partially expressed. The unexpressed steps are in general conversive inferences, which we are entitled to make, 1. From the absolute negation of a first notion as predicated of a second, to the absolute negation of a second notion as predicated of the first—*if no* A *is* B, *then* no B is A; 2. From the total or partial affirmation of a lesser class or notion of a greater, to the partial affirmation of that greater notion of that lesser—*if all* (or *some*) A *is* B, *then some* B *is* A.—P. 309.

This view of the syllogistic figure, together with the reduction of Aldrich's twelve rules and Whately's six to three, greatly tends toward a higher simplification of logical forms.

After the doctrine of elements, or stoicheiology, comes that of method or methodology. We are to consider thought not only as existing, but as existing in its perfection, and this is as much the object of logic as the possibility of thought. Methodology, then, is conversant with the perfection, the well-being of thought. The end of thought is truth, knowledge, science. "A science is a complement of cognitions having, in point of form, the character of logical perfection; in point of matter,

the character of real truth." "Method in general is the regulated procedure toward a certain end." It consists of two processes, correlative and complementary of each other: the analytic, proceeding from the whole to its parts; the synthetic, proceeding from the parts to the whole. Now though there is no ambiguity or disagreement so far in the use of these terms, yet inasmuch as there are different kinds of whole and parts, there is a liability to confusion among different writers. For instance, as we have before seen, the ancients looked almost exclusively to the whole of extension, and with them analysis denoted a division of the genus into species, and of the species into individuals. The moderns, on the other hand, looking at the whole of comprehension, used this term to express a resolution of the individual into its various attributes. Since these quantities or wholes are opposite to one another, it is evident that analysis as applied to one is identical with synthesis as applied to the other, and *vice versa*. Hence by different philosophers these terms are used in a contrary or reverse sense. This is to be guarded against.

The formal perfection of thought is made up of the three virtues or characters: 1. Of *clearness;* 2. Of *distinctness;* 3. Of *harmony*. The character of clearness depends principally on the determination of the comprehension of our notions; the character of distinctness depends principally on the development of the extension of our notions; and the character of harmony on the mutual concatenation of our notions. . . . Of these the first constitutes the *doctrine of definition*, the second the *doctrine of division*, and the third the *doctrine of probation*.—Pp. 340, 341.

The elucidation of these principles is carried out at great length, and is practical and sensible as well as thoroughly philosophical. We only regret that we are not able to give a larger presentation of the doctrines advanced and their explication.

The lectures on Modified Logic are, as already explained, supplementary, the author not recognizing this branch of the subject as properly belonging to the province of logic. Yet, as it seems to us, the course must have been palpably incomplete without a discussion of the topics here embraced.

We confess to some disappointment in entering upon this part of the work. The views presented are less original and attractive than was anticipated, yet perhaps they are all we had any right to expect. The treatment, at least, is as thor-

ough as the circumstances admit, the principles well defined, the illustrations striking and suggestive, and, to younger students especially, the information very valuable.

The end of pure logic is formal truth—the harmony of thought with thought; the end of modified logic is the harmony of thought with existence.

The former is less ambitious, but more certainly accomplished. The latter is more important, but less perfectly attained. Stated more fully, the object of modified logic is the conditions to which thought is subject, arising from the empirical circumstances, external and internal, under which man's faculty of thinking is exercised. Its problems are three: 1. What is truth and its contradictory opposite, error? 2. What are the causes of error, and the impediments to truth, and what are the means of their removal? 3. What are the subsidiaries by which human thought may be strengthened and guided in the exercise of its functions?

Truth is defined as the agreement of a cognition with its object. Real truth, as distinguished from formal, is the harmony between a thought and its matter. "The criterion of truth is the necessity determined by the laws which govern our faculties of knowledge, and the consciousness of this necessity is certainty." In relation to the kind and degree of certainty, we have to distinguish knowledge, belief, and opinion. "Knowledge is a certainty founded on intuition. Belief is a certainty founded on feeling." Our author dissents from the common notion that belief is an inferior degree of certainty. We may be "equally certain of what we believe as of what we know." Many philosophers, whose testimony he brings, maintained that the certainty of all knowledge is, in its ultimate analysis, resolved into a certainty of belief. Luther says: "All things stand in a belief, in a faith, which we can neither see nor comprehend." This is true not only theologically but philosophically. Aristotle declares that "on a primary and incomprehensible belief hangs the whole chain of our comprehensible or mediate knowledge." The Platonists, at least some of them, held the same doctrine. Even Hume, of all men the last to admit such a thought, is made to give unwilling testimony in the same direction. The importance and results of this doctrine are obvious.

Error is opposed to truth, and arises, 1. From the commutation of what is subjective with what is objective in thought; 2. From the contradiction of a supposed knowledge with its laws; or, 3. From a want of adequate activity in our cognitive faculties. It is to be distinguished from ignorance and from illusion, "which, however, along with arbitrary assumption, afford the most frequent occasions of error." The various sources of error are reduced to four heads: 1. The general circumstances which modify the intellectual character of the individual; 2. The constitution, habits, and reciprocal relations of his powers of cognition, feeling, and desire; 3. The language he employs as an instrument of thought and a medium of communication; 4. The nature of the objects themselves about which his knowledge is conversant.

The remarks under the first of these heads are among the most valuable in this division, and well worth the attention of every thoughtful man. As man is destined by his Creator to live in society, he is expressly constituted with a disposition to conform himself to whatever section of society he may belong. But this disposition, which is properly an element of power and happiness, is also liable to a vicious action. We are compelled to think much earlier than we are able to think for ourselves; thus many mental habits and beliefs are formed for us before we are able to choose or discriminate concerning them. It will readily be seen that these become the manifold source of error. Thus with reference to opinions of *every* kind it becomes necessary to accept the exhortation of Paul: "Prove all things: hold fast that which is good."

Of the sources of error which arise from the constitution and relation of the "affective elements of mind," the following is a summary statement:

> The disturbing passions may be reduced to four: precipitancy, sloth, hope and fear, self-love. 1. A restless anxiety for a decision begets impatience, which decides before the preliminary inquiry is concluded. This is precipitancy. 2. The same result is the effect of sloth, which dreams on in conformity to custom, without subjecting its beliefs to the test of active observation. 3. The restlessness of hope or fear impedes observation, distracts attention, or forces it only on what interests the passions; the sanguine looking on only what harmonizes with his hopes, the diffident only on what accords with his fears. 4. Self-love perverts our esti-

mate of probability by causing us to rate the grounds of judgment not according to their real influence on the truth of the decision, but according to their bearing on our personal interests therein.—Pp. 402, 403.

There is much good discussion on the subject of *language*, both considered in itself and as a source of error, which we must pass, as we must also the remarks on testimony, and the sensible and thoroughly judicious observations on the art of criticism, which many of our tyros in that field of study might do well to read.

On the doctrine of the perfecting of knowledge two means are described: acquisition and communication. The former may be either by speculation or by experience. Experience may be either immediate or mediate. In the latter case our acquisition is through testimony. Under this head are given rules for the proper method of reading.

I. As concerns the quantity of what is to be read, there is a single rule: Read much, but not many works, (*multum non multo.*)

II. As concerns the quality of what is to be read, there may be given five rules: 1. Select the works of principal importance, estimated by relation to the several sciences themselves, or to your particular aim in reading, or to your individual disposition and wants. 2. Read not the more detailed works on a science until you have a rudimentary knowledge of it in general. 3. Make yourself familiar with a science in its actual present state before you proceed to study it in its chronological development. 4. To avoid erroneous and exclusive views, read and compare together the more important works of every sect and party. 5. To avoid a one-sided development of mind, combine with the study of works which cultivate the understanding, the study of works which cultivate the taste.

III. As concerns the mode or manner of reading itself, there are four principal rules: 1. Read that you may accurately remember, but still more that you may fully understand. 2. Strive to compare the general tenor of a work before you attempt to judge of it in detail. 3. Accommodate the intensity of the reading to the importance of the work. Some works are therefore to be only dipped into, others are to be run over rapidly, and others to be studied long and sedulously. 4. Regulate on the same principle the extracts which you make from the works you read.—P. 486.

We are unwilling to close without registering our grateful acknowledgements of the fidelity and thoroughness displayed by the editor in the preparation of this volume for publication. The Lectures were left in such a condition as to require much

skill and labor in their arrangement; and the selection and adjustment of the papers of which the appendix is made up must have been a herculean task. Then there were the quotations to verify, involving extensive search through the works referred to, a labor which we shall only appreciate when we realize the immensity of the field from which the author drew his materials. There is little necessity to urge upon our students generally the propriety of an acquaintance with this volume; it is hardly supposable that they will fail of this from the intrinsic character of the work itself. The somewhat strong tendency for a long time growing in many literary circles to a contempt for logic, which has naturally been engendered by its inefficient treatment hitherto, and the false utilities claimed for it, will be largely neutralized by a study of these Lectures.

Art. II.—LEONARDO DA VINCI.

The events of the past few months have again turned the attention of the civilized world to Italy. The peculiar circumstances of that country invest it with an interest possessed by no other land in Christendom. During the twenty-five centuries of its history what mighty changes have transpired in the history of the world! The restless course of empire has swayed to and fro, from the Euphrates on the east to the Thames on the west. Twice has its pathway crossed Italy itself. Pagan Rome, from her seven hills, received tribute from every nation and tribe of the then known world. Fifteen centuries later, Catholic Rome sent forth edicts that changed the fate of nearly all Europe, dispensing crowns and overthrowing thrones at its will. To Italy again were all eyes turned as the center of all excellence in literature, science, art.

In a philosophical point of view there was a marked difference between the Augustan age and the time of Leo the Tenth. The former was marked by a grand absorption, a gathering into the Eternal City, as a store-house or a museum, of all works of literature and art of surrounding nations and of preceding ages. It lacked an inherent organizing power to remodel from the materials thus collected works of original genius. It was

an age of accumulation rather than of creation. This was reserved for Italy's second visitation. At its approach the hands had stood still for centuries on the great dial face of the world's advancement, while the pendulum of time kept moving on in mournful darkness. The ignorance, superstition, and vices of the masses, the bigotry, ambition, and oppression of the rulers, and the unscrupulous perversion of Christianity by the Church, during the Middle Ages, were almost beyond belief. We turn away from its dark record with our cheeks blushing with shame for our race! Where shall we turn for a genius that shall readjust the disordered machinery of the human mind, restore a sound philosophy, and lead the world back to the truths that had been so long deserted? The work is too extensive, and the *material* of the human mind too intractable, for this to be accomplished by any one person or in any short time.

But Italy, the land of science and of song, the birthplace of literature and art, the cradle and the grave of civil and religious liberty, was the country in which was inaugurated a revolution in philosophy that, spreading to every nation and permeating every branch of human thought, has wrought out in the history of the world such transformations in religion, science, art, and civil government. Nobly, indeed, did she maintain the pre-eminence she had attained for more than two hundred years. While she was in the zenith of her glory, with her schools of philosophy and art in every city, even the educated minds of surrounding nations were groping in almost unbroken darkness. Scholastic learning in England consisted in reading, writing, a little conversational French, and a smattering of Latin. The education of her universities hardly equaled that received in our most ordinary common schools of the present day. In France the constable of one of the departments could neither read nor write, though he was one of the most influential diplomatists of the empire. His deficient education did not excite surprise among his peers, many of whom were but little his superiors in literary qualifications. In Germany learning was in a more elevated condition, and in Spain much higher still. But Italy far surpassed all other nations.

Among the many names of that most illustrious period, none more justly deserves our notice and admiration than that of

Leonardo da Vinci. First in the order of time in the constellation of genius that then appeared, he was inferior to none of them in native ability, and those that came after him owe much of their success to the influence he exerted upon every channel of thought, every development of artistic feeling, and even the perfection of the mechanic arts of his own and subsequent ages. History hardly furnishes us another such strange combination of mental and physical endowments of the most opposite and, as deemed by many, of the most contradictory nature. Reduced to the test of ordinary genius, he sets all laws of criticism at defiance.

The powers of this great man so far surpassed the ordinary standard of human genius that he cannot be judged of by the common data by which it is usual to estimate the capacity of the human mind. He was a phenomenon that overstepped the bounds in every department of knowledge which limited the researches of his predecessors; and whether he is to be regarded for his accomplishments or his vast attainments, whether as the philosopher or the painter who made a new era in the arts of design, he equally surprises our judgment and enlarges our sphere of comprehension.*

Such was the dawn of modern art when Leonardo da Vinci broke forth with a splendor that distanced all former excellence; made up of all the elements that constitute genius, favored by education and circumstances, all eye, all ear, all grasp; painter, poet, sculptor, anatomist, architect, engineer, chemist, machinist, musician, man of science, and sometimes empiric, he laid hold of every beauty in the enchanted circle, but without exclusive attachment to one, he dismissed each in her turn.†

His researches were by no means of a cursory kind. He brought to his labor a mind of the keenest analysis. He shrank from no investigation, however arduous; and under the influence of his catalytic touch, every science seemed to crystalize into definite form. He left no science unexamined, and no art unpracticed. In each he reached a degree of excellence that would have satisfied any ordinary genius to have attained in one alone. Thus in philosophy we are accustomed to look upon Lord Bacon as the great reorganizer of our modes of reasoning, and as the first who had the courage to dispute the claims of the dogmatic school that had for so long a period paralyzed all efforts toward progress in the human mind. We may give to our English philosopher all due praise for the part

* De Quincy. † Fuseli.

he acted in restoring reason to her legitimate sphere, but the brightness of his fame does not require that we should give to him any of the credit that justly belongs to others. The rebellion against *authority* had existed in an unorganized form for a long time before he wrote his "Novum Organum." A guerilla warfare against the established modes of thinking had been carried on in Italy at least for more than a century, under the leadership of Da Vinci. While Bacon was pursuing his studies in Italy, he perceived the importance of the transformation that was going on; and as Garibaldi is to-day carrying on a civil revolution, so Bacon marshaled into a revolution the hosts of philosophy that had for so long a time been in rebellion. A century before him Leonardo da Vinci had practiced in all his investigations the exact principles of the Baconian philosophy, had defended them in his discussions with the scholastics of his day, and had recorded his views in his various works.

None of the writings of Leonardo da Vinci were published till more than a century after his death; and, indeed, the most remarkable of them are still in manuscript. . . . But as he was born in 1452, we may presume his mind to have been in full expansion before 1490. His treatise on painting is known as a very early disquisition on the rules of the art. But his greatest literary distinction is derived from those short fragments of his unpublished writings that appeared not many years since; and which, according, at least, to the common estimate of the age in which he lived, are more like the revelations of physical truth vouchsafed to a single mind than the superstructure of its reasoning upon any established basis. The discoveries which made Galileo, and Kepler, and Maestlin, and Maurolycus, and Castelli, and other names illustrious, *the system of Copernicus, and the very theories of recent geologists*, are anticipated by Da Vinci within the compass of a few pages, not, perhaps, in the most precise language, or on the most conclusive reasoning, but so as to strike us with something like the awe of preternatural knowledge. In an age of so much dogmatism *he first laid down the grand principle of Bacon*, that experiment and observation must be the guides to the just theory in the investigation of nature.*

But let us quote from Da Vinci's own words. We will premise by saying that most of his writings are still in manuscript, and these he wrote in the manner of the present Persians, or of the printed Hebrew, from left to right on the page. It is supposed that he did so to prevent their being used by other

* Hallam.

persons before he had arranged them into formal treatises, as he had intended to do, but was prevented by the civil wars and invasions to which Lombardy was subject during the reign of the house of the Sforzas. This manner of writing makes his notes very difficult to decipher, but also serves to identify them. Nearly all that he has left on record is in the form of concise apothegms. On the subject of the true method of reasoning he says:

Experience is the true interpreter of the works of nature. She never deceives us. It is our judgment that sometimes deceives itself, because it expects effects which experience refuses. We must consult experience to understand the variation of circumstances with reference to the general laws we have deduced, for it is this that furnishes true laws. But you ask me, "Of what use are these laws?" I answer, that they direct us in the researches of nature and in the operations of art. They prevent us from abusing ourselves and others by promising results that we shall not be able to attain.

In the study of those sciences that pertain to mathematics, those *who do not consult nature, but their authorities*, are not the children of nature; I would say that they are not even her grandchildren; she alone is the instructor of true genius.

My plan is first to cite experience, and to show afterward why bodies follow this law. This is the true method to observe in investigating the phenomena of nature. It is very true that nature commences with reason and ends with experience; but it is necessary that we should take just the opposite course. As I have said before, we should commence with experience, and strive by that means to attain to the reason.

Could anything possibly be more Baconian? And how shall we sufficiently admire the genius that so clearly discerned the errors of the philosophers of his day, and the boldness of him who had the courage to oppose the sacred "authority" of the scholastics? Thus the true history of philosophy shows us that the ancient dogmatic school had lost its power in Italy under the leadership of Da Vinci, while Des Cartes simply attacked the fleeing enemy, and after him, Bacon's chief glory consists in clothing the august image of the incoming dynasty in so attractive a garb as to *enlist the affections* of all considerate men of science.

Leonardo also carried his sound philosophy into the fields of practical science. For the following remarkable extracts we are indebted to Venturi, in his "Essai sur les

ouvrages physico-mathématiques de Léonard de Vinci, Paris, 1797," and to Di Libri, in his "Hist. des Sci. Mathém. en Italie."

He wrote largely on mechanical science and on hydraulics. He anticipated Galileo in asserting, in 1499, that the time of descent of a body down an inclined plane is the same as though it passed along its vertical height. He gave a correct statement of the proportionate forces exerted by a cord acting obliquely and supporting a weight on a lever, distinguishing between *real* and *potential* levers. He states that a body descends along the arc of a circle in less time than down its chord. In speaking of the descent of bodies, he assumes the rotation of the earth, stating that a body falling from a high elevation has a compound motion *in consequence of the earth's revolution.* Among other things, he explained the laws of friction previous to Amontons. He describes the principles of virtual velocities, and the influence of the center of gravity on bodies at rest and in motion. In optics, he describes the camera obscura before Porter, and the form of the sun's image when its rays enter a darkened chamber through an angular orifice, before Maurolycos. He writes most philosophically on aerial perspective, [and linear also,] describes the nature of colored shadows, the duration of visual impressions on the retina, and other optical phenomena which we do not meet with in Vittellion; and lastly, Leonardo described the principles of the motions of liquids, in his treatise on hydraulics, even more clearly than Castelli, who lived in the next generation and is regarded usually as the founder of that science. "We must place Da Vinci at the head of those in modern times who have investigated the physico-mathematical sciences and the true method of study."*

Leonardo constructed some of the largest aqueducts of ancient or modern times, was architect of many of the noblest edifices in Italy (a treatise on architecture is among his works;) he introduced a number of important changes in gunnery and fortifications, and invented cranes, derricks, and other mechanical contrivances, as the progress of the works under his charge showed their necessity. He paid particular attention to anatomy, and filled several folio volumes with his drawings and

* Di Libri.

accompanying notes. One of these volumes is now in the possession of the British Academy. In the year 1746 Dr. John Hunter, the first great light in English anatomy, remarked, on seeing this volume, then in the library of George the Third, that "he saw with astonishment that Leonardo was a deep student in this science, and was at that time the best anatomist in the world." There are fac-simile engravings of these drawings, with the notes on the side of the plates, in the Astor library. Their scientific accuracy is surprising, and their spirited, artistic finish is in marked contrast to what we see in many if not all of the best works even of the present day.

Having a passionate fondness for music, both vocal and instrumental, he learned early in life to play the guitar. He soon threw it aside as too easy of execution and as too limited in its power, and took up the harp. So rapid was his mastery over this instrument, so beautiful in its effects, yet so difficult to play upon, that, accompanying it with his own rich, clear voice, he improvised both words and music. Lomazzo says that "he was the first musician of his day." He invented a new kind of viola, and also introduced some improvements in the construction of the harp. Most of the poetry he composed was of the ballad form, and but few specimens of it have been handed down, unless they exist in his as yet undeciphered manuscripts.

In modeling and sculpture, Leonardo was unsurpassed by any who had preceded him in modern times. His chief works are San Tommaso in Florence, a horse in Venice; some exquisite statues, modeled by him, but cast in bronze by Rustici for the Church of St. John in Venice; an alto relievo model of St. Jerome in a grotto, represented as old and much worn by prayer; besides a large variety of heads modeled in clay from time to time, of which "even those executed in his youth seemed to come from the hand of a master."

But all these attainments were secondary to his character and fame as a painter. To art he made all his investigations and labors subservient, and it is in this that his genius shines in its fullest brilliancy. Very early in life he adopted the most rigid habit of copying every object he met with in nature with perfect accuracy. His minuteness of finish, and at the same time his perfect harmony in the composition of his pieces, would suit exactly the most enthusiastic pre-Raphaelite

of the present day. Art, having wandered through the maze of the "authority of the masters" for nearly three hundred years, is just returning to the standards that Leonardo laid down in his remarkable treatise on painting.

He always carried his sketch-book wherever he went. He would frequently follow for a whole day a person whose countenance was marked by some strange expression, making occasional notes on the peculiar plan he adopted, till he had the countenance in perfection. He attended executions to watch the dying agony of criminals, visited prisons and traveled through the lowest parts of cities, invited peasants to dine with him, entertaining them with most ludicrous stories to catch their unaffected expressions of rude delight, which were quickly drawn and passed round the company as a new source of merriment, thus filling his portfolio with material for his labored compositions. The sketch-books that are now preserved show how extensive was the range of his observation. Clouds, landscapes, water-falls, botany, anatomy, architecture, machinery, and every object apparently in nature and art, come within the range of his comprehensive pencil. The labor he bestowed upon his chief works would be almost incredible were it not substantiated by the best of evidence. His works are marked by a superior delicacy and grace, an accuracy of finish, and a mellow harmony that makes them most easily recognized. Some of his productions drew crowds of all classes of people to see them, that resembled those of a gala day, and no painting in the world has been reproduced so often as to compare at all with his "Last Supper." To this day we find it in every Christian household.

When we bear in mind that to these rare, if not unequaled endowments of mind Leonardo united an uncommonly attractive personal appearance, great conversational powers, the utmost urbanity of manner toward all he met with, both high and low, we do not wonder that his presence was courted by royalty, or that the masses respected, admired, and loved him almost to adoration. Our respect for him is also increased by the fact that, living in a dissolute court for so many years, his personal character was above reproach even from his enemies, of whom, mostly the partisans of Michael Angelo, toward the latter part of Da Vinci's career he had not a few.

Leonardo always dressed very richly, and took great delight in days of public parade. On these occasions he took pride in performing equestrian feats that would startle even professional riders, and bring tumultuous cheers from the attending crowds. Being asked for some information on horsemanship by a teacher of military tactics, he wrote for him a treatise on fencing and tilting, illustrating it largely with his pencil. It contained a number of difficult positions, in attitudes of offense and defense. The horse was his favorite animal, and he always kept one or more of the best in the land. It was frequently introduced into his compositions, and always with great spirit. He finally wrote a treatise on the anatomy of the horse for the use of his pupils in painting battle scenes.

Leonardo da Vinci, the son of Pietro, a notary of the Florentine republic, was born in 1452 at a castle named Vinci, in the valley of the Arno. The statement by some authorities that he was born in 1444 is an error. In his early youth he evinced those traits of character that in after years made him so eminent. It is recorded that the young Leonardo asked his teacher many mathematical questions that he could not answer. By the efforts of Cimabue, Giotto, and Massacio, the art of painting had commenced to revive, though in a crude form, throughout Italy, and especially in Tuscany, under the powerful patronage of Lorenzo di Medici. Pietro, perceiving the aptitude of his son with the pencil, placed him under the instruction of Andrea Verrochio, afterward so distinguished as a sculptor and architect. Perugino was a fellow-pupil. Verrochio was engaged by some Dominican friars to paint a representation of Christ's baptism by John. He called upon young Leonardo to paint the angel in the sky. This he did with a grace and spirit that so surpassed the rest of the piece that Verrochio threw down his pencil and devoted himself afterward entirely and with great success to sculpture and architecture.

A short time after, Pietro promised some assistance to one of his neighbors, a peasant, in getting a shield painted, and requested his son to help him make good his word. Leonardo took the shield, which was in quite a rude state, ground it down, covered it with plaster, and set to work to paint something that would surprise his father. He gathered together

into a room lizards, frogs, bats, worms, vipers, adders, and other reptiles, and from these, intertwined in the most fantastic order, combined a horrible image, emitting fire and poison from its jaws, flames from its eyes, and smoke from its nostrils. He labored on this strange composition till the stench from the dead animals was almost beyond endurance. When finished, he placed it by a window in the direct light of the sun, and called in his father. On entering the room, Pietro started back with horror and affright. Leonardo remarked that he was satisfied with his work, as it had had the desired effect. Pietro purchased an ordinary shield for the peasant, and shortly after sold this strange piece to the Duke of Milan for a large price.

Passing on till Leonardo was thirty years of age, one of his first public undertakings was the painting of a cartoon, to be worked in tapestry for the King of Portugal, representing the temptation of Adam and Eve. This cartoon was said by cotemporaneous writers to "surpass everything of the kind that had ever been seen." He next painted a madonna, with, among other accessories, a vase of flowers so inimitably executed that "the dew-drops seemed to glisten on the leaves." This was purchased at an enormous price by Pope Clement. He painted a design of Neptune, drawn in his car by sea-horses, and surrounded by mermaids, tritons, and all other attendants of that deity which his fertile imagination could invent. The fame of Leonardo's talents had spread not only throughout all Italy but the world, and several princes invited him to reside at their courts to profit by his knowledge and to enrich their palaces with his works. The example of Lorenzo di Medici at Florence, the Macænas of the age in which he lived, had excited emulation among the princes of Italy, and men of talent in literature and art were sure of preferment.

We soon find Leonardo at the court of Ludovico Sforza, prince-regent during his nephew's minority, and afterward Duke of Milan. His arrival is thus chronicled by Belincionni, who resided at the same court and chronicled in verse the passing events as they transpired:

> "Like bees to hive, here flocks each learned sage;
> With all that's good and great his court is thronged;
> From Florence fair hath an Apollos come," etc.

For fear it should not be understood, the editor has added in the margin "Magistro Leonardo da Vinci."

For over thirty years Milan had suffered all the miseries of anarchy from a disputed succession. Amid the many intrigues the city was nearly destroyed, much blood was shed, and it seemed as if ruin complete and final threatened the state. At last Ludovico il Moro succeeded in restoring the Sforza family to power, with himself its virtual representative. Ludovico did not assume the surname "il Moro" on account of his dark complexion, as Gibbon erroneously asserts, but he chose the mulberry tree (in Italian "il moro") as his device. This tree was considered wiser than all others, as it does not blossom till after the frosts have passed, when it immediately bears fruit. Ludovico chose this as his emblem, as he aimed to do nothing rashly, but rather maturely to reflect and promptly to execute.* He was a prince of great talent, one of the first diplomatists of his age, much averse to war, choosing to accomplish his results rather by intrigue than by arms, of great ambition, much given to luxury and sometimes to dissolute habits, and so frank and pleasing in his manner, and so easy of access, and so generous to all in his confidence, that he soon became a universal favorite in the Duchy. His ambition finally proved to be his ruin, and the city he had blessed by his liberal and enlightened policy for its improvement saw him taken captive with scarcely an attempt at resistance. As he commenced his reign he drew to his court the distinguished in all professions. To such a prince a man of the varied talents of Leonardo da Vinci was invaluable, and he was accordingly received at the court with every mark of favor and affection.

Soon after his arrival the duke appointed Leonardo, in 1494, to be director of the Academy of Painting and Architecture, which had been established a few years. He immediately reorganized it on a more truthful and liberal basis, banishing the crude and unnatural methods of Gothic drawing that had prevailed. He was the first to introduce chiaro oscuro into his own pieces and in his instructions to others. In this feature of his works he has never been surpassed. The Academy soon became the most distinguished in Italy, and scholars flocked from all parts of the country to receive his instructions. The

* Giovio, Viti d'illustri Homini.

influence they exerted upon reviving art in Italy, when driven from Milan by the political difficulties that closed the successful reign of Ludovico, can scarcely be overestimated.

The duke next engaged Leonardo to undertake the stupendous project of conducting the waters of the river Adda from Mortesana through the Valteline and the valley of Chiavenna to the very walls of Milan, a distance of two hundred miles. The project had hitherto been regarded as impracticable. But the impediments of nature gave way before his daring genius. Hills were leveled and valleys filled up. The aqueduct called "Il Mortesana," in comparison with which the Croton or the Cochituate is insignificant, was successfully completed, to the astonishment and admiration of all Italy and the pride of the city of Milan. Political difficulties interfered with other works of a similar nature that Leonardo planned, to render navigable neighboring rivers. While making the excavations that were requisite in the construction of "Il Mortesana," his attention was arrested by the great variety of shells that abound in so many of the rocky strata in Northern Italy. His philosophical mind was led to investigate their nature and origin. Other philosophers noticed the same phenomena, and a spirited discussion arose concerning them. Leonardo maintained the ground single-handed, as far as history informs us, that they formerly were the bed of the ocean. He opposed the views as childish and unsatisfactory that the fossil remains were formed into their peculiar shape by *plastic forces* in nature, or that they were deposited in their position during the Deluge. The latter he showed to be impossible, as they were found inside of rocks many feet under the surface. As to the theory of *plastic forces*, he says, among other equally plain remarks:

> They tell us that these shells were formed in the hills by the influence of the stars; but where, I ask, are the stars now forming in the hills shells like them, of distinct ages and species? And how can a reference to the power of the stars explain the origin of gravel found in beds at different heights, and composed of pebbles rounded as if by the action of running water? In what manner can such a cause account for the petrifaction of various leaves, sea-weeds, and marine crabs? Evidently these rocks were once the bed of the ocean; and the mud of the rivers, when borne to the sea, penetrated into the interior of the shells near the coast.

Here is a part of the earth which has become more light and which rises, while the opposite part approaches nearer the center, and what was the bottom of the sea becomes the top of the mountain.

Forty years after Da Vinci, Fracastoro adopted his views and wrote them out more at length. Ecclesiastical scholastics entered into the discussion with a liberality that would be creditable to many religious censors of geology of later date.

Ludovico also engaged Da Vinci to design and erect a colossal equestrian statue to the memory of Francesco Sforza, one of the most noted princes of that dynasty. He devoted himself with his accustomed diligence and care to the prosecution of this work, making innumerable sketches of horses in all manner of spirited attitudes. A number of these sketches are still preserved in the volumes of his drawings now in the British Gallery. It was not till the year 1497 that he had completed the model. It was declared by critics of the day a most admirable production, well worthy of his genius. The model was carried in a festal procession of great pomp in honor of its completion, and unfortunately it was broken. With unwearied patience, Leonardo completed a new one, and had even finished the mould ready to receive the metal, when the final complication of the duke's affairs rendered further progress impossible, and it was never cast. Sabba da Castiglion tells us that during the invasion of Milan by the French, "he saw the Gascon bowmen use the model as a target," and thus perished this beautiful work of art, and it exists only in the record of the admiration bestowed upon it in that age of artistic taste.

Passing by a number of years of serious difficulties following the death of Ludovico's nephew, during his minority, we find him re-established with the full powers of government pertaining to his title as duke by the voice of the people and the connivance of the monarchies of Spain, Naples, France, and Austria, (all contestants for the rule of Milan.) Ludovico now devoted himself with renewed vigor to the cultivation of his domain in all the practical and liberal arts. He again gathered around him distinguished men from all parts of Italy, who by their talents and accomplishments contributed to the embellishment of his city and the refinement of his court. Milan became what Florence had ceased to be, the center of refinement of

Italy. That beautiful city being desolated by internal broils, the arts of peace had fled to a more congenial soil, and Ludovico became the great patron of the fine arts and the restorer of literature in Italy. The residence of Leonardo at Milan at this time must have been even more agreeable than before. In the enjoyment of the full confidence and favor of the duke, respected and beloved by all, he devoted himself with vigor to his favorite pursuits. His pencil was busy in painting pieces that would be called *chef-d'œuvres* if done by common artists. He designed many of the finest buildings of Milan. He also at this time wrote his famous treatise "On the comparative merits of Painting and Sculpture," which received so much commendation by his cotemporaries, but unfortunately is not known to be extant, unless it should be hereafter discovered in his manuscripts. Free from all care of present want, he lived in the most splendid manner, and devoted his leisure to the entertainment of his friends. He drew around him the best society of Milan during that brilliant period. At the same time the poorest artist was welcome to a seat at his table and a share of his purse.

On his return from Pavia to resume the government of Milan, the duke, Ludovico, was desirous of enriching his capital with some work worthy of Da Vinci's talents, that would perpetuate the fame of the artist and the liberality of the prince. With this in view, he requested him to paint the "Last Supper" in the Dominican Convent of the Madonna delle Grazie. It would have been impossible to select a subject more adapted to Leonardo's taste and genius. It had for a long time been a favorite theme with Christian artists. Leonardo adopted the conventional style among painters of his day, of representing the whole company as *seated* on the distant side of a long table. This was in accordance with the manner of sitting at table at that time. It also enabled him to complete the circle of the monks at table, as the picture was painted on the wall of the refectory, opposite and on a line above them. Raphael painted two representations of the same scene. In his first he adopted the reclining posture, which was the true custom of the Jews. This gave the disagreeable necessity of presenting some of the figures in the foreground, with their backs to the beholder. In his second he adopted

the anachronism of Leonardo's picture, of representing the company as sitting. Leonardo selected as his theme the moment when Christ was uttering those prophetic words, "I say unto you that one of you shall betray me." To properly represent the scene at this moment required a deep insight into the various passions that agitated the human mind and a knowledge of the variations of attitude, gesture, and expression of countenance by which they are manifested; and at the same time it enabled him to give each individual figure the merit and interest of a separate composition, without disturbing the harmony of the whole. So impressed was Leonardo with the dignity of the subject, and so anxious to fully represent the high ideal he had formed in his own mind, that in some parts his progress was exceedingly slow. The characters of Christ and Judas gave him especial trouble.

The impressive words uttered by our Saviour were well calculated to excite the greatest agitation among the disciples. Until that moment they had considered all of their number to be faithful. Devoted to his person, and zealous in the execution of the divine commission, how was it possible for them to suspect that one of their number could be capable of so atrocious a crime as to betray their Lord and Master? Christ is, of course, placed in the middle of the picture, in the seat of honor. The disciples are arranged in four groups, of three in each group. In their arrangement there is a correspondence of emotion united with the greatest variety in gesture and expression of countenance. The two groups to the left of Christ are full of impassioned excitement, the figures in the first turning to the Saviour, those in the second speaking to each other, while both are marked alternately by horror, astonishment, suspicion, and doubt. Those to the right are marked by sorrow, stillness, low whispers, and indirect observation. The two groups near Christ are also clustered nearer together than the others, thus showing him to be the center of interest. To give more relief to this central figure of our Saviour, the artist has availed himself of a window opening upon a charming piece of landscape. We cannot better express our admiration for the masterly rendering of this the principal figure of the composition than in the words of another, who by extensive acquaintance with all the works of the old masters is well qualified to give a correct

opinion: "I am not afraid of being under the necessity of retracting what I am going to advance, that neither during the splendid period immediately subsequent to Leonardo, nor in those which succeeded to our time, has a face of the Redeemer been produced which, I will not say equaled, but *approached* the sublimity of Leonardo's conception, and in the quiet, simple features of humanity, embodied divinity, or what is the same, incomprehensible and infinite powers."* Yet it is said that Leonardo never considered the face of Christ perfect; and after long consideration as to how it could be improved, he accepted the advice of a brother artist to leave it—as Leonardo called it—"unfinished!"

First to the right of Christ is St. John, the disciple "whom Jesus loved," represented as a young man with agreeable, regular, and almost feminine features. His hands are joined together in involuntary grief. Full of love to his Lord and of faith in the truth of the prophetic words, he yields to the bitterness of his affliction, his muscles relax, his head reclines, and he does not notice the consternation of his brother apostles. Directly to the left of the Saviour the artist has placed Peter, to indicate the distinguished place he held in the favor of his Divine Master, and also as a picturesque contrast with the mild character of St. John. Zealous and enthusiastic in his temperament, more advanced in age than John, and his character thereby more established, his pride is wounded; giving way to the natural impulse of his character, he vigorously undertakes his own defense. He could not bear even to be suspected of so base a deed, and he expresses himself in those forcible words: "Though I should die with thee, yet will I not deny thee." The contrast between the two favorites among Christ's disciples is most admirably conceived, and makes more prominent the majestic repose of the Saviour's face.

On the other side of Peter, with a countenance full of sweetness and grace, is James the Less, represented as just in the flower of his age. Pointing with his right hand to his breast, to express the conscious innocence of his heart, which he strongly presses with his left, his countenance full of delicate and confiding fidelity, his graceful action contrasts finely with the violence of Peter's gesture.

* Fuseli.

Turning again to the other side of the picture, next to the patriarchal Simeon, we see the head of Judas. It is of itself a most wonderful study. This Leonardo left unfinished more than a year. Finally, the prior of the Dominicans became impatient, and when he saw Leonardo contemplating his picture instead of finishing it, imagining that a painter is never at work unless his hands are actually employed, he complained to the duke of Leonardo's indolence, till he summoned the artist into his presence, and inquired concerning it with such kindness and affability that Leonardo willingly explained to him that a man of genius is frequently the most at work when apparently the least so, as so much depends upon a just and adequate conception of the subject. He concluded by saying that "there remained but two heads unfinished. That of Christ I have long despaired of being able to complete, and I am quite convinced of the utter impossibility of finding a model on earth capable of representing the union of divinity with humanity, much less do I hope to supply the deficiency from my own imagination. Nothing is wanting therefore but to express the character of Judas, and I have for some time sought without success among your prisons and the very refuse of your people for such a countenance as I require. But if your excellency is so impatient that the picture should be finished, I can take the likeness of the Dominican prior, who richly deserves it for his impertinent interference."* The duke laughed most heartily at this sally of wit, and being convinced of how much labor Leonardo bestowed upon each individual figure, was only impressed with a greater respect for his talents, and dismissed the prior, who was effectually silenced, fearing that the threat might be put into execution, and he be handed down to posterity in no enviable position. The story that the figure of Judas is a portrait of the prior is a modern invention, based, no doubt, upon the threat, but is successfully refuted both by Leonardo's delicacy and generosity of feeling, and also by the fact that the prior was a man of noble and commanding appearance.

But to return to the composition. Our artist has placed Judas between John and Simeon, the loveliest figures of all the disciples. To express the full force of his black character

* Bottari's Littori Pittoriche.

and render his depravity more visible, he alone is deprived of physical light. And what a countenance is his! Of all crimes treason shows the greatest depravity. The traitor, destitute of honor or virtue, is a coward; always on his guard, you cannot surprise him; an adept in treason, he never betrays himself. A master of his own passions, he at the same time strives to feign those he does not possess, so as to remove suspicion from himself. But the sudden denunciation confounds him. He discovers himself in spite of his mask of hypocrisy and grasps more closely the purse in his right hand, while he feigns a surprise by a slight motion of the left hand. In his convulsive movement the artist, resorting to a prejudice well known in all civilized countries, has made him "overturn the salt."

In the midst of all this agitation the face of the Saviour appears divinely serene. He shows no hatred, anger, or even impatience. He simply makes the prophetic announcement with all the calmness of an innocent being. No reproach soils his lips. The most submissive resignation to meet all the requirements of his divine mission are marked in the delicate inclination of his head, the pathetic action of the hands, and the tranquil position of the body. A slight elevation of the eyebrows indicates the compassionate tenderness of his soul, mingled with an inexpressibly interesting melancholy.

The figures in this immortal composition were larger than life; the whole piece was twenty-eight feet in length. During the invasion of Milan by Francis the First, in 1516, he attempted to cut it from the wall and, at any expense, to carry it to France, but found it to be impossible. The determination of Leonardo to paint it in oil colors on the wall instead of in fresco has proved unfortunate for the preservation of the work, though it gave him an opportunity to finish the minutest details with the utmost care. The masonry of the convent, already bad by misconstruction, was nearly ruined by an inundation in 1500, during which the refectory was partly under water, the walls becoming saturated with moisture. From this and other circumstances, by 1550 the colors had become very badly faded. In 1652 a door was cut through the middle of the painting to enlarge the refectory, thereby destroying the feet of the Saviour and two of the other figures. From the attempts of two bungling painters to restore the piece, only the

heads of Christ and three of the apostles remained. In 1796, when Napoleon led the French army over the Alps into Italy, he gave express orders that the room in which this interesting relic was should be respected. After he had left, succeeding generals disobeyed his orders, the refectory was turned into a stable, and afterward into a magazine for hay and other materials, and the soldiers made the remaining heads the marks for their bullets! By a singular fatuity the French have been the instruments of destruction of two of Leonardo's chief productions, the statue of Sforza and the "Lord's Supper." Now, when all traces of this painting, except of the outrages and vicissitudes to which it has been exposed, are obliterated, a guard is appointed to protect it, and a scaffold is erected that visitors may inspect *its ruins!*

To compensate in a slight degree for its loss, it was copied many times soon after its completion. Some fifteen of the copies are now preserved in different galleries. As they were mostly done by Leonardo's pupils, or by those who were very familiar with his style of painting, much of the character of the original is doubtless preserved. One of the best of these copies, by Marco d'Oggione, and Leonardo's original drawing, are now in the British Gallery. Copies of it in painting and engraving have since been multiplied without number. The best engraving of it is from the inimitable hand of Chevalier Raphael Morghen. In this country Mr. Burt has engraved a very passable representation of it, while there is no end to the number of cheap copies, some with *gilded buttons* and the most gaudy drapery! A first-class engraving of this piece is a great desideratum in lists of American art.

The temporary peace and prosperity with which Milan had been blessed soon was succeeded by another season of contest and turmoil. Finally the duke, Ludovico, was overthrown in battle by the French, taken prisoner, and carried into France, where, after being confined for ten years, he died in the castle of Loches. During this period of strife Leonardo retired to the castle of his companion and friend, Melzi, near Milan, hoping to be enabled to return to that city and resume his labors. The condition of the city proved every way unfavorable. The Academy of Art was destroyed, the professors and students dispersed, and the arts of peace were banished from

that nursery of genius. Leonardo lost everything but his talents, application, and personal attraction. Yet these misfortunes of Milan and her artist proved of immense advantage to Italy. The scholars of Leonardo's academy, painters, sculptors, architects, founders, carvers, and engravers on precious stones, settled in every town in Italy and laid the foundation of its many schools of art.

Leonardo finally resolved to return to Florence. The Florentines, disgusted with the arrogance and imbecility of Pietro di Medici, had taken the power into their own hands and banished him from the state, electing Pietro Soderini in his stead with the title of "Gonfalionere Perpetuo." The Gonfalionere received Leonardo with every mark of distinction, and immediately gave employment to his pencil. The first work of importance he executed was a cartoon of the "Annunciation," so exquisitely finished, says Vasari, that "not only the artists but the whole city, men and women, old and young, flocked to see it in such crowds that for two days it had almost the appearance of a public festival." Among other portraits he painted those of Americus Vespucius, Lady Gènevra, and Madonna Lisa. These last two were among the most celebrated beauties of Florence. That of Madonna Lisa was considered by all artists and critics of that time to be the perfection of portrait painting. Vasari, writing from the spot soon after it was finished, observes: "In this the beholder may see how nearly it is possible for art to approach nature. The eye has the luster and expression of life. The nose, and more especially the mouth, have more the appearance of real flesh and blood than of painting. . . . Leonardo studied by all possible means to make this surpass everything that had been seen of the sort. He was in the habit of having music, singing, and all kinds of amusement to make her laugh, and thus remove the air of melancholy so frequently observed in portraits. This produced so pleasing an effect in the picture as to give it a most superhuman expression, and the only wonder seemed to be that it was not alive." There was also a most charming bit of landscape for a background. Francis the First purchased this piece for 45,000 francs and removed it to Paris, where it now is in the Louvre.

In 1502 Leonardo was appointed architect and chief engineer by Cesar Borgia, captain-general in the army of Pope Alex-

ander. He traveled much through Italy, made the plans for a castle near Rome, and was otherwise employed till 1503, when the death of the pope ended his commission, and he returned to Florence. Here Leonardo and Michael Angelo were commissioned by the city to paint opposite sides of the Hall of Palazzo Vecchio. As these were national works it was necessary to select as the subjects some event in the history of the republic. Michael Angelo took for his theme the preparation for battle in one of the Pisan campaigns. Leonardo selected the last yet doubtful moment of victory, when at Anghiari in Tuscany, in 1440, Nicolo Picinnino, the general of Filipo, Duke of Milan, was conquered by the Florentines. The chief scene in his cartoon was the "struggle of the horsemen for the standard." Both riders and horses enter with the utmost excitement into the contest. Leonardo used his utmost skill in giving the most desperate character to the struggling soldiers. Large crowds, especially of young artists, poured in from all parts of the country to witness the cartoons, though Leonardo's was finished three years before Michael Angelo's. Raphael came among the rest, and was so charmed with the ease and grace of Leonardo's figures that he adopted his style immediately instead of his former imitation of the comparatively hard and dry style of Perugino. Leonardo has left many sketches of different parts of his cartoons, and also a description written out at length of the circumstances of the battle; but neither of the cartoons were ever painted on the walls of the Palace Hall, and both were destroyed soon after their completion.

Endless conflicts arising again among the contestant powers in upper Italy, with alternate victory and defeat, Leonardo saw no prospect of doing any more works of art there, and went to Rome, with the hope of obtaining employment for his pencil by Pope Leo the Tenth. The Pope treated him very cavalierly, and he remained there but a short time. Besides a few portraits, it is not known that he undertook anything of importance at Rome, except some improvements that he introduced into the mint, in purifying and embellishing the Roman coin. Soon after Leonardo's return to Florence the politics of Italy became again deeply embroiled. Finally Francis the First, lately crowned Emperor of France, in the full possession of youth, health, beauty, and accomplishments, a great favorite

with his people, and a skillful general, made a most successful invasion into Lombardy to regain its possession, as he considered himself entitled to it by the right of his crown. Following an entirely unexpected route over the Alps, he surprised and took prisoner the Milanese general, Prospero Colonna, while at dinner, then recovered the city of Milan, and proceeded with rapid strides to reconquer the whole of Lombardy. Leonardo da Vinci hastened to the court of Francis at Pavia, where were gathered, by the invitation of the emperor, the most talented and accomplished men of Italy, and was received with every mark of friendship and esteem. Leonardo's spirits began to revive again on finding his talents duly appreciated, and he must have felt an honest pride on being taken to Rome by the emperor as one of his chief counselors in his negotiations with the Pope, at whose court he had so lately had so unkind a reception.

Notwithstanding his dissolute life and his more than questionable morals, the emperor adopted a most liberal policy, in endeavoring to make France what Italy had been, the center of wealth, refinement, and literary excellence. He purchased for his capitol many valuable works of art, and sought by every means in his power to attach men of talents and accomplishments to his court. Leonardo accompanied the emperor on his return to France in 1516, and was there treated with the most distinguished favor. The court vied with the monarch in their attentions, so that Leonardo must have been most highly gratified in being able to pass his declining years in peace and plenty, and free from the perpetual intrigues and contests that infested the petty sovereignties of Italy. It is a matter of much doubt whether he painted any pieces during his residence in France. The change of climate had so injurious an effect upon his health that it began to decline soon after his arrival in that country. Toward the latter end of his life his health was so much broken that his infirmities no longer permitted him to take part in the affairs or pleasures of this life, and he began to prepare himself, by a more strict observance of the precepts of the Catholic religion, for his final change, which he was confident was rapidly approaching. In his life he had never been irreligious. His writings are more serious than would have been expected from the vivacity of his disposition

in his early life, and his paintings are always marked by the purity and modesty of their subject and treatment; many, indeed, being of a most religious nature. Though his person, talents, and attainments would have given him every chance of success, especially under the example of a most libertine court in France, and a most designing one in Italy, it is well known that no man of his time was less given to intrigue. On the contrary, in spite of the influences that surrounded him, his life was most exemplary. In the religious experience of his last days he speaks of no remorse for a life of vice and immorality, but he only mourns that he "had wronged both God and man by not making better use of his talents in advancing the arts and sciences."

The story is current that Leonardo died during a spasm, in the arms of the Emperor Francis, and it has been repeated in many of the best authorities. These writers could not have been aware that on the day when Leonardo died, May 2, 1519, at Cloux, near Amboise, by the records of the court, they were with the emperor at St. Germain en Laye; and further, that Melzi, Leonardo's most intimate companion, who had accompanied him to France, carried the news to the emperor, who received it with the greatest manifestations of sorrow and regret, as only a few days previous he had left him feeling considerably better. Thus at the age of sixty-seven—not of seventy-five, as stated by some of his biographers—was closed the remarkable career of this most remarkable man.

Were not the record of history too clear to admit of the least ground of doubt, we might question the statement made by Hallam, that Leonardo da Vinci was the greatest man in the fifteenth century. He inspired every branch of thought with new life and activity. He "first broke loose from the fetters of authority," and prepared the way for the incoming of modern philosophy and science. Art owes still more to him. He was thirty years the senior of Michael Angelo. And there is no question that from viewing Leonardo's works, that great artist incorporated much of the breadth of view and grandeur of design that so especially distinguish his works. When Leonardo was in the zenith of his fame and power, Raphael visited Florence, and after studying carefully his cartoons, he adopted the easy grace of his style and the harmony of his composition, in

exchange for the hard and stiff style of Perugino, from whom he had received his instruction. Though both of these were greater artists in the number and extent of their works, Leonardo was the greatest man, and they owed much of what they did achieve to the inspiration they received from viewing his works.

It would seem that the eminence Leonardo attained in any one of the many departments in which he was so distinguished would have been sufficient to establish a most enviable reputation, and that to be the forerunner of the institution of a new school of philosophy and art would be sufficient honor of itself, even though history gave us nothing but the memory of his name. That he did not accomplish more was owing to the interruptions of his work by the incessant turmoils of the Italian states. During the short intervals of peace he was busily employed in conducting nearly every work of public improvement of the state in which he lived. Venturi expresses the opinion that in his undeciphered writings there are treasures of thought as valuable as those that—taken quite at random from his works—have so much surprised us. Leonardo frequently mentioned to Melzi his intention of collating the scattered notes, memoranda, and apothegms that he had recorded upon different branches of philosophy, science, and art, into systematic treatises, but this he was unavoidably prevented from doing.

His treatise on painting has passed through several editions in Italy, France, and England. The last one in England was published in 1856. It is very rare. The book is written in apothegms, probably in the form in which they were given to the students in the academy at Milan. Its style is clear, terse, and expressive. The instruction is discriminating, and even in the present day profitable to the practical artist. It is worthy of a place in the library of every man of taste, and it is to be regretted that we have no American edition of it.

Of Leonardo's paintings seventy or eighty principal pieces are known to have been executed. Comparatively few of these are known to exist at the present day. Of the large number of minor pieces it is quite uncertain how many were painted by his followers, or only received their finishing touches from his hands. In the Bryan Gallery in this city are two heads claimed to be by him. One is a picture of St. John, the other is named

(with little evident authority) St. John weeping. The last was probably by one of Leonardo's imitators. In the Aspinwall Gallery is a painting of our Saviour, claimed to be genuine, and a painting of a lady, executed in his style, if not by his hand. Mr. Jarvis, who has collected the Gallery of the Fine Arts with so much labor and expense, has a Madonna by Leonardo, the most valuable piece in his collection.

Da Vinci left fourteen folio volumes of drawings with notes attached. Contrary to the express terms of his will, they were scattered soon after his death, and one found its way to England.

Bartolozzi, Historical Engraver to the Crown, engraved a large number of these drawings in 1794–1806. The subjects are very miscellaneous, including portraits, single figures, caricatures, tilting horses and other animals, botany, optics, perspective, gunnery, hydraulics, mechanics, and a great variety of spirited anatomical studies. Many of the elegant heads were drawn with red and black chalks on red and blue paper, others executed with a metal point on tinted paper; a few are washed and then whitened with chalk, and many are on common paper, drawn with pen and ink. The chief attraction of this volume, however, is the profile copy of Da Vinci's head, drawn by himself. It is one of the most perfect and symmetrical heads that art has recorded, and indicates the high endowments of his mind. A copy of this volume of engravings is one of the most interesting works in the Astor library.

To claim that Leonardo possessed no faults would be saying that he was more than human. He was keenly sensitive to dishonorable treatment, and could not submit to neglect or indignity even from so high a functionary as the Pope. He was also inclined at times to be empirical, and to this undoubtedly is owing the destruction of some of his paintings. That some of his projects were too grand to be executed in those turbulent times is rather a compliment than otherwise to the breadth and scope of his views. But when we consider his versatile genius, and the perfection to which he carried everything he undertook, we may say again that "we cannot apply to him the tests of ordinary genius," and that "he was without doubt the greatest man in the fifteenth century."

Art. III.—IS THE MODERN CAMP-MEETING A FAILURE?

The strongest advocate of the modern camp-meeting would hardly appeal to any explicit scriptural command, or to any exact scriptural example, in support of his preference. A regularly attested biblical paternity that institution can never claim. The "tented grove," with its wealth of memories, so dear and sacred to the hearts of thousands, is nowhere mentioned in the word of God. It had no existence until centuries after the last book of inspiration had enriched the world. Its very origin was providential if not fortuitous, and its subsequent recognition as a religious instrumentality has wholly resulted from its supposed efficiency in this respect.

But in this concession we by no means include the whole question of Scriptural precedent. The essential features of the modern institution find a strong parallel in the ancient "Feast of Tabernacles," as described in the twenty-third chapter of Leviticus, and in the eighth of Nehemiah. This will be recognized as a solemn religious festival, divinely appointed in the time of Moses, to commemorate the goodness of God in the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt, and in their miraculous preservation during their sad and weary wanderings. Its character, therefore, was purely religious, and its sole object the promotion of a deeper piety in the hearts of the people. By express command seven days were set apart, and to each was definitely assigned its appropriate duty. For public ministrations, the people assembled in the open air, but lodged in tents, or "booths," hastily erected for the purpose. The law of God was daily read to the congregation by an authorized interpreter, or "scribe," whose office bore a close analogy to that of the modern preacher. A glimpse of the manner in which this duty was performed is afforded in a passage not immediately relating to the solemnity in question. "So they read in the book, in the law of God, distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading." That a thorough analysis or exposition of the text accompanied the reading is, according to Dr. Clarke, implied in the original. The effect

was very impressive and striking. "For all the people wept when they heard the words of the law." And even when the preliminary ascription of praise was rendered, by the officiating scribe, to "the Lord, the great God," "all the people answered Amen, amen, with lifting up their hands, and they bowed their heads, and worshiped the Lord with their faces to the ground."

We now ask if every essential particular to which we have alluded is not effectually reproduced in the modern camp-meeting? Now, as then, several days are set apart, and especially devoted to the solemnities of the occasion. Tents or booths take the place of ordinary abodes, and, so far as practicable, all "servile work" is suspended. From the "pulpit of wood," the law of God is read to the gathered multitude, the same glorious word of duty and of promise, yet with priceless accessions to the volume of the ancient record. The "thunders of Sinai" are re-echoed in the living voice that is lifted up "like a trumpet" to "show the people their transgressions and the house of Jacob their sins." And from Calvary's sacred summit now resounds that inspiring evangel of peace and redemption, for which the longing ear of king and of prophet vainly listened. No wonder if the great truth of all time, which to the ancient worshiper lay vailed amid the mystic draperies of prophecy, now thrills the hearts of the people, while with the same responses that then broke the silence of attention, and with kindred tears of penitence or of hope, thousands bend the knee and worship.

That no great national event is commemorated in these annual gatherings, has little to do with the analogy we have demonstrated. Their salient characteristic is their religious element. The promotion of a more deep and general piety is their only intention. To familiarize the people with the word of God, to inspire a readier obedience to his will, and to confirm the faith, and quicken the life of the Church, is the golden principle, without which both they and their famous Jewish prototype would have been only meaningless parades. Upon the most exalted basis, therefore, rests the parallel between the modern institution and its time-honored predecessor.

But a direct precedent in the word of God is not indispensable to our purpose. An essentially religious and scriptural

enterprise need not always claim an exact original in the sacred volume. Its true character is determined by higher considerations. A practice that accords with the obvious *spirit* of revelation, that tends to the promotion of its sublime objects, and to the enforcement of its eternal truths, may be really more scriptural than a hundred others which are arbitrarily founded upon its mere *letter*. This is pre-eminently true of the Sabbath-school, the religious press, and several minor auxiliaries of Christian effort of which neither patriarch nor apostle ever dreamed. Though unfortified by a shadow of scriptural precedent, very few will question their close agreement with the exalted principles and purposes of inspiration.

That the modern camp-meeting is fully entitled to the latter distinction will, we think, be apparent from the following considerations:

1. *It affords unparalleled facilities for the dissemination of religious truth.* It attracts a larger assemblage of people than any other form of Christian effort, and a more extended variety of characters and conditions is represented. Every camp-ground is regularly thronged with irreligious persons, a large proportion of whom never think of entering a house of worship, nor of opening a religious publication. And it is very probable that the motives which in the present case induce their attendance, may fail to bear a very searching inquiry. These will naturally be characteristic of the individuals composing the assembly. The laborer may seek only a healthful and agreeable respite from his toil. The idle and the trifling may anticipate only a more easy and speedy flight of the dragging hours. A prurient and vulgar curiosity may foresee a brief gratification in the varied appearance and movements of so motley a multitude. A discontented spirit may crave the transient stimulus afforded in a temporary change of scene and of experience. And the dissolute and the vicious may discern in the consecrated grove only a hotbed of crazy fanaticism, and a favorable opening for rampant rowdyism, while only a small miniority may be influenced by any serious thought of spiritual benefit. But in the very assemblage thus secured an incalculable advantage is afforded to the cause of religion, for hundreds then listen to the word of God whom otherwise no persuasion could have beguiled within the sound of its echoes.

And, from the nature of the case, this condition of things is very likely to be permanent. Their infrequency and the brief duration of these gatherings, the varied and spirited proceedings and other striking features, whereby they are widely distinguished from the ordinary modes of worship, naturally tend to perpetuate the public interest in their recurrence. And to these important considerations may be added the confirming testimony of a single fact. Two railroad companies in New England have, within a very few years, voluntarily offered large sums to secure the location of camp-grounds conveniently near their respective lines. And this liberality in neither case resulted from any professed sympathy for the religious objects contemplated, but from the expectation of pecuniary profit in transporting *at half the usual rates* the thousands who would probably crowd their trains. And in the autumn of 1860, when, only about three weeks before the time of meeting, an incendiary fire upon one of these encampments destroyed the "preacher's house," with many hundred dollars' worth of tent covers and other property, a handsome proportion of the loss was promptly made up by the company more immediately interested.

2. *It affords a more complete exemption than any other spiritual auxiliary from the ordinary impediments to Christian effort.* The pressure of domestic cares, the exciting details of business, and kindred causes, often paralyze the most energetic of the means commonly employed. By a large majority of even respectable church-goers, the lessons and the impressions of one Sabbath are wholly forgotten before the dawning of another. Ample congregations may throng the temple, bold and impressive eloquence may enforce the truths of inspiration, thoughtful countenances and moistened eyes may attest an honest conviction of duty, and even the soft and muffled tread of retiring feet may indicate the solemn reflections which the sacred utterances of the hour have awakened. But how soon does the cold and unsympathizing atmosphere of the outer world chill this generous warmth of emotion. How powerfully rushes in the swelling tide of secular influence to drown these hallowed impressions. And when at the Sabbath's end the whole world throbs again with the mighty pulsations of its renewed activity, the sad result is hourly accelerated until not

even the theme of discourse, nor the scriptural sentiment that inspired it, is remembered. From this cause, beyond a doubt, hundreds of the really thoughtful and half-penitent are permanently lost to the Church.

Now the camp-meeting resolutely confronts, and approximately neutralizes this stubborn evil. The quiet forest is undisturbed by the noise of labor. No secular enterprise can invade its hallowed precincts. The cares of life are divorced, and even the thoughts of home and the recollection of its attractive pleasures measurably yield to the consideration of mightier interests. Every day becomes a Sabbath, the grove itself a consecrated temple. Each morning is welcomed with the voice of prayer and of song, repeated and resounding from tent to tent, until the last slumberer is awakened. To prayer succeeds the public discourse, appendiced by a glowing "exhortation" or two, which the thrilling inspiration of the scene often clothes with a wonderful power; inquirers are summoned to the altar amid the blended chorus of a thousand voices, and heaven is again besieged with the mighty eloquence of prayer. At the conclusion of these solemnities each tent-company resolves itself into a praying circle; the sacred importunity is renewed, fervent orisons break the silence, and for another hour the sylvan temple is vocal with their resounding echoes. And this succession of impressive religious rites, twice or thrice repeated, fills the measure of each day, public discourses alternating with public and social prayer, exhortation, and singing, until the very air seems laden with the devout and fragrant breathings. And during the regular intervals of worship, when the multitudes are mainly dispersed in pursuit of recreation or refreshments, dense crowds are often, without any special appointment, attracted to some particular tent, where scenes of the most absorbing interest are in progress. Some unusual exhibition of divine power may have occurred. Perchance a heardened heart has yielded to the accumulated force of its convictions, and now groans beneath its oppressive burden; or another, less obdurate, has wearied of the cold, penumbral light of a half-religious life, and longs for the cloudless radiance of an assured and glorious hope. Then mercy is unitedly invoked with all the energy of the most fervid and sympathetic pleadings. Perhaps a long-struggling and tearful penitent has found peace in Christ. A

faithless and recreant soul may have unexpectedly renewed its solemn covenant. A brighter phase of Christian experience may have recently crowned the yearnings of some laborious and vigilant disciple. Then the whole auditory is electrified with irrepressible joy and exultation. Or very likely these possibilities may all have been emphatically demonstrated, and a half-score or more are simultaneously exhibiting the varied and thrilling indications of a remarkable spiritual baptism. Then with the voice of prayerful entreaty is blended the inspiring shout of triumph, and the forest rings again with sacred peans and halleluiahs.

3. *It employs a more extended variety of ministerial talent than any other mode of religious effort.* The rule of rotation is followed, as in the modern lecture-course and the political canvass. Except in an occasional off-hand exhortation, no speaker, of however brilliant talents and widely extended reputation, ever expects to address the people more than once during the same meeting. A constant "change of programme" sharpens the interest of the multitude, the familiar themes of the Gospel are clothed with a freshness and a novelty that would be impossible in the repeated efforts of the same person, and hundreds are thus attracted to the encampment, and persuaded to remain for days amid its hallowed and powerful influences.

This, we contend, is only the legitimate recognition by the Church of an inevitable necessity. The public soon wearies of the unvarying reiteration of even the most important truths. The ministrations of the ablest preachers measurably lose their attractiveness, not less than their awakening power, according as their style becomes familiar to the people. Habitual listeners may still pay their accustomed attention; competent judges of ministerial excellence may carefully weigh and approve; admiring friends may continue as formerly to extol and applaud whatever is uttered. Yet in innumerable cases no encouraging progress of the cause of religion is apparent, nor, indeed, any particular result from month to month beyond perhaps a generally favorable and moral impression. How many really learned and capable men have preached away two thirds of their audiences, and lulled the residue into chronic Sabbath slumbers, for want of the life and variety with which a more frequent succession of pastors would have invested the

same topics of discourse, and which would have speedily recalled the truant flocks. An extended revival of religion during a protracted term of ministerial service is of rare occurrence, unless, indeed, unusual effort is made, and the popular demand recognized by the procurement of ample assistance from the clergymen of the neighboring Churches.

Now, without purposely encouraging, or even approving, this peculiarity of the public taste, the camp-meeting only professes to acknowledge the fact, and to meet the emergency thus created. If in the Christian scheme, as in all secular enterprises which strongly address the reason, the emotions, and the tastes of mankind, an enlivening variety is preferable to a tiresome monotony, it simply confesses the reality and acts accordingly. If an overshadowing and saving truth, forcibly uttered in the varying styles of a score of earnest speakers, will accomplish more than if twenty times repeated by the same person, it promptly secures the co-operation required to effect that object. It wholly repudiates the denunciatory bitterness that sanctimoniously belabors and backbites a community for staying at home to escape the overpowering narcotic of interminable and sleepy homilies. It wastes neither words nor moments in idly sighing and whimpering over the deserted benches of an empty sanctuary, but endeavors, through the potent magic of an attractive pulpit, to correct the lamentable "depravity" of the people by first filling the courts of God with interested and eager listeners.

Both the natural tendency and the actual results of the energetic measures we have described, and of the striking scenes they so frequently occasion, significantly vindicate our position. An honest conviction of duty, a half-matured purpose, or a fully confessed intention, is not left to vanish with the occasion that inspired it. The rapid recurrence of religious solemnities, adroitly varied to enhance their interest, secures the continued presence of the inquirer. The earnest presentation of the most sacred truths, and the unceasing repetition of Christian sentiments, in every sermon, prayer, exhortation, and song, mature and intensify the nascent impression, while the earnest co-operation of sympathizing friends adds hourly vigor and vitality to the trembling hope. To these hallowed instrumentalities is the Church indebted for no small degree of its numerical pros-

perity. Many a faithful disciple has reflected upon public station and upon private the unclouded radiance of the cross, whose spiritual life kindled into a blessed reality amid the stirring scenes of the camp-meeting. Thousands will to the end of a faithful career remember and recount, with the deepest emotion, the impressive history of their second birth, when God, in the hallowed sanctuary of the forest, gave peace to their souls. Rev. H. Vincent, the historian of the "Martha's Vineyard Camp-meeting," says that the number converted at the "Wesleyan Grove" alone "may with safety be put down at eleven hundred and fifty, an annual average of fifty." The same writer truthfully adds: "Then there are other gracious results, the many hundreds, nay, thousands, awakened, many of whom are subsequently regenerated, and the yet other hundreds who are either reclaimed from a backslidden state, quickened, or fully consecrated."

By the operation of the causes already described, the happiest effects are, as indicated in the final clause of the foregoing quotation, produced in the Church itself. To professing Christians the recurrence of the camp-meeting almost invariably brings a large accession of spiritual strength. Opulent gifts of divine grace await the consistent and faithful worshiper, who leaves home glowing with a vigorous and genial piety. The sacred zeal that resolutely withstands the daily pressure of unhallowed influences, will as certainly acquire renewed intensity in an atmosphere whose baneful ingredients are thoroughly eliminated, as the familiar chemical agent, phosphorus, that readily burns under water, will flash into intolerable brilliancy when encouraged by a powerful supporter of combustion. To drooping and languishing graces an efficient stimulus is likewise afforded. A declining faith has in this way often received an impulse which other agencies had wholly failed to communicate, and whose effect has remained visible during the residue of a protracted life. Let the members of a Church enter the grove as cold as icebergs, and if the stirring scenes we have recounted do not before the week's end thrill their hearts with the quickened pulsations of a holier being, there will be sad reason to consider them beyond the hope of recovery. While a spark of Christian vitality remains, it is hardly possible to escape the awakening influence of these im-

pressive and energetic proceedings. Did no other reason appear, this well-assured benefit accruing to the Churches from the spiritual auxiliary in question, would afford a strong plea in favor of its perpetual continuance.

The foregoing considerations embrace all the positive testimony we deem essential to our purpose. Founded, as they are, upon well-attested facts of the highest importance, we are unable to see how any legitimate argument can ever diminish their force. We even incline to the belief that the honest opponents of the camp-meeting have seldom invaded the grounds upon which we have sought to establish our position. They have rather employed the cheap resource of second-rate and sophistical objections, either from indifference to the exalted purposes contemplated, or from inability to appreciate their importance. Upon such weapons have they chiefly relied to bring into disrepute an impressive religious solemnity, which has survived the test of many decades, and whose very name, to thousands of the faithful children of God, is enriched with the most tender and blessed memories.

The camp-meeting has been frequently and unsparingly assailed as inconsistent with the solemn dignity of religion, and therefore as an actual impediment to its progress. This objection mainly arises from the highly exciting character that is commonly ascribed to its proceedings. Yet upon this very ground we strenuously defend the institution. Such is precisely the element of power by which a large share of mankind is most thoroughly and speedily affected. To urge the necessity of a calm, businesslike consideration of religion is highly proper, just so far as the desired result can be thus effected. The habitually serious and half-religious, whose daily lives attest an unswerving fidelity to Christian principles, may, without the necessity of an overwhelming conviction, deliberately yield to a "sober sense" of duty. There are many who commence a holy life with scarcely more than an intellectual perception of its importance, which gradually deepens into a true and consistent, but entirely undemonstrative faith. They as coolly undertake the great enterprise as they would negotiate a loan, or buy a house, or begin a journey. The children of godly parents, the sons and daughters of prayer, whose very existence from its earliest breath has been sanctified by a hallowed cul-

ture, are often won with hardly an effort to the arms of Christ. There are also those of strong natural affection, and of a mild and amiable spirit, who will heed the gentlest beckoning of the hand that points them to a loving Saviour; and many victims of sorrow and bereavement may in the hour of their calamity calmly kiss the chastening rod that smites them. Thus far the principle of cool and unexciting effort is correct, and the more energetic and awakening measures are as unnecessary as to put a garrison to the sword that without resistance has unconditionally surrendered. Yet how small a proportion of even habitual church-goers are influenced by any such method. The preacher who merely urges the general obligation of love, gratitude, and obedience to God, would be unable, during a patriarchal lifetime, to build up a Church of steadfast and laborious worshipers. The vast majority who heard his doctrines would remain wholly unmoved, and the heavy sleep of sin be only deepened as down the perilous stream of worldly interest and pleasure they drifted. If, therefore, they are to be saved by religious effort they must be awakened by it; and if one method fails another must follow, more powerful and startling than the first. If unimpassioned and formal declarations of duty be insufficient to command obedience, if the love of Christ constrain not, and the goodness of God leadeth not to repentance, then by the terrors of the law must men be persuaded. And the simple verbal utterance of the sternest penal sanctions, though a thousand times repeated, is not enough. The awful importance of the theme should be fully reflected in the *manner* of the speaker. The fire of his soul should be revealed in the flash of his eye. The solemn notes of warning should be re-echoed as with the blast of a trumpet, and every gesture and movement should add impressive power to the words that proclaim the fearful destiny of the impenitent soul. What wonder if the sinner just awakened to his indescribable peril is "excited" with overwhelming consternation and fear as he contemplates it? What wonder if the force of an irresistible conviction, and of the unutterable agony it begets, overcomes his frigid propriety, and wrings from his lips loud cries for mercy? This is only the appropriate result of a purely scriptural proceeding, expressly intended to alarm and arouse him into thoughtfulness, and of

which a most impressive parallel is found in the sacred annals of the day of Pentecost.

Now it is the peculiar power of effecting this result that renders the camp-meeting the very Waterloo of religious battle-grounds. As we have fully shown, a strong and stubborn foe, which can seldom be otherwise drawn into conflict, is there successfully challenged to a decisive encounter. There the practiced veterans in sin, that disdain the ordinary fields of spiritual combat, gird on their armor and haughtily defy the armies of Israel. Blank cartridges can never reduce them to submission. They can only be humbled and compelled to surrender by the heaviest artillery known to sacred warfare. And no wonder if its terrible and raking fire be acknowledged by the deafening groans of the wounded, and by the victor's song and the shout of triumph. These are the infallible signs that proclaim the fierceness of the contest, and the inspiring glory of its sublime results. Those brilliant exemplars of apostolic zeal, whose highest conception of ministerial fidelity is realized in the quarterly installments of a comfortable salary, with a comfortable prospect of its indefinite continuance, may be expected to decry the "undignified excitement" of the camp-meeting, but not they who daily groan beneath the crushing burdens of their sacred vocation.

But in another and a more definite aspect the same objection is renewed. The concentrated and mighty influences we have described are supposed to occasion a vast preponderance of spurious conversions. Many persons, we are told, temporarily yield to the overpowering pressure, and make a religious profession, while yet uninfluenced by any sound religious principle, thus crowding the Church with a mass of worthless rubbish, as a river bank is often piled with the cumbrous driftwood of a spring freshet. But such reasoning, if correct, proves too much. It is equally valid against every form of religious aggression, if we except the painful drudgery of grinding out to order, and monotonously rehearsing, a weekly quota of dreary platitudes without ever awakening a sinner or enforcing a vital truth. It crushes the temperance cause with its sacred trophies and its glorious triumphs, so largely won by the unsparing use of the very measures in question. It demolishes the "Washingtonian" movement, the real pente-

cost of the great reform, for of the multiplied thousands of inebriates who then flocked to the standard of sobriety a vast number, possibly a majority, returned to their cups as soon as the unparalleled enthusiasm of that eventful period, and the mighty agencies that inspired it, had ceased. And it brings into similar contempt all moral enterprises whereof impassioned eloquence, glowing appeals, and other exciting and energetic efforts are prominent auxiliaries.

But the argument itself is ridiculously lame and impertinent. The truth is, both spiritual and moral apostasies are sure to follow all active reformatory labors, and are naturally more or less numerous, according to the number awakened. Yet the particular agencies whereby such reforms are promoted are not responsible for these subsequent defections. No one would think of charging the future revelings into which the rescued inebriate may plunge to the fiery eloquence that melted his heart and warned him of his peril. It is equally unjust and absurd to condemn a religious instrumentality for the relapses that may afterward partially dim the glory of its achievements. Least of all is the camp-meeting liable to this objection. It never attempts the mature development of a Christian character, and never professes any such intention. This is hopelessly forbidden by the brevity of its sessions. It is able only to arouse the spiritual slumberer to his danger, and to give him a vigorous and seasonable start in the path of safety. It invites within its sylvan precincts the promiscuous gathering of all classes, and with the fervent utterance of the most simple and salient truths of the Gospel awaits the divine impulse that shall force the citadel and compel the surrender of the enemy. The strong appeals that especially address the *fears* of the sinner are only preliminary to the final appeal to his *reason*, upon which all hope of his redemption must depend. Knowing the *terrors* of the Lord, it simply *persuades* men; nothing more. It sounds no false alarm, raises no unscriptural issue, practices no deception. It plainly declares the vital doctrines of Christ, but counts no converts any further than those doctrines are cordially and openly accepted. To whatever extent this is accomplished its appropriate work is ended. It has no more control over the future spiritual welfare of those who through its influence are awakened, than a

physician over the subsequent health of the patient whom he has cured and then dismissed with suitable injunctions of care and prudence. And the same is true whether the ratio of relapses to the number retained be as one to a thousand or as a thousand to one. The successful maintenance of Christian integrity amid the unforeseen and trying realities of succeeding years, depends upon other contingencies than the events of a single week.

As to the momentous evil imposed upon the Church by the alleged influx of unworthy members, important testimony may be reasonably sought in the usages and the experience of the denomination most likely to be thus afflicted. By the wholesome rule of probation no person can ever be directly received into its full fellowship. Every candidate for admission remains "on trial" until the expiration of at least six months, during which a consistent observance of religious duty is inflexibly required. As a further condition of acceptance, the ordinance of baptism is administered to those who have not already received it, with the solemn obligation forever to renounce the world and its pleasures, to be strictly governed by the doctrines of Christ, and to yield a cheerful compliance to the rules and usages of the Church. In case of failure in any of these particulars the name of the delinquent, after patient and affectionate remonstrance, is quietly erased from the record, and the tedious and disturbing process of formal charges, trial, and expulsion wholly avoided. By the prudent enforcement of this rule both the purity and the peace of the Church are secure, though nine out of ten be thus exscinded during the lapse of the allotted period. A denomination unprovided and unacquainted with so convenient an outlet for the noiseless riddance of its worthless rubbish, may naturally enough question the expediency of a religious movement that undeniably tends to gather in some crude and imperfect material. Very possibly occasional evil might result from the full and immediate acceptance, on a mere "confession of faith," of every candidate for membership. But, that any rational being, after a six months' opportunity for solemn and prayerful reflection, should blindly assume the most fearful obligations, and still remain the pitiable dupe of a by-gone excitement, which at the worst could hardly have lasted a fortnight, surpasses any ordinary stretch of human credulity. The very as-

sumption is monstrous. At all events, that numerous branch of the Christian connection most clearly entitled to resent the supposed injury is to this hour the most happily unaware of its reality. And there is a valuable significance in the additional fact, that whenever the faithful co-operation of a zealous and united Church is afforded to these inexperienced and halting disciples, *very few of them forfeit their religious character during their probationary period.* In the absence of this untiring culture the majority will backslide, whether awakened by one instrumentality or by another. To that heedless indifference to their welfare so often exhibited by their "Christian friends," aided by the weakness and variableness of their own purposes, the fury of their unsubdued passions, and the powerful temptations that assail their integrity, thousands of fatal relapses are justly chargeable. But to ascribe the sad results to the agency that originally awakened them from sin is an unparalleled absurdity.

To what extent the sister branches of the "household of faith" consider themselves endangered by the liability in question, is implied in their accommodating readiness to receive into fellowship as many converts of the camp-meeting as may happen to covet that enviable distinction. Not only is their widest door opened, and their blandest welcome extended whenever such an alliance is voluntarily sought, *but the utmost energy of proselyting practice* is in many localities employed to effect the same object. But these providential opportunities for the easy replenishment of their own ranks may possibly change the moral aspect of the question, for, beyond the simple utterance of the appropriate Shibboleths, no distinctive nor extraordinary conditions are in such cases imposed. For a purpose so exalted no discrimination may seem necessary touching the most fitting scene of a spiritual birth, whether it be a consecrated forest or a "temple made with hands." The practice of acquiring substance by coolly appropriating the scattered trophies of a battle-field may be honorable or otherwise, according to the purity of the moral sentiment which decides the question; yet to despise the scene of conflict, and the valor that won the spoils, seems hardly compatible with an exalted modesty. The Christian organization thus aggrieved can, however, afford to be placable. It derives a partial com-

pensation from this very cause. By the notorious fact just indicated, it is undoubtedly spared the painful necessity of many probationary excisions, for the majority of those who are weak enough to yield to the motives commonly urged, and to transfer their relationship to another Church, usually reflect only a dubious luster upon their new alliance, and would soon have required the cashiering process had they simply remained upon the trial-list. Thanks to the timely co-operation that so often saves this trouble, the frightful bugbear of "spurious conversions" was long since thoroughly divested of its horrors.

But we are met with the further assumption that the camp-meeting has already survived its usefulness, as evinced by its meager and diminishing spiritual harvests. Now, the precise ratio of its present success to its glorious achievements in the past we are unable to state, and have no available means of ascertaining. Yet we have positive knowledge that it is by no means barren of marked and hopeful results. In the aggregate large numbers are undeniably converted through its instrumentality every year. It is also true that in many a Church, whose tent-company had perhaps returned without a single trophy from the battle-ground, a powerful revival has, through apparently the same influence, been enkindled. Still, not knowing the precise value of a human soul, nor how many conversions are essential to a successful religious effort, our defense of the camp-meeting, upon the ground of its positive and immediate fruits, may fail to satisfy those who in this respect are better informed.

But whatever the fact, we sternly protest against the unfair and illogical reasoning which underlies the foregoing objection. The practical efficiency of a religious enterprise can never be fully estimated from its direct results. There is a great variety of disturbing influences, that may seriously modify the particular event of such a movement without affecting its general tendency. Many Churches have for years together remained unblest with a single conversion. Many important stations in the great missionary field have at times seemed to be dragging out, at enormous cost, a miserable and profitless existence. Similar apparent failures have also temporarily embarrassed every department of the Christian enterprise. According to the test of visible and immediate effect, the

preaching of Christ and of his apostles, though often productive of extraordinary and miraculous demonstrations, was to a disheartening extent unsuccessful. It is not wonderful, therefore, that the camp-meeting, with even its powerful appliances for imposing and vigorous action, is subject to the same undesirable contingencies; and if its inutility be proved by a present lack of direct numerical increase, the argument is equally valid against every other mode of religious effort. The actual number of conversions, as counted up at the close of each annual session, is not without a certain importance as a partial indication of success, yet it is by no means a decisive consideration. The mere question of present or of prospective triumph is always subordinate to the faithful discharge of a sacred obligation. To disseminate the principles of religion to the utmost attainable extent, to reach with its divine utterances the ears of the greatest possible number, is the first duty of the Christian Church. Exactly to the point was the celebrated reply of the Duke of Wellington to the clergyman who had inquired if he thought the Gospel would be likely to benefit the natives of India. "That, sir, is none of your business. How reads your commission? Go, preach the Gospel to every creature." The overshadowing idea of evangelical effort is to *proclaim the truth boldly, intelligibly, powerfully;* to afford to every human being within its widest range both the *motive* and the *opportunity* for a holy life, and to leave the issue with God. It is a dreary exhibition of scriptural fidelity to respect this solemn vocation only so far as the path of obedience is lighted with the prospect of definite and speedy results, but sublimely heroic to obey the command of God implicitly, "whether men will hear or forbear," and to trust him for the result, though the very heavens be black with disheartening omens.

According, therefore, to the spirit of the great commission, the question of utility is, we think, chiefly determined by *the number that can be induced to hear the Gospel.* The more numerous the audience the more successful the discharge of duty, whether a single conversion reward the effort or not. And if in this respect better facilities are presented in assemblages varying in number from *eight hundred* to *ten thousand*, of whom a large proportion never so much as enter a house of worship, than in the ordinary congregations of customary church-goers, then the

camp-meeting is clearly entitled to such pre-eminence, and has not outlived its exalted utility.

But this mode of religious worship is also opposed by reason of the heavy expense commonly thought necessary to maintain it. We again confess our embarrassment in never having learned the *pecuniary valuation* of human souls, or of the instrumentalities best calculated to effect their regeneration. It has, however, been our life-long impression that the scriptural duty of earnest and universal reformatory efforts necessarily implies the use of the requisite material means. And we are also reminded that the divine proprietorship of the "world and the fullness thereof" is authoritatively asserted, and that a selfish monopoly of the pecuniary wealth which God has created is nowhere conceded to mankind. If, therefore, it be an unquestioned and sacred obligation to proclaim the Gospel to the greatest accessible number, without any regard to the immediate spiritual result, then every disciple is unconditionally bound to contribute, "as God hath prospered him," to the defrayment of the necessary expense. Of course, the same shrewdness and caution are essential to prevent wasteful outlays as in any business transaction. Every dollar should be strictly and economically applied in such a way as seems best calculated to fulfill the spirit of the divine commission. But a miserly higgling over the pecuniary cost of obedience to duty, a weighing of religious effort and its fruits in the scales of financial calculation, is mean, contemptible, and wicked.

The objection itself is, however, unsustained by the facts. The mere cost of *living* is not, upon an average, greater at the encampment than at home, and should, therefore, be left out of the reckoning. The expense of going and returning is by the standing usage of most railroad companies reduced to one half the customary fare. And where the places of meeting are not, according to the later practice, selected with particular reference to the conveniences of travel, private conveyances may, by economical arrangements, be usually obtained at only a trifling advance upon this outlay. A small per centage may also in each case be added for the transportation of the necessary baggage, though this charge is often omitted by many companies. The cost of an ordinary tent, large enough to shelter fifty persons with safety and comfort, will not probably exceed one

hundred and fifty dollars, and with careful usage will last ten years. The average annual expense will therefore be to each occupant only thirty cents. A supply of straw, or of other suitable material for flooring and bedding, may require five dollars more, or ten cents a piece. The current expenses of the meeting, including lights, the hire of a few sheriffs or constables, the interest of the money expended in the purchase and care of the grounds, the digging of wells, the erection of a "preachers' stand," with ample seats for an audience, and other items of a similar character, will never upon an average exceed five hundred dollars a year. These are usually defrayed by public collections, and estimating the number annually attending at only five thousand, the additional cost to each is also ten cents. It will therefore be seen that, aside from the traveling fare, the necessary expenditure during a session of ordinary length is, according to the foregoing estimates, *just fifty cents for every person present!* Yet so far within bounds are the calculations which form the basis of this reckoning, that in many cases one half the average sum we have stated, or even one fourth, would amply suffice for every contingency. And the whole outlay required in the prosecution of an enterprise so rich in opportunities for efficient and successful Christian labor, as well as for healthful recreation, will bear no comparison with the necessary cost of an ordinary pleasure-trip, for an equal time and distance, to the usual places of popular resort. Yet very few object to an annual excursion, after the protracted toils that have exhausted the physical or the mental energies. When such a plan is arranged, the expense is seldom allowed to interfere with its execution. There are hundreds of professing Christians who will readily spend twenty-five dollars at a watering-place, or at the White Mountains, or at some other center of fashionable concourse, and think nothing of the pecuniary sacrifice. But the plea of "economy" is very conveniently raised when the camp-meeting, with its generous proffer of enviable facilities for mental and physical invigoration and of incomparable spiritual refreshment, invites the same Christians, at only a nominal cost, to share the sacred burden of its toils and the perennial glory of its triumphs. But this narrow and niggardly spirit, so offensively conspicuous whenever the cause of Christ is the

claimant of only a trifling favor, will have its reward, though incurable by the withering rebukes it richly merits.

There are also half a dozen other objections which are sometimes alleged to the discredit of the enterprise in question. Yet if our positions touching the general utility of the camp-meeting be correct, any further refutation is unnecessary. That an occasional perversion of the original design occurs we admit. That violations of good order sometimes give offensive variety to the proceedings is undeniable. That, under the pressure of unwonted excitement or exhilaration, many foolish things may be said or done, is quite possible. That a week of tent-life has, by careless exposure, proved to now and then an individual a sadly memorable experience, is equally a matter of fact. And that, in particular instances, an entire meeting may, for one or for a dozen reasons, have seemed rather a failure than a success, we readily confess the probability. Yet these facts prove no necessary defect in the institution itself, and are therefore entitled to no further consideration.

There is, however, one glaring and growing abuse that merits a thorough exposure. In a single respect the utility of the camp-meeting is liable to serious detriment. Its later management often tends, we think, to *popularize* its proceedings, at the expense of their former solemnity and power. Certain features have, in some localities, been introduced, but slightly indicative of that rigorous separation from the engrossing objects of life, whose necessity and advantage we have demonstrated. Many accessories of modern convenience and luxury have found recognition which, it is feared, only conspire to divert attention and to defeat the real objects of the gathering. Various trades and professions have, for several years, invited patronage within the consecrated area of at least one celebrated encampment. To our certain knowledge, book agents, newsboys, dentists, doctors, daguerrean artists, barbers, and, if we rightly remember, boot-blacks, have plied their several crafts within a stone's throw of the preachers' stand. We have even heard a venerable minister publicly announce the fact that a man was present at the meeting who desired "to pull teeth." We have heard in a prayer-meeting, upon a Sabbath morning, a painfully silly and flippant harangue from a pretended convert, prefaced by the declaration that the speaker was a vender

of shoe-blacking. We think that at least twelve hundred people were present and heard this impertinent speech of the tricky and gabbling huckster. How many boxes of blacking his profession of piety enabled him to sell we are not prepared to state, but there is not a shadow of doubt that the rascal had expressly contrived the impudent trick for the occasion. We have also seen a man bustling about from tent so tent, thrusting into the faces of the occupants a printed notice promising speedy and gratuitous relief from the headache. Of course this was only a sharp device to advertise his nostrum, and to drive a brisk trade with the saints and the sinners whose aching noddles should invite the experiment.

The erection of family tents is likewise becoming an established practice. At the encampment to which we refer there were, during the meeting of 1858, over two hundred of these structures. Their styles of convenience and of finish were varied, and sometimes highly attractive. They were commonly divided, by a partition, into a front and a rear apartment; the former being designed for a sitting, or reception room, and the latter for a dormitory. A carpeted floor frequently supplanted the plebeian covering of straw; faultless couches with snowy counterpanes took the place of hard and uninviting pallets; comfortable chairs relieved the trunks, bags, and bundles of their inappropriate burdens; spring sofas laughed at the rough benches of the more primitive establishments; convenient chests of drawers snugly inclosed the requisite changes of apparel; ample mirrors challenged unlimited self-admiration; while tasteful draperies and other ornamental appliances invested with new beauties these fairy habitations of the mimic city. Indeed, we hardly know if aught was lacking that could minister to the personal ease and comfort of the tenants. Whatever the heart could reasonably wish was supplied, and thus the lodging-place of a single week in the forest often smiled with a tasteful elegance that ambitiously rivaled many a more pretentious and permanent structure.

Now, so far as the question of mere convenience is regarded we have nothing to say. Upon this ground very few, we imagine, would object to the utmost amplitude of gratification. Yet these innovations impart to the encampment a business-like and worldly aspect, quite inconsistent with the solemn

quietude of an impressive and spiritual occasion. The very atmosphere is secularized. The sacred spell is broken. The attention of the multitude is distracted, and whatever effort is employed to concentrate it upon the overshadowing object of the convocation is measurably baffled. The public services are, for the same reason, largely neglected. The family tents are almost invariably occupied during worship by idle talkers and loungers, to whom an easy seat and an hour of gossip are more attractive than the sacred ministrations of religion. By careful investigation, *more than five hundred persons* have thus, at the same time, been found in small companies distributed throughout the encampment. And this aggregate is largely swollen by an army of promenaders whom, in coolest contempt of the solemnities in progress, we have, every day in the week, seen traversing the grounds in all directions.

It is very true that such proceedings are strictly forbidden by the rules of the meeting, as they are certainly a glaring outrage upon the obvious proprieties of the occasion. Yet how shall these rules be enforced? The family tents are private property, and to all intents and purposes under the exclusive control of their respective owners. So long as these ill-timed and impertinent social gatherings are tolerated or invited by the proprietors and their families they will continue to recur, and a constant passing and repassing through every part of the encampment will be the inevitable result. Prohibitory regulations are wholly inoperative, though a hundred policemen should attempt their enforcement. This the managers thoroughly understand, and hence the reckless impunity with which a hallowed and effective religious institution is degraded to the vulgar level of a mammoth picnic.

Granted, also, that to the trades and the traffic already mentioned restrictive rules similarly apply, and that during the hours of worship every form of secular employment is sternly prohibited. Suppose the scraping of the razor and the click of the tonsorial shears to be hushed; that aching molars no longer acknowledge the unfascinating persuasion of the forceps; that the vender of gazettes, the polisher of boots, and the assuager of headaches, temporarily suspend their philanthropic labors. What of it? Can the mischief already occasioned be corrected by the locking of a chest, or the dropping

of a curtain? The pernicious influence of these anomalous proceedings was permanently inaugurated the moment that a lax and time-serving policy permitted their shameless intrusion, and any other remedy than a rigorous expulsion of the detestable nuisance will prove the merest child's play. It is letting the dragon into the house, and then attempting to keep him quiet. The presence of the evil cause will affect the temper of the best meeting and preoccupy the minds of the worshipers. Every one will painfully realize that the traditional sanctity of the place has been invaded and desecrated by impertinent traffickers; that its spiritual atmosphere has been tainted by the corrupt breath of sordid and selfish enterprise; that the glorious prestige of past achievement is dispelled by the ignominy of present failure.

Such management is certainly a burning disgrace to its abettors, and would in half a decade cover with permanent contempt the institution it so pitifully caricatures. But we are slow to believe the camp-meeting destined to so wretched an end. Its past character, as portrayed in the inspiring history of its triumphs, is too sacred for a blot so unseemly. And we are unwilling to admit any general or extensive prevalence of the evil we have exposed. We believe it to be confined to a very few localities, and, to insure its speedy extinction, it needs the same rigor of treatment as the pleuro-pneumonia, or any other contagious and fatal malady. Every secular enterprise should be as peremptorily banished from a place solemnly consecrated to the worship of God as the "buyers and sellers" were driven from the Jewish temple. No representative of any trade or pursuit (if we except the medical profession) should be allowed within hailing distance. The trafficker, of any description, who shows his head upon the ground for the purpose of selling or hawking his wares, should be promptly arrested, and punished with the utmost severity of the law. Whatever supplies are required for the tents, as of straw, fuel, provisions, and the like, should be furnished by contract, at the lowest living profit, and always under the supervision of a competent executive committee. The erection of family tents, except for the sole purpose of more extended sleeping accommodations, should be sternly prohibited. No one should be permitted, during divine service, to pass from one part of the encamp-

ment to another. All companies, assembled in any place or with any design whatsoever, should, within the hours of public worship, be dispersed, and no dallying on the part of those to whom is intrusted the maintenance of order should ever stimulate a single recusant to a second act of disobedience.

One of the largest and most successful camp-meetings in New England is conducted precisely according to the plan we have indicated, and more unexceptionable decorum we never saw, in an assemblage of a hundred people, than uniformly characterizes its proceedings. We have there seen more than six thousand people so attentively listening to the same discourse that every word was distinctly heard by the remotest auditor. To attempt to walk the space within the circle of tents was to encounter a policeman within ten seconds, and an immediate halt and a respectful silence alone saved the arrest of the ambulant party. It is not strange that the able and effective ministrations there employed, assisted by the admirable regulations we have described, should be divinely acknowledged by many immediate conversions, and by the frequent inauguration of powerful and sweeping revivals.

And the same policy ought to control every encampment, and might if every friend of the institution would promptly come to the rescue. If every minister would, once a year, make a timely appeal in its behalf to his congregation, urging its importance, exposing the errors and abuses that impede its progress, and suggesting whatever improvements may seem best adapted to modern requirements, the most beneficent results would speedily follow. Let the religious press take up the theme, and, disregarding the fearful contingency of losing a half-dozen subscribers, vigorously rebuke the evils in question, and the lapse of two years would not precede their general suppression. Thank God! the camp-meeting has nobly weathered the hostility of its enemies; we trust it may as triumphantly survive the mismanagement and folly of its friends.

Art. IV.—DARWIN ON THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES.

On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection; or, the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life. By Charles Darwin, M.A., Fellow of the Royal, Geological, Linnæan, etc., Societies, author of "Journal of Researches during H.M.S. Beagle's Voyage round the World." London: John Murray. 1859. New York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

The author of this ingenious book is a grandson of Dr. Darwin, the celebrated author of "The Botanical Garden," "The Loves of the Plants," "Zoonomia," and other poetical and scientific works, full of fanciful theories and rather suspicious theology. Whatever, therefore, may be his speculative eccentricities, we may fairly presume that he has come honestly by them. He has, however, for years occupied a very respectable position as a naturalist, and is favorably known to the scientific world by his narrative of the voyage of the Beagle, which he accompanied as naturalist, as well as by a number of valuable contributions to the publications of the Ray Society on various departments of natural history. His attention, he tells us, was first directed to this "mystery of mysteries" in zoology, the Origin of Species, during the voyage of the Beagle. On its return, in 1837, he devoted himself to "patiently accumulating and reflecting upon all sorts of facts which could possibly have any bearing on it," and he has been steadily pursuing the same object ever since. (Page 9.) This work is the result of these years of laborious investigation. It is, however, as he informs us, but an abstract of what he has done, to be followed soon by a much fuller work containing "in detail all the facts, with references," on which his conclusions have been founded. Though it has been but little over a year since its first publication, this book has had quite an exciting, and, if we are to judge by the rapidity of its sale, we may say a successful career. Perhaps no scientific work has ever been at once so extensively read, not only by the scientific few, but by the reading masses generally; and certainly no one has ever produced such a commotion. It has set savans and learned societies by the ears, and has been the theme of ani-

mated discussion in all sorts of magazines—literary, religious, and scientific. We have room for but a hasty glance at this discussion. The Edinburgh Review, (April, 1860,) while it rejects Darwin's theory upon scientific grounds, still hints its belief in "a constantly operating secondary creational law, not yet discovered; or, as Prof. Owen calls it, 'the continuous operation of the ordained becoming of living things.'" The North British (May, 1860) condemns it both scientifically and theologically, and declares that "it is in direct antagonism to all the findings of a natural theology founded on legitimate inductions in the study of the works of God; and it does open violence to everything which the Creator himself has told us in the Scriptures of truth of the methods and results of his workings." The Westminster, (April, 1860,) on the other hand, in accordance with its infidel proclivities, rejoices over it, for the very reason that, as it believes, it is opposed to the teachings of revelation, and does not accord with the orthodox scientific theories on the subject. According to it, "every philosophical thinker hails it as a veritable Whitworth gun in the armory of liberalism," while at the same time it confesses that the theory is far from being proved, and is yet but a probable hypothesis. Among our own periodicals, the North American Review (April, 1860) and the Christian Examiner (May, 1860) pronounce the book, in effect, atheistical; while the popular Atlantic Monthly (July, August, and October, 1860) very magnanimously takes up the cudgels in its defense, for the reason that enough will be found to attack, and but few to defend it. But the opinions of the scientific journals may be of more importance on such a question as this. M. Pictet, who discusses the subject with a great deal of ability and candor in the Bibliothèque Universelle, (March, 1860,) thinks the theory may be true within certain limits, but that Mr. Darwin has carried it entirely too far. Prof. Asa Grey, in a very kindly tempered article in the American Journal of Science, (March, 1860,) while doing ample justice to the candor and industry of the author, and defending him against the charge of atheism, is compelled, with evident reluctance, to decide against him scientifically. And lastly, Prof. Agassiz comes to the defense of his own system, which is brought into question in this dispute. Of course he has far more at stake than all others concerned.

This old theory of the transmutation of species, which he has so successfully opposed before, in its new form must expect no mercy from him. He can hold no parley whatever with it. Others may calmly discuss it, or coolly admit there may be some truth in it, but not so Agassiz. He must strangle it outright. Nothing short of annihilation will suit him. And most energetically does he set about the work, and most summarily does he finish it, winding up with the following sweeping condemnation: "Until the facts of nature are shown to have been mistaken by those who have collected them, and that they have a different meaning from that now generally assigned to them, I shall, therefore, consider the transmutation theory a scientific mistake, untrue in its facts, unscientific in its method, and mischievous in its tendency." His answer to Darwin is contained in the forthcoming volume of his great work, but has been published in advance in the American Journal of Science, (July, 1860.) This, whatever may be said of some of its arguments, is perhaps the strongest and most authoritative reply yet made to Darwin's book.

Such a strong array as this against the new doctrine would certainly discourage most modest men, but Mr. Darwin is prepared even for this reception. He says in his Conclusion:

> I by no means expect to convince experienced naturalists, whose minds are stocked with a multitude of facts, all viewed during a long course of years from a point of view directly opposite to mine. . . . A few naturalists, endowed with much flexibility of mind, and who have already begun to doubt the immutability of species, may be influenced by this volume; but I look with confidence to the future, to the young and rising naturalists, who will be able to view both sides with impartiality.—P. 417.

But he is far from being without disciples—disciples, too, whose names are not without weight and influence in science. Dr. Joseph Hooker has confessed himself a convert to the new doctrine, and in the Introductory Essay to the Flora of New Zealand, has attempted an application of it. He also claims another, who, if not converted, is at least among the anxious. In acknowledging "the fact that all the most eminent palæontologists, namely, Cuvier, Owen, Agassiz, Bassande, Falconer, E. Forbes, etc., and all our greatest geologists, as Lyell, Murchison, Sedgwick, etc., have unanimously, often vehemently, main-

tained the immutability of species," our author says: "But I have reason to believe that one great authority, Sir Charles Lyell, from further reflection, entertains grave doubts on this subject." (Page 271.) We may safely conclude that if this heresy has found advocates in such high places, it must be more widely disseminated among the lower ranks of scientific men. The Edinburgh reviewer, quoted above, says that "perhaps the majority of our younger naturalists have been seduced into the acceptance of the homœopathic form of the transmutative hypothesis now presented to them by Mr. Darwin under the phrase of 'natural selection.'"

After the statement of the names and influence arrayed for and against Darwin's theory, those who take their opinions on authority may be satisfied; others may desire to inquire further into the subject. We will try to gratify the latter class. Of course, at this stage of the discussion we cannot hope to advance anything new; nor do we expect to contribute anything toward the final settlement of the question one way or the other. We will simply aim, in this article, to present to our readers as brief and clear a view as we are able of the two opposing theories of the origin of species—the commonly received, or orthodox theory of special creation, supported by Agassiz and others, and the development or transmutation theory advocated by Darwin and his followers. We will then, if our space permit, briefly examine some of the principal arguments advanced by Mr. Darwin in support of the latter doctrine.

It will be well for us, before entering upon the discussion of the Origin of Species, to endeavor to obtain, if possible, a definite idea of what is understood by the term species; for it is by taking advantage of a diversity of opinion, more ideal than practical, among naturalists on this point, that our author attempts to befog—and, we may say, pettifog—the whole question. This will necessarily involve a brief discussion of the principles of classification in natural history, which, however, may also enable us the better to contrast the two opposite theories. The commonly received system of classification is based upon the idea that certain original and distinct organic forms were created, and that these forms consisted of a single individual or pair, as the representatives of each species, which have transmitted to all their descendants their specific characteristics

unchanged, or with such changes only as may be attributed to varying physical influence, accident, or the interference of man. The term species was therefore made to embrace all the individuals descended from each original stock. According to this idea, there was not only an intellectual, but a real, material connection, a blood-relationship, between all the individuals of a species. Thus it has been held "that while genera, families, orders, classes, and any other more or less comprehensive division, were artificial devices of science to facilitate our studies, species alone had a real existence in nature." It has also been commonly believed that there exists between all distinct species a natural repugnance to sexual intercourse, which was designed to prevent their intermingling, and thus to keep them apart, and preserve their specific identity. This belief is confirmed by the general law of the infertility of hybrids, the few exceptions to it being considered perversions of nature or monstrosities, and therefore entitled to but little weight.

Prof. J. D. Dana, in his "Thoughts on Species,"* has given us a more transcendental definition, endeavoring to throw light upon the subject by "reasoning from central principles to the circumferential." The germ cell which contains the individual, with all its possibilities, possesses certain inherent qualities or powers; and, when surrounded by its appropriate conditions, it develops a certain specific result; and, like the molecule of oxygen, it must correspond to a measured quota or specific law of force. Therefore "a species among living things, as well as inorganic, is based on a *specific amount or condition of concentrated force defined in the act or law of creation.*" He thus makes the fundamental distinction between species a *potential* one, depending on the difference of the value or law of force for each. By the same method he establishes the permanency of species. This he finds corroborated by the provisions of nature to guard their purity, as manifested by the law of hybridity mentioned above. It is perfectly consistent with this theory of the immutability of species that there should be a certain amount of variation under the varying conditions of life. But this variation is confined within fixed limits, beyond which it cannot pass. It is also temporary, and disappears with the causes which produced it. It is necessary, therefore, in studying the history of a spe-

* American Journal of Science, vol. xxiv, p. 305.

cies, not only to examine it in all the stages of the development of the individual, but to determine the precise amount of its variability under the varying physical influences to which it is exposed.

Perhaps Agassiz, in his essay on classification, has given the fullest and best expression to the prevailing opinions of philosophic naturalists on this subject. His views accord so completely with the most theistic opinions in natural theology, and the generally received interpretation of the utterances of the Bible on the subject, that while they claim the assent of men of science, they must be hailed by all enlightened Christians as an important contribution toward the establishment of the complete harmony of the teachings of science and revelation. In his system he admits, to its fullest extent, the doctrine of final causes. He "looks upon an intelligent and intelligible connection between the facts of nature as a direct proof of the existence of a thinking God, as certainly as man exhibits the power of thinking when he recognizes their relations." (*Cont. to Nat. Hist.*, vol. i, p. 11.) In attempting a system of classification of natural objects, therefore, we should endeavor to discover the plan or conception which existed in the mind of the Creator, and which has been embodied or expressed in the creation. The Author of nature is the author of the true system of classification, so that in tracing it the human mind is but translating into human language the divine thought expressed in nature in living realities. In opposition to the notion of species, stated above, he contends that species have no more real existence in nature than genera, families, orders, classes, and branches have; that they all exist only as categories of thought, founded upon separate and distinct categories of characters; that these categories of thought existed primarily in the mind of the Creator, and have been embodied in living forms. He finds among animals six categories of relationship based upon structure, and states them thus:

Branches, or types, are characterized by the plan of their structure;

Classes, by the manner in which that plan is executed, as far as ways and means are concerned;

Orders, by the degrees of complication of that structure;

Families, by their form, as far as determined by structure;

Genera, by the details of the execution in special parts; and

Species, by the relations of individuals to one another and to the

world in which they live, as well as by the proportions of their parts, their ornamentation, etc.—*Cont. to Nat. Hist.*, vol. i, p. 170.

He elsewhere, in describing species more fully, enumerates their relations under nine distinct heads, as embracing all their characteristics, and says: "As soon as all the facts bearing upon these points are fully ascertained, there can remain no doubt respecting the natural limitation of species." (*Cont. to Nat. Hist.*, vol. i, p. 169.) He utterly rejects "as an unfailing criterion of specific identity" the law of hybridity, or, as he calls it, "the sexual connection which so naturally brings together the individuals of the same species in the function of reproduction." In this he agrees with Darwin.

It will be seen that the distinctions enumerated above, between the divisions recognized by all naturalists, are differences of *kind*, not of *degree*. It is, therefore, impossible that by variation one class of differences should pass into another; that is, specific differences become generic, or the reverse. From this, Agassiz infers the immutability of species, considering "that all organized beings are created, that is, endowed from the beginning with all their characteristics," and that these characteristics have been transmitted unchanged, except within certain limits, to all their descendants. Not only were species supernaturally created, but their geographical distribution he considers also primordial. Instead of originating in a single locality, they have been created in the localities where they now exist, not in a single individual or pair, but in a multitude of individuals, as many, probably, as have represented the species at any period of its history. This last is also opposed to the popular idea of the community of descent among all the individuals of a species. According to him, the connection, instead of being a material, is only an intellectual or ideal one. He sums up his opinion on this point in few words: "Species, genera, etc., exist as thoughts, individuals as facts." (*Am. Jour. of Sci.*, xxx, p. 143.)

Darwin and the transmutationists, on the other hand, consider a system of classification nothing but a convenient arrangement of natural objects into groups, differing from each other not in kind, but only in degree. His theory admits the orthodox doctrine of a community of descent for all the individ-

uals of a species, and their distribution by natural agencies from a single locality. But he carries the doctrine of community of descent to a most unorthodox extent. He believes that species have not been independently created, but have descended like varieties from other species. He thus states his theory at the end of his Introduction: "I am fully convinced that species are not immutable; but that those belonging to what are called the same genera are lineal descendants of some other and generally extinct species, in the same manner as the acknowledged varieties of any one species are the descendants of that species." (Page 13.) This is quite a moderate statement of the theory; and in reading the book we are led to believe that he extends it no further. His whole argument is really intended to establish no more than this. It is not until he has reached the Conclusion that he seems to have ventured to the full extent to which it was manifest his doctrine must carry him. Here he is led to apply the theory of descent with modification to members of the same class. Then he launches out still more boldly and says: "I believe that animals have descended from at most only four or five progenitors, and plants from an equal or less number." (Page 419.) He seems inclined to stop again at this point, but a little thought soon satisfies him that there is no resting-place here. He then makes the final plunge: "Therefore, I should infer from analogy that probably all the organic beings which have ever lived on this earth have descended from one primordial form, into which life was first breathed." (Page 419.) Here at last we find the germ out of which all the diversified forms of plants and animals have been developed by the operation of secondary causes. As to the precise nature of this "primordial form," he very prudently avoids giving us any information. Had he gone one step further, and made this form the result of the action of physical forces on inorganic matter, his development theory would have been more complete; and then, by acknowledging the omnipotence of matter, he could have dispensed with a primary or efficient cause altogether. But he has not taken these last two steps, and has therefore escaped the bottomless pit of atheism which opened just ahead of him.

Starting, then, from this originally created form, the first slight modifications would give us varieties; as these became

more distinct, species would result; as these differences became greater, we would divide species into distinct groups called genera; and as they separated still wider, into families, and so on, until we reached the greatest divergence expressed by branches or types. Thus, according to Darwin, varieties are but incipient species, species incipient genera, and so on through the whole series. Agassiz has compared his system of classifying animals to the grouping of the stars; the stem and branches of a tree better illustrate Darwin's idea.

The green and budding twigs may represent existing species; and those produced during each former year may represent the long succession of extinct species. At each period of growth all the growing twigs have tried to branch out on all sides, and to overtop and kill surrounding twigs and branches, in the same manner as species and groups of species have tried to overmaster other species in the great battle for life. The limbs divided into great branches, and these into lesser and lesser branches, were themselves once, when the tree was small, budding twigs; and this connection of the former and present buds by ramifying branches may well represent the classification of all extinct and living species into groups subordinate to groups. Of the many twigs which flourished when the tree was a mere bush, only two or three, now grown into great branches, yet survive and bear all the other branches; so with the species which have lived during long-past geological periods, very few now have living and modified descendants. From the first growth of the tree, many a limb and branch has decayed and dropped off; and these lost branches of various sizes may represent those whole orders, families, and genera which have now no living representatives, and which are known to us only from having been found in a fossil state. As we here and there see a thin, straggling branch springing from a fork low down in a tree, and which by some chance has been favored, and is still alive on its summit, so we occasionally see an animal like the ornithorhynchus or lepidosiren, which in some degree connects by its affinities two large branches of life, and which has apparently been saved from fatal competition by having inhabited a protected station. As buds give rise by growth to fresh buds, and these, if vigorous, branch out and overtop on all sides many a feebler branch, so by generation, I believe it has been with the great tree of life, which fills with its dead and broken branches the crust of the earth, and covers the surface with its ever-branching and beautiful ramifications.—Pp. 118, 119.

It will occur to the reader at once that this is no new doctrine. Passing by the crude speculations of the ancient philosophers on this subject, we find that it has been repeatedly

advanced under different forms in more modern times, to be just as often rejected by naturalists as unworthy a place among scientific theories. Now we find the same old doctrine renovated by Mr. Darwin, "furnished with a new hat and stick," and started with a great flourish of trumpets on its travels again and again, we fear, to fall by the wayside like its predecessors, though it is likely to last longer and go further than they.

The advocates of this doctrine contend that "when the mind has once admitted the conception of the gradual production of the present physical state of the globe by natural causes operating through long ages of time, it will be little disposed to allow that living beings have made their appearance in any other way." (*West. Rev.*, April, 1860, p. 306.) This argument from analogy seems to have had some influence with Sir Charles Lyell, for after so ably combating the transmutation theory, he is now inclined to adopt it as a necessary complement to his geological doctrines. But "analogy may be a deceitful guide," Mr. Darwin says. Here, we think, it certainly leads us astray. We cannot see the parallelism between the changes of form in inorganic matter and the production of living beings with all their existing diversity. Science has determined pretty clearly all the properties of inorganic matter and the nature of all the physical forces. The law of these forces has been reduced to strict mathematical expression, and their effects have all been calculated. In the phenomena of inorganic nature all the elements are known; but what do we know of the causes of vital phenomena? The transmutation of inorganic matter into a living form has not yet been accounted for by any of the natural agencies which produce physical phenomena. In organic matter we find an entirely new element introduced, which controls and subjects all the others, and which, for want of a better name, we call vitality, or the vital force. The exact value or law of this force has not yet been calculated and reduced to a numerical expression, as the other forces of matter have been. Therefore, until this link in the chain is supplied, until we are able to account for the first production of vital phenomena by the operation of physical forces previously existing, and until we have determined the law of this vital force, as we have that of gravitation, we are not prepared to form any consistent hypothesis to explain the origin of the

present diversified forms of living beings, which shall be a complement, as its supporters pretend this one is, to the theory which "accounts for the physical changes of the globe by the operation of natural causes." If they ask us to admit an act of special creation at this point, though they limit it to merely breathing life into one "primordial form," the chain of secondary causes is broken, and the analogy no longer exists. Lamark was more consistent. He supposed his monads or "rough draughts" of animal and vegetable existence to be produced by spontaneous generation. The author of the "Vestiges of Creation" also, in order to fill up this gap, declares that "the first step in the creation of life on this planet was a *chemico-electric operation by which simple germinal vesicles were produced.*" (Vestiges of Creation, page 106.) Mr. Darwin sneeringly asks the advocates of special creation if "they really believe that at innumerable periods of the earth's history certain elemental atoms have been commanded suddenly to flash into living tissues!" (Page 418.) We certainly cannot see any insuperable difficulty in admitting a supernatural agency for the production of each new form introduced, after admitting it for the first one, or as Mr. Darwin prefers, the first four or more; especially until some secondary cause has been proved sufficient to account for their origin, and thus dispense with the further necessity for a primary one.

To satisfy ourselves of the difficulty the transmutationists have found in discovering or inventing a cause sufficient to produce the present variety of forms, it is only necessary to look at the various attempts that have been made within the last two centuries. Each one has been confidently advanced as the *vera causa*, in a short time to give place to another, which likewise has soon become fossilized with the other extinct theories of the stratum of thought which produced them.

The theories of the ancients, and also that of Buffon, were theories of degradation, while those of the moderns are theories of progression. By the former the most perfect animals were created, but had a constant tendency to degenerate; according to the latter, the lowest forms are constantly improving or developing. By the first the orang-outang is a fallen or degenerate man; by the second, man is but a developed monkey.

The speculations of Demaillet, (Tellaimed,) published in

1748, were so entirely unsupported by facts that they made but little headway against the prevailing opinion of that time. He supposed that when, in the process of the formation of the globe, the dry land was upheaved, some of the marine animals, leaving the water, took to the land, and during a long period they gradually became adapted to their new conditions of life; others in like manner, by constant efforts, became enabled to fly in the air.

Lamark, in the beginning of the present century, presented nearly the same doctrine again, and supported it with much more ingenuity. (*Philosophie Zoologique.*) He develops the lower forces into the higher by the tendency to progressive advancement in organization and intelligence, and by the force of external circumstances, or of variations in the physical condition of the earth, or the mutual relations of plants and animals. According to his theory, the habits of an animal are not determined by its organs, but that organs are developed, or become obsolete in the course of time by the habits of an animal, or those of its progenitors. For instance, ducks and other water-fowl were not made web-footed to enable them to swim, but by making constant efforts to swim, in searching for food, the skin gradually expanded between the outstretched toes until in course of time the membrane grew and filled the whole space. Again, by the repeated efforts of a fish to fly in the air, the fins gradually developed into wings, and the fish became a bird. The insufficiency or worthlessness of the facts adduced by Lamark in support of his theory was enough of itself to cause its rejection by scientific men; but when he attempted to show its practical operation in developing an orang-outang, who had been brought up through all the regular stages from an oyster, into a man, the ridicule with which it was met was so overwhelming that but few ever had courage to advocate it.

The author of the Vestiges of Creation next attempted to solve this "mystery of mysteries." His idea is, that the lower forms of animals represent by a regular series all the stages in the embryological development of the higher; "*that the simplest and most primitive type, under a law to which that of like production is subordinate, gave birth to the type next above it, that this again produced the next higher, and so on to the*

very highest, the stages of advance being in all cases very small, namely, from one species only to another; so that the phenomenon has always been of a simple and modest character." (*Vestiges*, p. 115.) In order to bring about this generation of any species by the next one below it, he thinks it is only necessary "to protract the straightforward part of the gestation over a small space." He supposes this may be accomplished "by the force of certain external conditions operating on the parturient system." (*Vestiges*, p. 110.) The nature of these conditions, he says, we can only conjecture. But, as conjecture was not deemed quite substantial enough for the basis of a scientific theory, this flimsy fabric did not long withstand the tempest of argument and ridicule let loose upon it.

This last attempt to discover a secondary cause sufficient to meet the wants of the development hypothesis proved such a miserable failure that for years no one ventured to make another. So completely did this heresy appear to have been crushed out, that the advocates of special creation, having the field all to themselves, had begun to look upon their position as impregnable against any force that could be brought to bear upon it. Such was the state of affairs when Messrs. Darwin and Wallace startled the scientific world by a communication to the Linnæan Society, professing to be a restatement of the Lamarkian hypothesis in an improved and truly scientific form. Out of this paper Mr. Darwin's book has grown. When we consider the circumstances under which this work is produced, the respectability of the source from which it emanates, and the great pretension it makes, we are not surprised at the stir it has made, nor at the rigid account to which it has been held by the advocates of the opposing doctrine.

What, then, is this great discovery of Mr. Darwin—this new natural agent sufficient to develop all the diversity of living things from the "one primordial form into which life was first breathed?" What is this great secret kept hidden from the world to be revealed to us in these latter times through Mr. Darwin? He calls it "Natural Selection, or the preservation of favored races in the struggle for existence." This "struggle for existence," upon which he bases his whole theory, he states thus:

A struggle for existence inevitably follows from the high rate at which all organic beings tend to increase. Every being which, during its natural lifetime, produces several eggs or seeds, must suffer destruction during some period of its life, and during some season or occasional year, otherwise, on the principal of geometrical increase, its numbers would quickly become so inordinately great that no country could support the product. Hence, as more individuals are produced than can possibly survive, there must in every case be a struggle for existence, either one individual with another of the same species or with the individuals of distinct species, or with the physical conditions of life. It is the doctrine of Malthus applied with manifold force to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms; for in this case there can be no artificial increase of food and no prudential restraints of marriage.—P. 63.

We will, just here, in passing, for we have no time to discuss this point, say that we do not believe in this struggle for existence, as Mr. Darwin states it. In spite of his array of facts, we are not yet convinced that such is the law of any part of God's creation. As Carey and other political economists have conclusively proved the doctrine of Malthus to be false in its application to human society, so we believe science will yet prove it as false and wicked when applied to the organization of the animal kingdom. But having, as he thinks, established this struggle for existence, he next considers its influence on the variation of species. That each organism begets its like, but with some slight difference, is a law universally admitted. Now it is not improbable that, in the course of "thousands of generations," some modification, however slight, may occur which may be of advantage to its possessor in this ever-recurring struggle for existence. The individuals possessing this advantage would, therefore, have the best chance of surviving and procreating their kind. This profitable variation would also, after "thousands of generations," under the same law of variability, be improved and perpetuated. Thus, by a slow process, varieties would be produced. The same tendency to vary still existing, these varieties would, in the course of ages, become true species. After a still longer time these species would be divided into genera, classes, etc. "This, of course, is only applicable to the profitable variations, for those that were injurious would be rigidly destroyed." This preservation and accumulation of infinitesimally small and inherited profitable variations, and the destruction of injurious

ones, he calls "Natural Selection." This, then, is the new secondary creational agent which is to do the work mostly assigned to a primary one. To see how it works, let us take the example quoted above. According to Darwin's theory, when food became scarce on land, a portion of the birds in certain localities would be compelled to seek it in the water. Here, then, would commence a new struggle. In the course of time it would happen, how we do not know, that a bird would be born with a slight expansion between the toes. This would give him a slight advantage over his fellows, and be transmitted to his offspring. This would thus be preserved until, in the course of ages, by the same law of variation, another fowl would be born with the membrane somewhat larger. This, in the same manner, would be transmitted and gradually enlarged until the perfect web-foot would be produced by natural selection. He admits the influence of habit, it is true, but only as a subordinate agency in effecting changes of structure. How much more satisfactory this explanation is than that of Lamark our readers can decide for themselves.

When Lamark and others pretended to have discovered a *natural* explanation for all the diversity of organic forms, the burden of proof was naturally and properly thrown upon them. They were required to show that the causes brought forward were really sufficient to produce the present diversity of species, or, if that was not possible, that the whole mass of facts were more conformable to their theories, and better explained by them than by any other. But they utterly failed to establish either point. The burden of proof laid on them was more than they were able to carry. The same demand is now made of Mr. Darwin. He must prove that his new doctrine of natural selection is either a "true physical theory, or a sufficient hypothesis," or both, else it will soon be put in the same category with its predecessors.

We have already devoted much the larger portion of the space allowed us to an exposition of Mr. Darwin's theory, and to an effort to determine its true position in relation to the derivative hypotheses which have preceded it, and to the prevailing doctrine of special creation, thinking this course more consistent with the character of this journal, and more adapted to the wants of our readers, than the discussion in detail of all

the scientific questions involved. We shall endeavor, however, in the space that remains, to examine briefly some of the principal arguments advanced by our author in support of his new doctrine.

His first argument is from variation under domestication, where the natural tendency to vary is controlled and modified by the interference of man. He thinks that the conditions of life, as food, climate, etc., by acting upon the reproductive sys tem, have great influence in causing variability, though he does "not believe that variability is an inherent and necessary contingency under all circumstances, with all organic beings, as some authors have thought." Variation is also modified, to some extent, by "various degrees of inheritance and reversion," by "correlation of growth," by "the direct action of the conditions of life," and by "use and disuse." Over all these causes of change, however, man's power of accumulative selection predominates. (Pp. 44, 45.) "Nature gives successive variations; man adds them up in certain directions useful to him. In this sense, he may be said to make for himself useful breeds." (P. 34.) In this manner new races or varieties are produced within a short period, owing to the wonderful plasticity of some of our domestic animals under the hand of man. These varieties, according to Mr. Darwin's theory, are but incipient species, some of them being more clearly defined than many recognized species in a state of nature. If, then, such marked varieties are thus produced in so short a time, may they not, if the process be continued long enough, be converted into good and reliable species? The aim of this argument, therefore, is to prove that, under man's selection, the production of new species is possible. Under this head he gives us many very curious and interesting facts to illustrate the great power of man in moulding the forms of some of our domestic animals. His favorite illustration is that of our domestic pigeons. These he seems to have studied very thoroughly, having for this purpose joined two of the London pigeon clubs. He is satisfied that all the varieties of our pigeons, of which more than one hundred are well marked, are descended from the wild rock pigeon, (*columba livia.*) Some of these differ so much in size, color, habits, and even structure, that Mr. Darwin declares:

Altogether, at least a score of pigeons might be chosen, which, if shown to an ornithologist, and he were told that they were wild birds, would certainly, I think, be ranked by him as well-defined species. Moreover, I do not believe that any ornithologist would place the English carrier, the short-faced tumbler, the runt, the barb, pouter, and fantail in the same genus, more especially as in each of these breeds several truly inherited sub-breeds, or species as he might have called them, could be shown him.—P. 27.

Yet even here, however strong the appearances may be in his favor, he does not venture to claim the formation of a single new species. The morphological evidences here paraded so confidently are more apparent than real, not being sufficiently reliable or permanent for the establishment of specific difference. The boasted difference in the number of vertebræ is found, upon examination, to be confined to the small anchylosed bones in the region of the tail, which vary so much, even in individuals, that they are never depended on to determine species. In fact, he seems to ignore all variation which belongs to individuality. He forgets that in nature, within the limits of well-defined species, there are instances of much more wonderful variation than any of those boasted of in our domestic breeds; and that the determination of the limits of this variability, and the circumstances which affect it, is an essential part of the study of the history of each species. Now whatever peculiarity belongs to the individual is transient, and disappears or changes with the influences which produced it. These distinct breeds or races are only produced by the careful and constant selection by man of certain variable peculiarities, and by close breeding in and in. But let this perversion of nature be removed, and allow the different breeds to have free intercourse, and see how soon your boasted varieties disappear. Mr. Darwin acknowledges this to be the case with the races of pigeons. There is really no resemblance between the distinctions of the best marked breeds, and the differences of natural species. Besides, there is none of that repugnance to intercourse to keep them distinct, such as we find existing between natural species. Even Mr. Darwin, though with Agassiz he rejects the law of hybridity as a test of specific difference, admits that no instance has ever been known of distinct species producing fertile hybrids. If, then, there be no real dif-

ference between well-marked varieties and species, and if these breeds have diverged so far as to be liable to be mistaken for distinct species, and genera even, why has he not been able to produce an instance of even a slight obstacle to a perfectly fruitful intercourse having been established between them? If these modifications of structure are so important and essential as he would have us believe, why have they not in a single instance been accompanied by change enough in the reproductive system to keep the races apart? This we think a serious difficulty, nor has Mr. Darwin with all his ingenuity attempted to explain it. Besides, if some of our existing races of domestic animals were established many thousand years ago, as we have abundant evidence they were, why is it; if they are incipient species, they have not, under the same influences, gone on diverging, and in time become good species? If, as we are told, the period of a single life has been sufficient to establish a distinct breed, surely the six thousand years of human history might have developed a single species at least out of some one of them.

This whole argument from variation under domestication to establish the probability of specific variation in nature, we consider a complete fallacy which proves nothing. But having, as he thinks, succeeded in proving that man's selection is capable of producing new species, our author next looks for some agency in nature which operates in the same way. Here is the original part of his book. His discovery of natural selection, which has been at work from the beginning, producing the most astonishing results, without being suspected by the closest students of nature, certainly entitles him to a place in the first rank of discoverers—provided, however, his discovery does not in the end prove to be but an invention, and a useless one at that. When we tell him that in domestication all the variations are produced and controlled by the intelligence of man, while his newly discovered agency is entirely fortuitous and unreasoning, and cannot be depended on for the production of such results as we see, his ingenuity and imagination are ready for even this emergency. Haphazard and accidental as his natural selection seems to others, to him it appears endowed with the highest attributes of wisdom and omnipotence. Here is its apotheosis:

It may be said that natural selection is daily and hourly scrutinizing throughout the world every variation, even the slightest; rejecting that which is bad, preserving and adding up all that is good; silently and insensibly working, whenever and wherever opportunity offers, at the improvement of each organic being in relation to its organic and inorganic conditions of life. We see nothing of these slow changes in progress until the hand of time has marked the long lapse of ages, and then so imperfect is our view into long past geological ages that we only see that the forms of life are now different from what they formerly were.—P. 80.

Surely the imagination that is capable of such a creation ought to be equal to the explanation of any difficulty that might present itself. The admission made in the last sentence quoted above is certainly a damaging one, especially when we consider that this theory pretends to be but a complement to Lyell's doctrine, that all the changes in the earth's crust have been produced by the same natural causes which we now see in operation. Lyell's whole argument is based upon the fact that we can and do see these forces at work, and by measuring the effects we see them producing we are able to calculate all the results of their operation in past ages. But Darwin admits that "we see nothing of these slow changes in progress;" nor, after the lapse of ages, do we see any evidence of them, except that "the forms of life are now different from what they formerly were." We humbly suggest that even modern geologists might be allowed to ask for a little proof before being compelled to adopt such a theory as a necessary consequence of what they have all along believed. But where is the proof? Has Mr. Darwin furnished one instance of a new species produced by natural selection? After his great display of his facts and his promise of more to come, we are surprised to find that they prove so little to the point. Some are unreliable, some prove nothing, (that we can see,) others can be made to prove just as much on one side as the other. When we demand some example of transmutation brought about by natural selection, though he is not able to produce one from his list in reserve, his imagination helps him out of the difficulty. "Instead of facts we are treated with marvelous bear, cuckoo, and other stories. *Credat Judæus Apella.*" Here is a specimen:

In North America the black bear was seen by Hearne swimming for hours with widely open mouth, thus catching, like a whale, insects in the water. Even in so extreme a case as this, if the supply of insects were constant, and if better adapted competitors did not already exist in the country, I can see no difficulty in a race of bears being rendered, by natural selection, more and more aquatic in their structure and habits, with larger and larger mouths, till a creature was produced as monstrous as a whale.—P. 165.

We should like to know how much credulity is necessary to enable one to adopt such stories as proofs of a scientific theory. Lamark's most absurd fictions never called for more. But the capacity of the theory is not fully developed until he comes to apply it to the production of special organs of great perfection. Even he himself is staggered when asked to explain the development of the eye by natural selection. He says:

To suppose that the eye, with all its inimitable contrivances for adjusting the focus to different distances, for admitting different amounts of light, and for the correction of spherical and chromatic aberration, could have been formed by natural selection, seems, I freely confess, absurd in the highest possible degree.—P. 167.

Yet he screws up his courage to face the difficulty. Here is the whole process:

If we must compare the eye to an optical instrument, we ought, in imagination, to take a thick layer of transparent tissue, with a nerve sensitive to light beneath, and then suppose every part of this layer to be continually changing slowly in density, so as to separate into layers of different densities and thicknesses, placed at different distances from each other, and with the surfaces of each layer slowly changing in form. Further, we must suppose that there is a power always intently watching each slight accidental alteration in the transparent layers, and carefully selecting each alteration which, under varied circumstances, may in any way or in any degree tend to produce a distincter image. We must suppose each new state of the instrument to be multiplied by the million, and each to be preserved till a better be produced, and then the old ones to be destroyed. In living bodies variation will cause the slight alterations, generation will multiply them almost infinitely, natural selection will pick out with unerring skill each improvement. Let this process go on for millions on millions of years, and during each year on millions of individuals of many kinds, and may we not believe that a living optical instrument might thus be formed as superior to one of glass as the works of the Creator are to those of man?—P. 169.

Let any one who has been able to bring his mind to adopt this explanation try how much harder it would be to believe the doctrine of special creation. Surely the transmutationists, above all others, ought to have charity for those who are still weak enough to hold to the belief in the doctrine of final causes.

These must serve as specimens of the direct arguments by which our author would establish his theory. But his genius for special pleading does not fully display itself until he comes to explain away the facts which oppose his hypothesis. Even when he admits the objection to be a serious and damaging one, he gradually brings himself to the belief that the difficulty may not be so serious after all; and finally ends by convincing himself, if not others, that instead of being squarely against him, as they have all along been supposed, the facts are really on his side. A good sample of this kind of reasoning is his chapter on the geological record. Most of our readers will probably recollect how utterly this same development hypothesis was demolished by the geologists when the author of the *Vestiges of Creation* was rash enough to appeal to the testimony of the rocks to establish it. It was then clearly shown, and every succeeding discovery has but added confirmation to the fact, that instead of the successive formations containing the regular graduated series of organisms, from the lowest and simplest cell up to man, the highest and most perfect of created forms, which this theory demands, the chain is broken and fragmentary, the first and many of the intermediate links being entirely wanting. In the very lowest fossiliferous strata we find representatives of all four of the different branches of the animal kingdom, showing a degree of divergence which, according to Darwin, it must have required countless generations to produce. Nor do we find a gradual increase of the number of individuals of a species as we proceed from the bottom to the top of a formation, nor a gradual dying out; but each new species is represented, on its first appearance, by as many individuals as at any period of its history. Species appear suddenly, and as suddenly disappear, to be succeeded in the next formation by forms entirely distinct from any that existed before. Such is the most undoubted testimony of the rocks, which even Mr. Darwin is compelled to admit. He says: "Geology assuredly

does not reveal any such finely graduated organic chain; and this, perhaps, is the most obvious and gravest objection which can be urged against my theory. The explanation lies, as I believe, in the extreme imperfection of the geological record." (P. 246.) He would account for the absence of the first link of the chain on the supposition that in consequence of the delicacy of their organization all traces of the forms existing before the Silurian period were obliterated by metamorphic or other influences. But it is fair to presume that these destructive agencies, whatever they were, must have subsided gradually, and left some traces, however imperfect, of the immediate progenitors of such well-preserved animals as are found in the lowest fossiliferous strata, if any such progenitors ever existed. To account for the absence of the intermediate links, he contends that the "geological formations in any region are almost invariably intermittent," and separated by long intervals of time. This he explains on the theory that "all the ancient formations which are rich in fossils have been formed during subsidence," and the fossils thus preserved; while "the littoral and sub-littoral deposits are continually worn away as soon as they are brought up, by the slow and gradual rising of the land, within the grinding action of the coast waves." (P. 254.) We cannot resist the temptation to give entire Agassiz's reply to this ingenious argument:

> He would have us believe that geological deposits took place during the periods of subsidence, when it can be proved that the whole continent of North America is formed of beds which were deposited during a series of successive upheavals. I quote North America in preference to any other part of the world because the evidence is so complete here that it can only be overlooked by those who may mistake subsidence for the general shrinkage of the earth's surface in consequence of the cooling of its mass. In this part of the globe fossils are as common along the successive shores of the rising deposits of the Silurian system as anywhere along our beaches; and each of these successive shores extends from the Atlantic states to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. The evidence goes even further. Each of these successive sets of beds of the Silurian system contains peculiar fossils, neither found in the beds above nor in the beds below, and between them there are no intermediate forms."—*Am. Jour. Sci.*, vol. xxx, p. 146.

His wonderful theory of the gradual perfection of the organs of vision by natural selection through countless ages is also

somewhat robbed of its fair proportions by the evidence which geology furnishes of the existence of such complex and perfect eyes as those of trilobites among the very oldest fossils.

These are but a few of the facts which the geological record, imperfect as it is, presents in opposition to this theory; and Mr. Darwin, with all his ingenuity and special pleading, has not been able to weaken their force or pervert their meaning. We contend that they are absolutely fatal to it, and must be disproved before it can even be admitted as a *possible* hypothesis, much less a probable one. His chapters on Geographical Distribution, Classification, Embryology, etc., in spite of their interest, we must pass over entirely. The arguments we have given bear upon the most essential points, and they must serve as specimens of the whole.

We have discussed this as a scientific question only, to be decided upon its merits without reference to its theological bearings. It will be time enough to consider it from this latter point of view when it appears likely to become established as a true scientific theory, of which there seems now to be but little need of apprehension. In conclusion we must say that, with all the ingenuity displayed by Mr. Darwin in the discussion of the many curious facts his industry has collected, and whatever may be the benefit to science from the new impulse given to investigation by his book, he has, in our opinion, entirely failed to re-establish on a scientific basis the often rejected theory of the transmutation of species. We are satisfied that, as an explanation of the origin of species, "natural selection" will prove a delusion, and that science will soon consign it to its appropriate place in the museum of curious and fanciful speculations.

March 16, 1861.

Art. V.—THE CULDEES.

The name "Culdees" has been given to a body of Christians who resided chiefly in Scotland, Ireland, and some of the adjacent isles. There has been a difference of opinion in regard to the origin of the name, some deriving it from the Latin *Cultores Dei*, worshipers of God, and others from the Irish *Ceile De*, meaning *servants of God.* In either case the name was honorable to those who bore it, denoting their high and peculiar religious character.

The Culdees originated with Columba, an Irish missionary, who came into Scotland to preach the Gospel to the northern Picts, about the year 563. Ireland was at this time distinguished for its zeal and progress in the Christian faith. Its clergy were among the most learned and efficient in the world. The country was an asylum for the oppressed and persecuted of other lands, and its Churches increased and prospered greatly. Ireland was at this period called proverbially *insula sanctorum*, an island of saints. An influence went forth from it to enlighten and to bless other lands, of which the mission of Columba to Scotland was but an instance.

It is not easy to determine precisely at what period Christianity was first planted in the British Isles. Both Eusebius and Theodoret mention the Britons as among those nations to whom the Gospel was preached by the apostles; and Clemens Romanus, a companion of Paul, informs us that *he* pursued his missionary labors "to the utmost boundaries of the West." But whether he actually visited Britain is more than can be determined with absolute certainty.

Among the thousands of Romans who passed over into what is now England, in the reign of Claudius and his successors, there were undoubtedly many professed Christians, who, of course, would labor for the spread of the Gospel. We know, at least, that before the close of the second century Christianity had not only entered Britain, but had made much progress there. Tertullian tells us that it had reached not only those parts of the country which were subject to the Romans, but beyond them—"the regions of the Britons inaccessible to the Romans, but subject to Christ."

We have yet another evidence of the early introduction of the Gospel into the remoter parts of Britain. The Christianity which we first find in Scotland and Ireland seems evidently to have been of the primitive stamp. It gives evidence of having been derived from the fountain head of the apostles, and not to have flowed through the corrupted channels of Rome. According to Archbishop Usher, Palladius was sent to "the Scots *believing on Christ* by Cœlestine, Bishop of Rome, in the year 431." This shows that there were *Christians* in Scotland at this early period in sufficient numbers to attract the notice of the Roman bishop. The precise object of Palladius's mission does not appear, though the design was, probably, to initiate the simple Bible Christians of Scotland into the superadded ceremonies and superstitions which prevailed at Rome.

Shortly after this visit, Succathus, a Scotchman, went over into Ireland, and there labored most assiduously as a missionary of the cross. He did not first *introduce* Christianity into Ireland; but so successful was he in propagating it and in bringing the natives to a knowledge of the truth that he has been called, not improperly, the *apostle* of Ireland. He was afterward canonized by the Romish Church, under the name of Patricius. He is the St. Patrick of Ireland, so much honored by the people of that country in all periods since. He was very far, however, from being a Romish priest or bishop in the modern sense of the term. The Christianity which he taught, both as to form and substance, was the same which he had received from his Scottish teachers. Though not altogether free from superstition, it strongly resembled the religion of the first and second centuries after Christ.

But to return to Columba, who flourished a hundred years later than Palladius or Succathus, in which period, as I said, Ireland became distinguished for its religious privileges and influence. He was born in Ireland about the year 521.* After laboring for a time with signal success for the advancement of religion in his native land, he set sail for the neighboring coast of Scotland. His attention was first directed to the Northern Picts, many of whom were converted through

* He is to be distinguished from *Columban*, another Irish monk or missionary who rose a little later, preached the Gospel in what is now France, and finally died in Italy.

his instrumentality. To reward him for his disinterested exertions, the king of the Picts put him in possession of the little island of Iona, lying on the outer shore of Mull, which is one of the principal of the Hebrides, or Western Islands. Columba now returned to Ireland, and having secured twelve assistants, came back and established himself at Iona. The first object of these adventurers was to prepare themselves huts, and to erect a little church. But as the fame of their enterprise rapidly spread, and numbers resorted to them for religious instruction, these original structures, which were necessarily rude, gave place to others of a more permanent character; and in a few years Iona was covered with cloisters and churches, and became the residence of a numerous body of teachers and students.

The establishment at Iona is commonly spoken of as a convent; but it was more properly a college, or rather a theological and missionary school. Its inmates were, indeed, subject to rules; but they were not associated, as in other convents, chiefly for the purpose of observing rules. Their rules were intended for the preservation of order, and the attainment of proper habits and discipline; while the grand design of all was to train up men for active service in the Gospel ministry. The institution was supported partly by charitable contributions and partly by the inmates themselves; a certain portion of each day being devoted to manual labor.

The school at Iona was furnished with a valuable library. Of this we have evidence so late as the fifteenth century. When Pope Pius II. was in Scotland, in 1456, he proposed visiting Iona in search of rare and valuable books.

The government of the institution was vested in a principal and twelve assistants. The office of principal was held by Columba till the time of his decease in the year 597. Himself and his assistants were all presbyters, there being no higher ministerial office among them. To them pertained the business of instruction, and the general oversight of the concerns of the institution. They judged of the qualifications of those under their care, gave them ordination when prepared for it, sent them forth to their respective fields of labor, and still continued them under their direction and control. Even those of them who were constituted bishops still considered themselves

amenable to the faculty at Iona, and might be removed or recalled whenever their instructors should deem it proper.

The course of study at Iona was eminently scriptural. It is recorded of Columba that "he was much devoted to the study of the Holy Scriptures." He taught his pupils to confirm their doctrines by the Bible, and to receive that alone as of divine authority which was so established. The consequence was that the students at Iona were simple Bible Christians, uncontaminated with the superstitions which were then beginning to prevail in other parts of the world. The venerable Bede, though not of their party, and having no prejudices in their favor, bears ample testimony to their pureness of doctrine, their sanctity of life, and also to their learning. They were bound, he says, "to exercise themselves in the reading of Scripture and the learning of Psalms. They would receive those things only as matter of doctrine which are contained in the writings of the prophets, the evangelists, and the apostles."

After the commencement of his great establishment at Iona, Columba, it seems, did not desist altogether from personal missionary labors. We hear of him at a certain time in the neighborhood of Inverness, in the north of Scotland, where he preached to the rude inhabitants by means of an interpreter. But his principal influence from this time was through the medium of those who were preparing for usefulness under his instructions. These were the *Culdees* of whom I spoke at the commencement of this article. They penetrated into every part of Scotland, so that before the close of the sixth century the great mass of the people were nominally converted. They preached also in Ireland, in Wales, in some parts of the Belgic provinces, and also in Germany.

The influence which they exerted upon England requires a more particular consideration. Christianity, as I said, was introduced into England as early as the first or second century. It continued to prevail there for some two hundred years, until the time of the Saxon invasion. The Saxons, whom the Britons invited into their country to aid them in their wars with the Scots and Picts, soon became more formidable than the enemies whom they were called over to resist. Having driven back the Scots and Picts, they turned their arms against the Britons, destroyed their cities, slew them in battle, and

drove them to seek a refuge in the most secluded parts of their own country, or in foreign lands. Many fled into France, and settled the province which was named for them Brittany. As the Saxons were at this time fierce and cruel pagans, they, of course, demolished the churches of the Britons, banished their teachers, overthrew their religious institutions, and reduced the country a second time to heathenism.

And so it remained until the latter part of the sixth century. Meanwhile it was governed by seven Saxon chieftains or kings, and hence the government was called a heptarchy.

Near the close of the sixth century Christianity was again introduced into England, and from two opposite quarters at once. Augustine, with his forty monks, was sent by Gregory, bishop of Rome, to publish the Gospel in the south of England. He succeeded in the conversion of the king of Kent; and the greatest part of his kingdom, at that time the most powerful branch of the heptarchy, was soon persuaded to embrace Christianity.

Meanwhile Oswald, king of Northumberland, the northernmost branch of the heptarchy, applied to Iona for a teacher to come and instruct his people. The first Culdee missionary that was sent bore the name of Corman; but he not being acceptable, on account of the severity of his manners and discipline, soon returned to Iona to give an account of his ill success. On this occasion Aidan, one of the inmates, pronounced a speech so full of wisdom that with one accord his associates resolved to appoint him to the vacant field. "It seems to me," said he, addressing himself to Corman, "that your austere manners and conduct toward the people were unsuitable to their state of extreme ignorance and darkness. Like infants, they should be treated with milk till they become capable of stronger meat." As Aidan proceeded with his address "the eyes of the whole assembly," says Bede, "were turned toward him. They diligently weighed what he said, and thinking him worthy of the trust, they agreed to send him into Northumbria to teach the unbelieving and the unlearned. They found that he was supereminently endowed with the gift of *discretion*, which [in the opinion of Bede] is the mother of all virtues. Accordingly they ordained him, and sent him forth to preach."

The character of this missionary would have done honor to

the purest times. He gave to the poor whatever he received from the rich, and employed himself with his associates in the Scriptures continually. He strictly avoided everything luxurious, and every appearance of secular avarice and ambition. He redeemed captives with the money that was given to him, and afterward instructed them and fitted them for the ministry. He labored under a disadvantage, indeed, in not being able to speak the language of the people; but King Oswald, who perfectly knew both languages, acted as his interpreter, and did what he could to assist him in his labors. The zeal of this monarch was extraordinary. He was a nursing father to the infant Church. He was the benefactor of the poor and needy, and powerfully seconded every attempt to spread the knowledge and practice of godliness. Encouraged by his protection, more missionaries came from Iona, and Churches in considerable numbers were established. Aidan was their bishop, and had his seat at Lindisfarne, a small island in the German Sea. He was succeeded by Finan, and he by Colman, both of whom were ordained and sent out from Iona.

This work of evangelizing England being commenced in the south by missionaries from Rome, and in the north by missionaries from Iona, in a little time the two classes of missionaries came together, and it was then found that on several points of doctrine and practice they did not agree. They differed as to the proper time of observing Easter; the northern missionaries copying, in respect to this, from the Asiatic Churches, and the southern from the Church of Rome. The northern missionaries, or Culdees, did not practice auricular confession; they rejected penance and priestly absolution; they made no use of chrism in baptism, or of confirmation; they opposed the doctrine of the real presence; they withstood the idolatrous worship of saints and angels; they dedicated their churches to God and not to the saints; they placed no reliance on merits of any kind aside from the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ; they were opposed to the celibacy of the clergy, and lived themselves in the marriage state. In short, they were witnesses to the simple truths and institutions of the Gospel in an age of abounding and increasing superstition.

Controversies on the above points, as might be expected, soon sprang up in England. Various synods and conferences

were held with a view to adjust differences; but in vain. The missionaries from Rome were bigoted and overbearing. Those from Iona had learned their religion from the Bible, and could be convinced on no other authority. The kings, however, rather inclined to the customs of Rome, as being the more fascinating and imposing; and the Scots were obliged, after a time, to yield. Colman, the third bishop from Iona, left his diocese in the year 662, and returned, with many of his adherents, into Scotland. Bede informs us that "the Catholic institution daily increasing, all the Scots who resided among the Angles either conformed to it or returned to their own country."

But to return from this contest to Iona. I have said that Columba presided over the institution till his death, in the year 597. He was succeeded by Adamnanus, who wrote the life of his illustrious predecessor. In process of time several other establishments grew up in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, constituted substantially after the model of Iona. One was founded at Abernethy, another at Dunkeld, another at St. Andrews, and others at Dunblane, Monimusk, and Scone. It is thought by some writers that not less than a hundred different establishments, constituted after the model of Iona, and growing up under its influence, came into being in the next four hundred years. The missionaries from these establishments were *the Culdees.* They were found in every part of the British islands and beyond them, and constituted a numerous and powerful body of preachers and teachers. They were distinguished for their love of the Bible, for the simplicity of their faith and worship, and for their steady and persevering opposition to the usurpation and superstitions of the Church of Rome.

Of their controversy with the Romish missionaries in England I have given some account. The contest was longer and more severe in Scotland and Wales. In what detestation the arrogant claims of Rome were held in Wales we learn from the poems of Talliessin, who is supposed to have flourished about the year 620:

"Woe be to that priest 'yborn
That will not cleanly weed his corn,
And preach his charge among;

Woe be to that shepherd, I say,
That will not watch his fold alway,
As to his office doth belong.
Woe be to him who doth not keep
From *Romish wolves* his erring sheep,
With staff and weapon strong."

In Scotland the influence of the Culdees continued with little abatement until the beginning of the thirteenth century. At this period Queen Margaret, the wife of Malcolm III., exerted a strong influence in favor of the religion of Rome. She was an Anglo-Saxon princess, who had been educated in the Romish religion; and being a fascinating and gifted woman, she did much to control the counsels of her husband and his court. Besides, she was the mother of the four succeeding Scottish kings, namely, Edmund, Edgar, Alexander I., and David I. This David succeeded, about the commencement of the fourteenth century, in breaking down the Culdee establishments and subjecting them to the Catholic bishops.

It is said that the very year in which we have the last mention of the Culdees in Scotland was the same in which the Lollards made their appearance in Germany—perhaps through the influence of the Culdees there. Shortly after this, Wiclif began to hold up a light in England, which was not extinguished until the dawn of the Reformation. It would seem from this view that God had witnesses to the reality and power of spiritual religion through all the dark ages, not only among the fastnesses of the Alps, in the south of Europe, but also among the rugged cliffs of Scotland and Wales.

But to return again to Iona. After the erection of similar establishments on the main land, especially those at Abernethy, Dunkeld, and St. Andrews, the influence of that at Iona necessarily declined. This, however, was not the principal cause of its decline. Attempts were repeatedly made to corrupt this fountain-head of Culdee influence, and poison it with the superstitions of Rome. For this purpose Egbert, a Saxon monk and emissary of Rome, was stationed here near the commencement of the eighth century by Nectan III., king of the Picts. At the same time Nectan banished those members of the school at Iona who would not submit to the Romish customs, especially in regard to the time of observing Easter. After the death of Egbert and Nectan the exiles returned to

their beloved seats, and remained there undisturbed to the close of the century.

In the beginning of the next century the Danish pirates ravaged the island, and committed extreme cruelties on its defenseless inhabitants. They burned such of the buildings as were combustible, and murdered about seventy of the inmates.

Some seventy years later the Danes again invaded Iona, when most of the brethren fled into Ireland, carrying the bones of Columba with them. Still a considerable number continued to cleave to the hallowed spot, though now sadly shorn of its ancient splendor.

But in subsequent years their perils and sufferings were renewed upon them, and from the same source. In the year 905 the Danes again pillaged Iona, and killed the principal and many of the brethren. In 1059 they were visited with an extensive conflagration. Still the devoted Culdees continued to linger among the scathed ruins of their ancient seats. They had other institutions, as I have said, in different places, but Iona continued to be their favorite retreat until the beginning of the thirteenth century. Then a Romish monastery was established on the island, and the Culdees were driven from it to return no more.

In the year 1773 Iona was visited by Dr. Samuel Johnson, in his tour to the Hebrides. He describes the ruins which he saw, which were chiefly those of Romish edifices, built after the monks obtained possession of the island. He represents the soil as fertile and fruitful, but the inhabitants as degraded and neglected. "This island," says he, "which was once the metropolis of learning and piety, has now no school for education nor temple for worship. It has only two inhabitants who can speak English, and not one that can read or write. I know not that it is visited by any minister of religion." Such was the moral condition of Iona almost a hundred years ago. We hope it has experienced some improvement since.

In ancient times this little island was not only—what Johnson calls it—"the great school of theology," "the instructress of the western regions," but it was the ordinary place of sepulture for the surrounding nobles and kings. It was thought to be a sacred place. It was consecrated and holy

ground: and kings and nobles were careful to provide that their dust might be here deposited. Indeed, several monarchs are said to have abdicated their thrones, and retired, in the evening of life, to the cloisters of Iona, that they might here prepare for death, and secure for themselves a place of burial. It is related by the older historians that forty-eight kings of Scotland, four of Ireland, eight of Norway, and one of France lie interred on this little island.

In view of the great and just celebrity of the establishment at Iona, it is matter of wonder that so little should be known and said of it in modern times. With the catechetical school at Alexandria every scholar is familiar, but the institution at Iona was scarcely less celebrated in its day than that at Alexandria. It may not have produced as distinguished scholars, but it sent out more faithful and laborious ministers. If in point of critical learning it failed to do as much good, it certainly did far less hurt. While the school at Alexandria exerted, on the whole, a corrupting influence on the Church, introducing false principles of interpretation, and adulterating the simple doctrines of the Gospel with the minglings of a proud Pagan philosophy, the school at Iona effectually resisted for a time the foul current of superstition and corruption which was setting in upon the British Islands from the Church of Rome.

Unfortunately for Iona, its history has become involved in one of the perplexing ecclesiastical controversies of the day; I mean that respecting the apostolical succession of bishops. It is certain that the school at Iona was governed by presbyters. Its principal and his twelve assistants were all of them presbyters. On this point the testimony of Bede and others is explicit. After the same model, too, all the other Culdee establishments seem to have been formed. It is certain that the Faculty at Iona ordained and sent out several bishops, who, with their assistants and successors, were instrumental in converting the Anglo-Saxons through the northern and central parts of England. It is certain that these Scottish bishops ordained other bishops and a great many presbyters, and that the results of their ordinations and other labors continue in England to the present time.

To all this the High Church Episcopalian replies, that though we have no account of any bishops residing at Iona,

and taking part in the ordinations there, still it is altogether probable that there was one, since the distinction between bishop and presbyter generally prevailed in the sixth and seventh centuries, and bishops were found everywhere else.

I have no occasion to disturb this mooted question here. Suffice it to say that through the connection of the presbyter establishment at Iona with the hierarchy of England, the subject of the apostolical succession of bishops is *considerably embarrassed*, and the difficulty of establishing it to the satisfaction of all concerned is increased.

I conclude by suggesting to American Christians who make the tour of Europe, that they should not fail (if circumstances permit) to set their feet on the shores of Iona. I scarcely know a place on the other side of the Atlantic which, to my own mind, stands connected with so many pleasing and sacred associations. If it is interesting to visit the Isle of Wight, and stand by the tomb of Elizabeth Walbridge, (the Dairyman's Daughter,) it surely cannot be less so to visit the sacred classic grounds of Iona, survey its ruins, and tread upon the ashes of the illustrious dead who are there entombed.

Art. VI.—BRAHMINISM: ITS HISTORY AND CLAIMS.

With the exception of Parseeism, Brahminism is probably the oldest of living faiths: older, indeed, than most of those which have passed away, since from it Greece received many of its dogmas, and the other Asiatic forms of paganism, present and past, can, with few exceptions, be traced back to it. It could hardly have been later than the time of Abraham when a portion of the *Aryas*, dwellers on the lofty table lands of Persia, and at that time holding the monotheistic creed, which is still preserved in tolerable purity by the Parsees, emigrated southward, toward the plains and fertile valleys of India, then occupied by the *Dasyus*, a warlike and not wholly uncivilized race, the progenitors of the Khonds, Bhils, Shyans, and Karens of Northern India and Burmah. The contest between the invaders and these tribes was a long and wearisome one, for

both races were brave; but the Aryas added to their courage the fanaticism of religious propagandists, and perhaps also somewhat more of intellectual culture than the Dasyus possessed.

But it was not the warlike *Dasyus* alone with whom the *Aryas* had to contend. Their own race, following close on their heels, and attracted as they had been by the fertility and beauty of the peninsula, became in turn invaders, and it was only after long-protracted conflicts that peace at last prevailed, and there came a period when cities could be built, and the intellectual tastes so active in the Aryan race cultivated.

The *Rig-Veda*, their earliest poetical work, written, according to the best authorities, about 1400 B. C., has long and often highly poetical hymns, songs, and epics, narrating with abundant oriental embellishments incidents of these wars. From many passages in these poems it is evident that though their theological notions had become somewhat confused, yet they adhered with considerable tenacity to the main features of the early Aryan or Parsee theogony. The Brahmin was not yet the ascendant race, and the idea of caste had not obtained a foothold upon the mind of the Hindoo. Within the five hundred years which followed the composition of the Rig-Veda, however, the Brahmins, probably the invaders of a particular era, had succeeded in reducing the remainder of the Aryan inhabitants of India to subjection, and infusing the religious element into their despotism, they added the terrors of future punishment to the penalties of their laws, in order to deter those whom they had subjected from attempting to throw off the yoke.

History records no other instance in which a small aristocratic body of men have succeeded so effectually in humbling and degrading a large mass sprung originally from the same stock with themselves, and in which, for almost 3,000 years, they have maintained the ascendancy, and compelled the subject classes to accept and be contented with the disabilities of their inferior condition. But one attempt, in all that period, on the part of the inferior castes, to assert their rights, that of Buddha Sakyamuni, has been successful, and the leader of that revolt was a member of the Kshatriya, or Warrior caste, the next in rank to the Brahmin.

No more decisive evidence of the genius and intellectual superiority of the Brahmins could be given than the fact that they have thus accumulated in their own caste all power, temporal and spiritual, which they deem it desirable to retain; and it is proof alike of their astuteness and their selfishness, that in the Code of Institutes compiled by Menu, one of their own caste, they have so effectually guarded themselves from all familiarity on the part of the lower castes, and assumed to themselves everything in the way of license and privilege they desired, while forbidding under the severest penalties the same privileges to their inferiors.

The sacred books of the Brahmins are, I. THE VEDAS, four in number; namely, the *Rig-Veda*, of which we have already spoken, the oldest of the Vedas, and comprising not only the heroic poems, hymns, and triumphal songs of the early Aryan history, but also most of the ritual services and formulas of the other Vedas, which are mainly compilations from, or paraphrases of it; the Yajus Veda, or religious rites; the Sama Veda, or prayers in metrical form for chanting; and the Atharva Veda, or formulas of consecration, expiation, and imprecation.

II. The PURANAS, eighteen in number; historical and theological poems, giving the mythology and cosmogony of the system. There are also eighteen *upa-puranas*, or inferior *puranas*, devoted to secular science.

III. The JYOTISHA, or treatises on astronomy, attached to the *Vedas*.

IV. The MANAVA-DHARMA-SASTRA, or Institutes of Menu, to which we have already referred, a system of laws and cosmogony.

V. The ITIHASA, a collection of heroic poems, mostly epic. One of these, the *Bhagvat-Gita*, possesses high literary merit, and contains many excellent moral maxims, while it is free from obscenity; but its title to high antiquity, or to be considered one of their sacred books at all, is denied by many of the Brahmins. It has been translated into English by three oriental scholars, Sir C. Wilkins, Sir William Jones, and Mr. J. C. Thompson.

These sacred books, while they contain some moral precepts worthy of preservation, are, with the exception of portions of

the Vedas and the Itihasa, mainly composed of the most puerile, silly, and often obscene narratives. They were evidently written by Brahmins, and in the interest of their own caste; and but for the degraded and besotted condition of the lower castes, they could not have so long submitted, without resistance, to a religious system, all whose benefits came to an aristocratic caste, while all its hardships and penalties, here and hereafter, fall to the lot of the classes below.

The theogony developed in these books, though often contradictory in its details, yet bears indications of considerable ingenuity and knowledge of the early traditions of Eden, the Fall, and the Flood, and not improbably of the Pentateuch. The primal idea of this vast superstructure of error is, like that of the Parsee faith, one supreme being, incarnate, invisible, the origin of all existence. To this being, whom they call BRAHM, no temples are reared, no sacrifices offered. They represent him, his work of creation done, as wrapped in the contemplation of his own perfections, and unmindful of the creatures he has called into existence. The subtle, speculative mind of the Hindoo has delighted to indulge in theories and conjectures relative to this uncreate, supreme, yet passionless deity. The traditions of such a being could only have come to them from the revelations of Eden and its human inhabitants.

Below this supreme being, as created by him, yet possessing vast powers and being the proper objects of worship, the sacred books of the Brahmins reveal a *Trimurtti*, or Trinity, composed of *Brahma*, the creator of all worlds, *Vishnu*, the preserver and benefactor, and *Siva*, the destroyer. To *Brahma* and *Siva* they have also assigned wives, Maja or Maya, the Maia as well as the Juno of the Greeks, as the companion of the creating Brahma, and Doorga, the Astarte of the Phenicians and the Venus of the Greeks, as the helpmeet of the destroying Siva.

A dim idea of an incarnation of the Divine nature, for the benefit of fallen humanity, had found its way to the minds of the Hindoo theogonists, and hence they describe their preserving and beneficent deity as undertaking ten successive *avatars*, or incarnations, each having in view some advantage to men or animals. These avatars represent his existence in the form

of the fish, the tortoise, the hog, the lion, and the dwarf; and subsequent incarnations, as Purushu, Ram, Krishnu or Krishna, Buddha, and the last (not yet commenced) of Kulkee. In the first avatars, Vishnu is represented as assuming forms half human, half the animal whose body he had taken; in the fifth he appears as a dwarf. In the sixth, crowned and with battle-ax in hand, ready to defend his chosen; in the seventh, crowned and with bow and quiver, the Apollo of the Greeks; in the eighth, a sceptered monarch; in the ninth, a devotee wrapt in contemplation; in the tenth, crowned and with one foot in the stirrup, ready to mount a winged horse, and with the sacred umbrella, the insignia of power, overshadowing the saddle. These avatars are distinctly described in the sacred poems, and the corrupt nature which prompted the theogony appears in the licentious amours of this, their most beneficent of deities.

The first, or fish avatar, is evidently a tradition of the flood. Vishnu having determined to destroy men for their wickedness, excepted from this general destruction King Satyavrata and his queen, together with the seven Rishis and their wives, who alone were pious and holy, and he accordingly prepared an ark (Cahitra) in which he placed them, and transformed himself into a huge fish, to which the ark was moored and which guided it during the flood.

In the second avatar he appeared as a tortoise, and supported on his back the great mountain Mandara and its inhabitants when it was about to sink into the sea of milk.

The next five avatars or incarnations were so many conflicts with giants who sought to destroy the earth or the chosen people, and whom in the form of a boar, a man-lion, a dwarf, and a commander of the warlike family of Rama, he overthrew and subdued. Philologists trace such resemblances in the names of these giants and their conqueror with the conflicts of the Israelites with the gigantic inhabitants of Canaan, as to lead to the conjecture that these avatars are but the Scripture narratives orientalized. The eighth incarnation is that of Krishna, in which Vishnu appears in human form and attacks a terrible serpent who was making havoc of the human race. In the strife the serpent bites his heel, but he finally succeeds in crushing its head and thus destroying it. That this was

the tradition of the promise to Eve of the Messiah cannot be doubted.

In regard to the ninth avatar, that of Buddha, now passing, there seems to be much confusion, occasioned in part, probably, by the claims of Buddha Sakyamuni, the present divinity of the Buddhists, to be that incarnation, a claim which the Brahmins resist. The last incarnation of Vishnu, that of Khulke, is yet to come. When it comes he will appear mounted on a white horse, and armed with shield and sword, the terrible sword of Brahma, which takes speedy vengeance on all his foes, and condemning the wicked to fearful and protracted punishment, will receive the good into paradise. The sun and moon will lose their light, and the earth tremble to its center; the stars will fall from heaven, and the earth and all it contains perish by fire. Then a new heaven and a new earth will be created, and an age of purity and happiness succeed.

Siva, the destroyer, seems to have been a prior conception, probably of the earliest races inhabiting India, and must, we think, have been at first identical with the Ahriman of the Parsees, though their later books distinguish carefully between him and Mahasur, the prince of evil spirits. His place in the Hindu trinity seems inappropriate, and there is evidence that they themselves so regarded it.

Below this trinity, yet possessing great power for good or ill over the human race, are the dewtas or devitas, demons, good and bad, who are in constant conflict; the good aided by Vishnu and Siva, and the evil led on by Mahasur the prince of malignant spirits. These dewtas are objects of worship, as are also innumerable other gods, representing not only almost the entire animal creation, but a vast number of abstract ideas. The masses render their homage and sacrifices to these numberless idols, many of whom are worshiped with rites whose obscenity no mind less corrupt and depraved than that of the Hindu could fathom.

The Brahmins, however, boast that Brahminism has its inner shrine, its esoteric doctrine, which resorts to no idol worship, but which, to the initiated, (and these are only of the Brahmin caste,) reveals a purer faith and loftier objects of reverence. This esoteric doctrine is taught in the systems of philosophy of the three most celebrated Hindu schools. The first and most

widely adapted by the educated Brahmins is the Vedanta or Mimansa, which requires its votaries to become familiar with the higher theological science of the sacred books, as well as with the lower sciences. It is a system of atheistic Pantheism acknowledging no distinct idea of a God, but attributing all objects and all emotions to the subtile influence of some all-pervading essence, of whom or which they hold it equally irreverent to say that it is created or uncreated, existent or non-existent. A second school, having fewer adherents, and these, for the most part, hostile to the pure Brahmins, who are generally believers in the Vedanta, is the Sankhya, a dualistic system, which regards all created things as having sprung into spontaneous existence in pairs. This system admits three methods of attaining knowledge, namely, by sensual perception, induction, and testimony. It is hardly less atheistic than the Vedanta.

A third school, the Atomistic, maintains substantially the same doctrines as our materialist philosophers, but has few adherents. The choice then to the Hindu, who knows only his own theological system, seems to lie between a degrading and brutish idolatry and sheer atheism.

The system of caste among the Hindoos has always been connected with their religion, and has formed a serious barrier to the propagation of Christianity, or even a higher civilization, among them. The principal castes are five, though there are many subdivisions. They are the Brahmins, whom their sacred books declare were formed from the mouth of Brahma; the Kshatriyas, or warriors; the Vaisyas, or agriculturists; the Sudras, or laborers; and the Pariahs, or outcasts from all the other castes who are yet tenacious of their own purity in matters of caste. The Kshatriyas, the sacred book says, were made from the arms of Brahma, the Vaisyas from his body, and the Sudras from his feet. The different occupations of individuals of the same caste have led to the formation of sub-castes in great numbers.

To the warrior and agricultural castes are permitted some instruction, though very much at the option of the lordly Brahmin, to whom they must pay reverence and present offerings; but woe to the Sudra who should thirst for knowledge. To teach him to read is an offense which death only can expi-

ate; to read to him one of the sacred books is to subject the reader to severe punishment, while the unfortunate Sudra is to have melted lead poured in his ears. For him to aspire to any knowledge is fatal; any man of another caste may put him to death, even for the expression of a wish to learn. Yet must he serve the Brahmin with the utmost assiduity, and as the highest reward of his faithfulness he may be so blessed as to become, in his next return to existence, (for the doctrine of transmigration is carefully inculcated in the Brahminical theology,) the *donkey* who shall bear upon his back the holy man, or the dog who shall attend him upon his journeyings. To fail in the least point in his services is to subject himself to the most terrible tortures through untold ages.

But degraded as is the condition of the Sudra and the Pariah, for whom all the penalties and disabilities of the Sudras are increased tenfold, they are far more favored than woman. It is difficult to conceive what motive could have prompted the malignity and virulence everywhere manifested in the sacred books against woman. Denied the possession of a soul, she must be from early childhood the slave of her husband, cringing at his frown, attentive to his every look and want, ready to perform for him the most menial service, and receiving in return for her faithfulness only curses and blows; divorced at his pleasure, and permitted only one privilege, even if her husband be the most exalted of Brahmins—that of being buried or burned alive with his dead body. Even the son whom she has borne is authorized to treat her with indignity and cruelty; and in case of a suttee, his hand must light the funeral pile that consumes alike the living mother and the dead father.

Bad as is this *system* of false religion, its practical workings are still worse. The Brahmin, accustomed to almost irresponsible powers and assured of a support without labor, is an incarnation of tyranny, pride, indolence, and lust; the subordinate castes are deceitful, avaricious, oppressors when they dare, servile and fawning sycophants when they fear others, cruel, brutish, and licentious. Infanticide is very generally practiced, and parents, when aged, are placed by the banks of the sacred rivers, their mouths filled with mud, and they left a prey to crocodiles, tigers, and vultures. Suicide, especially before the car of Juggernath, or some other idol shrine, is very

frequent, and self-torture by religious devotees is practiced in its most ingenious forms. Religious mendicancy abounds, and the highest merit is supposed to follow the greatest degree of filth. Chastity is the exception, not the rule; theft is almost universal; and among the religious orders were, till the East India Company broke them up, bands of Thugs who decoyed victims to them for the purposes of murder and plunder. The suttee, or burning alive of widows, was only prohibited in 1829, and its prohibition almost excited an insurrection.

In whatever part of heathendom those virtuous heathen, in praise of whom infidel writers speak in such raptures, whose purity and morality, they tell us, far exceed those of Christian nations, may reside, we know not; but this much is certain, it is vain to look for them on the plains of Hindoostan, or among the worshipers of Brahma. Subtle and plausible as may be their schemes of philosophy, their doctrines are cruel and tyrannical, and their practice "earthly, sensual, devlish." No redeeming feature exists in their system to make it other than loathsome, and the portraiture of them by the apostle (Romans i, 20–32) is so accurate that when Carey read it to some Brahmins, they accused him of attempting to palm upon them the result of his own observations as a divine revelation. Its truth they acknowledged, but insisted that no writer eighteen hundred years before could have described them so accurately.

The adherents to this system of imposture and credulity, though confined to India almost exclusively, number about one hundred millions.

The East India Company, throughout its entire sway over the peninsula of India, rendered a *quasi* support and sanction to Brahminism. It did, indeed, suppress some of its worst outrages, but it protected by its officers and soldiers its festivals and temples, and made invidious distinctions between the Brahmin and the Christian native in its civil as well as its military service. The late mutiny, professedly originating in some alleged violation of the laws of caste by some of the English officers, opened the eyes of the British Government to the folly of sustaining a system of paganism so revolting in its character, and the British possessions in India being now under the control of the government instead of the East India Com-

pany, radical changes have been made, looking to the protection of the native Christians and the discountenancing of caste and the depraving scenes of the Hindoo festivals. The result of this benign and judicious legislation is already apparent in the great increase of inquirers and converts at most of the missionary stations, and the abandonment of caste openly by large numbers of respectable natives. Once freed from the oppression of this cruel system, and from the degrading influences of Brahminism, the shrewd, quick-witted Hindoo will soon by his intellectual powers achieve a position far in advance of what he has attained in the long ages of the past, and if those powers are sanctified by the religion of Christ, he may yet become the most efficient of God's heralds of salvation to a lost and perishing world.

Art. VII.—ARMINIAN VIEW OF THE FALL AND REDEMPTION.

It is a pleasant fact that our Calvinian brethren of the elder school, as their eyes become cleared of prejudice arising from want of information, express no little gratification that we are so orthodox on the subject of original sin and human depravity. The writer of a certain book not much known to fame, though locally popular with a portion of that class of theologians, and indorsed, in fact, by the Princeton Review, quotes some of our standard doctrinal statements and adds the following remarks: "The great matter of surprise is, that such correct and Scriptural views of man's fall and its far-reaching results have been incorporated into a system otherwise Arminian." He talks of our doctrine as an "attempt to mingle iron and clay," and of the "great inconsistency of this attempt to patch Arminianism with shreds of Calvinistic doctrine." Now, however it may be with this writer, his indorsing reviewer cannot but know that such language is about the reverse of historic truth. The doctrine of depravity and the fall, as central to an Arminian system, is older than Calvinism. It was a doctrine of the first three centuries of Christian history. It is not Arminians who have patched it into their system; it is

Calvinists who have girt it round with predestination. The Augustinian and Edwardian innovations of predestination and necessitated will were not the orthodoxy of the early Church. Of these Calvinian novelties of predestination and fatalism we can mark the first introduction into the Church, just as we know the introduction of the Papal novelties of transubstantiation and the celibacy of the clergy. As the Reformers arrived at a purer Church by discarding the inventions of popery, so our Arminians arrived at a purer theology by eliminating the accretions of predestination. Both returned toward the simplicity and truth of the primitive ages. Both the Arminians and Wesley were conscious and boasted of the fact. We place ourselves upon the same vantage ground. Neology is with our brethren opposite; with us, are antiquity and genuine orthodoxy.

The doctrines of the fall, depravity, and redemption, as collected in systematic form from the scattered statements of Scripture, present, at first glance, a somewhat complex aspect. The simple Christian reader of the Bible will find and feel all their elements in the sacred word, and yet will find it difficult, without some patient study, even to comprehend them when presented in synthetic form. The master-workman in Christian truth feels the necessity, at successive periods, of review and revisal of the modes of statement in the light of fresh investigations, and especially in the light of the latest opposition. This is the benefit that the assaults of error confer upon truth: that they compel fresh and more fundamental investigations by its defenders, and thereby produce clearer views and more explicit statements.

Those doctrines are so plentifully assumed or stated in Scripture in such varieties of form, that very few persons entertaining strict and reverent views of Scripture inspiration and authority can refuse to accept them. The Scripture statement that "in Adam all die," (1 Cor. xv, 22,) indissolubly connects the mortality of our entire race by a line of descent with Adam. That sin underlies this mortality in all cases is clear from many statements; as, for instance, that "death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned;" and that "by one man's disobedience the many were made sinners." Actually or conceptually every human being, adult or infant, that dies is held a sinner. Sin, somehow, underlies all human death. That to this

state of things a great redemption is adjusted, all strictly Scriptural theology agrees; but the details of the adjustment the ordinary Christian would find it difficult to state, and learned theologians have long been accustomed to discuss.

Bishop Butler has suggested the important thought, that the great events of the resurrection and immortality, though stupendously miraculous, may still be also a truly *natural* train of events. So also, perhaps, a clearer view of the great facts of the fall and ruin of our race may be obtained by contemplating them on their naturalistic and their theodocic or judicial sides.

The Naturalistic View. Man, like every other being, must come into existence under the operation of universal laws and secondary causations. It is of no present use to inquire how it was right for the Deity to frame a certain set of regulations around a given being, provided those regulations are fundamental and universal, and as such, necessary to the existence of a rightful general system. It is enough to know that such fundamental laws, inflexible, even though bearing hard upon the individual whose well-being they cross, and even limiting the normal divine action, are necessary to the existence of any rational system, mundane or supermundane. Every species and every individual must come into the system under its laws or be excluded. Of this our earthly living system, a fundamental and universal regulation is the *law of descent.* Man is but a *species* of the great living *generative genus.* By that law the nature of the primogenitor is the nature of all his generations. This law man shares with all the lineages of living nature, animal or vegetable. Each species of beast, bird, fish, serpent, consists of a myriad of individuals who are sharers of one great capital of specific vital force. Of the human race, for instance, each individual of the whole number is a single vessel containing his modicum of the one great ocean of human blood. And not only is the composition of matter circumscribed within certain limits, both of substance and form, but the *soul stuff*, too, is confined within certain limits of essence and character. As is the parent, such is the child; as is the first progenitor, such is the entire posterity.

The commencement of an order with its laws, however miraculous, may be viewed in a naturalistic aspect. It was *natural* that if the first man, modeled to the idea of a perfect

humanity, had stood at that high grade, his whole lineage would have been the successive copies of the same model. Even though some descendant had sinned and fell, it is not probable that the level of his offspring, if begotten, would have sunk to a lower grade. The whole anthem of human history would then have been pitched and carried through upon that same exalted, transcendental key. If by his own imprudent act, violating the laws of his higher being, he shut off all communion with higher natures, between whom and terrene nature he was the *natural* intermediate, it would not be unnatural, even if *its singularity made it miraculous*, that the same act should depreciate his fresh and plastic nature to an altogether lower model. By the laws of descent, therefore, the fall of the progenitor would be the depravation of the race.

This depravation might be threefold: *corporeal*, *psychological*, and *psychical*.

1. *Corporeal.* Separated from the higher nourishment, (perhaps the tree of life,) by which the organism was able to resist collision and disintegration, its framework becomes subject to decay, damage, and dissolution. Its particles and parts become displaced, lose their organic properties, and the system breaks and crumbles from around the spiritual being, panting for his own release, yet shuddering in anticipation of an unknown future. This is disease and death. Man by the fall is lineally mortal. "In Adam all die."

2. *Psychological.* Disastrous must be the effect upon the *mind.* Be it that no one of the faculties was lost, (though that is more than we can know,) yet how has their first immortal vigor departed, and how deranged their pristine order? Intellect, conscience, moral feeling, all are dim, and the will no longer executes, with steady, unvarying purpose, their high suggestions. Passion, appetite, heated impulse obtain the ascendant. That blessed Spirit whose presence enabled order and right to reign has been closed off. *Love to God is no longer felt;* and as *it cannot be a motive* for action, so no action can be right and pleasing to God. The way of truth is now unknown, as the way of right is unloved. Man is *still a free agent*, but free only *amid various alternatives of evil.* The way of right and the pleasing to God are excluded equally

from his knowledge, his affections, and his will. To the truly good he is no longer objectively a free agent.

3. *Psychical.* But his *soul* is still immortal, and thereby this state of nature must be eternal. Unless arbitrarily terminated, or redemptively restored, the soul must, from the very laws of its nature, suffer an immortality of evil. Collective living men must form a community, of whose evil nature we can form but an indistinct idea. Demoniac passion must transform the earth into a hell. Lust, or the lower forms of love, must serve to perpetuate the race. Enough merely of conscience would remain to make the wretch feel that all was wrong, and enough of intellect to assure him that there was no hope. And the departing spirit, looking out into a spiritual universe, in which there is no proper room provided for its existence, would see that in any place its only prospect is eternal despair. Here, then, we have the three *naturalistic* aspects of death, *temporal*, *spiritual*, *eternal*, hereditarily resulting from the fall. Be it remarked, that these results accrue from fundamental laws and natural second causes.

In the system as thus described, the exclusion of all free agency for good *excludes all responsibility for the absence of good.* There can be no obligation to put forth a volition never in the agent's power. There can be no guilt for not obeying a motive which was never in the agent's reach; nor can there be any guilt for the existence of the nature which excludes, throughout the being's whole existence, the power of the volition and the motive, provided always that neither that nature nor its incapacity is self-superinduced. The man no more made himself than he made Satan; and he is no more responsible for his own nature than for Satan's nature. He can no more reverse the law of motives than he can reverse the law of gravitation. Obliged to choose in the midst of evils alone, as a fish is obliged to swim in water, he is no more obliged to will himself into the good than a sunfish is obligated to fly into the air. Hence his *evil*, though a *moral* evil, is not a *responsible* evil. His *sin* is such only as being *opposite to the divine law*, not as *subjecting him to its just penalty.**

One theodicic question will now no longer be suppressed.

* See, in regard to this and other points here discussed, our article on "Automatic Excellence distinguished from Moral Desert," in our last number.

Would it be right for the Deity to continue such a race in temporal and eternal evil and misery? So far as its immortality is concerned, the plea of natural law cannot be adduced in justification of its eternal misery. Man, corporeal and on earth, is not a species under a genus of naturally immortal beings. He stands alone and single. Let us conclude, therefore, that his immortal misery can scarce be just. His temporal misery can only be justified, so far as we can see, under the law of compensation. The suffering of any creature or species may be justified under the proviso that it has such an amount of happiness that its own choice would be for existence rather than for non-existence. Such a being makes a fair virtual agreement with his Creator to suffer the ills for the sake of the happiness of life. Not only Adam, but every primordial progenitor of a race of creatures, is a "federal head." Not with Adam alone, but with every progenitor, was there a divine "covenant;" and perhaps no more with Adam than with any other progenitor. By the principle of compensation alone, therefore, can we conceive that even the temporal existence of the race can be justified. But when we consider that the main end of the human system is PROBATION, we shall at once see that the very object of the existence of the race, with the cessation of free moral agency and responsibility, is lost. In such case the whole purpose would terminate in Adam himself, and the race would be a failure.

Unless, then, creation shall prove abortive, there must take place a renovation, and such a renovation as shall complete the restoration of the system by a process of *probation*. Such a restorer must, 1. So suspend the sentence of death upon Adam as to warrant the natural continuity of the existence of the race. 2. He must so restore the Divine Spirit, the means of divine knowledge, and the possibility of holy motive, as that free agency in spiritual things shall reappear. 3. He must open the avenue through which all who rightfully use their agency may attain to a full and eternal restoration of the primitive Adamic state. This grand process will, in its full development, abound in scenes and events of wonderful interest.

THE THEODICIC OR JUDICIAL VIEW. All these processes, while moving under the law of cause and effect, are still regulated by the laws of a just government. The laws of nature are the

laws of God. The laws of our mundane nature are but part and parcel of the laws of a *nature* coextensive with the government of God. From this high standpoint we behold the moral and the natural law coincide, if not become identified. The fall, as the result of the violation of the divine law, even though it were a process of *cause and effect*, was also a process of *sin and penalty*. It was as truly judicial as it was natural. The natural certainty of death, corporeal, moral, and eternal, was coincident with the *sentence* of the threefold death. That sentence was literally pronounced in the second person singular upon Adam alone. Its literal expression implied an immediate execution, leaving no time for the propagation of a race. Its execution upon him alone would have been its full literal and final fulfillment. But such a failure of any grand result from the creation of Adam was not the wisest course. By the introduction of a Redeemer with a new probation for the race, with a final restoration for all who fulfill the conditions of their probation to a more than Adamic glory, and the exhibition of the nature of sin and justice before the universe in the penalty of the finally perverse, a new, eventful, and stupendous chapter would be added to the Divine history.

If a Redeemer shall appear, qualified by a death infinitely more valuable than the death of Adam and all his race, to limit, to suspend, or to reverse the application of the law in such manner as to secure ultimate restoration under the laws of free agency and probation, he will, we may suppose, follow the outlines previously described in the naturalistic process. 1. God will, in view of his process of restoration, permit the continuity of the race. 2. By the return of the Holy Spirit to every soul of man as soon as born, by the revelation of the system of divine truth to his developed intellect, holy motives become possible, the way of truth becomes clear, and man becomes a free agent in things spiritual and eternal. Yet the intrinsic and essential nature of the fallen race comes into existence unchanged; and the individual is met by the supernatural restorative operation, in the order of nature, subsequent to the moment of his commenced existence. Mankind are held, therefore, as still depraved, and as prospectively *certain evil doers*. But as this nature is overlaid with a power of spiritual free agency, their evil doings, which were before necessary and

irresponsible, become now free and guilty. They are held, therefore, not only as *presumptively evil doers*, but *presumptively responsible sinners*. Adam, indeed, renders them sinners, but it is only in view of Christ that God holds them responsible as sinners. If he had not come they would not have known *responsible* sin. And, inasmuch as all are presumptively and prospectively sinners, so sin is imputed to them before they commit sin. They are sinners by presumptive nature before they are sinners by action; and as such, a penal quality is conceptually cognized in their natural disease, mortality, and death. This unrevoked liability to penal death results from the fact that the Redeemer is qualified by office to limit the extent of the remedy applied. Without the Redeemer, they would have seminally died in Adam's death. Left to pure nature, they would have died under the law of cause and effect — a natural effect justifiable only under the law of compensation or virtual covenant. Under the redemptive administration they are held to die as presumptive, that is, imputative sinners; and that whether they are actual sinners, or infants who have never attained responsible age, and upon whom no actual sin, guilt, or condemnation is chargeable.

Under the same administration, held as presumptive, and, therefore, imputative sinners, they are conceptually held as under the sentence of eternal death.* This is the legal position of all whom justification, either unconditional, as in the case of infants, or conditional, as in the case of believers, has placed from under the permanent sentence. This result, so far as a natural effect, would take place under the process of pure nature. It would take place under an administration of pure justice only in the person of Adam. It takes place as a universal fact *only conceptively* under the redemptive administration. It actually and finally takes place with those only who misuse their free agency, and defeat in regard to themselves the purpose of restoration. In them the eternal laws both of nature and of justice are sternly fulfilled.

What, then, by this view, are the benefits conferred upon the race by the Redeemer?

1. The race is rescued from seminally suffering the literal infliction of the sentence of temporal, spiritual, and eternal death in

* See article on "Automatic Excellence," p. 493.

the person of Adam. 2. It is not rescued from eternal death naturalistically resulting to the entire race; for such a result would be precluded by the divine justice. But from the race, as surviving and perpetuated, the obstacles to moral freedom and responsible ability in spiritual things are removed. Thus the basis of a just probation is laid. 3. Though the individual, as born, is not delivered from the impending malediction, so but that temporal death and conditional liability to eternal death still remain, yet that malediction is underlaid with a provision securing salvation as a certainty previous to the commission of actual and responsible sin. 4. The great and most obvious fact is, that hereby there is established a system by which all who, under the guidance and aids of the redemptive system, abstain from actual sin in the use of their free agency, or who, by repentance, renounce their sins and accept the redemption, will attain a full restoration, and perhaps even a higher glory than was lost in Adam.

Such being the restorative system, the question is raised by our Calvinistic brethren whether this can truly be called a *system or a doctrine of grace.* This is the issue by them universally made. It is made, however, by the two great classes of Calvinists, the new and the old, on nearly opposite grounds. Both, indeed, affirm, what we deny, that God might have brought the whole human race into existence without a Saviour, with a full certainty of eternal death upon the whole; and the grace of the Redeemer, in their view, consists in his rescuing a part of the race, previously selected, from that destiny, and leaving the rest under its power. The justice of that destiny is maintained by the new school, on the ground of the existence of a certain transcendental natural ability which all men possess of doing right through their whole existence, even without a Saviour and without a Holy Spirit, but which no one ever did or ever will exercise. With this phantasm of an ability we have nothing at the present time to do, except to reject it as a very shadowy basis for any just responsibility, or any proper justification for the infliction of eternal death upon failure. By the old school it is maintained, on the other hand, that it would be simply just for God to bring the whole human race into actual existence without free agency in spiritual things, under full necessity to sin, and then consign them to

everlasting death. The grace of the Saviour consists, according to these, in rescuing a chosen part of mankind from that condition. With this last view rests our present issue.

The writer to whom we have alluded raises much outcry against the "misrepresentations" and "declamations" practiced upon his doctrines by Methodist preachers and writers. We think misrepresentation of such a view is now not only wicked, but very unnecessary. Representation as it is, not misrepresentation, would, we should suppose, be sufficient to banish it from the belief of any rational being. If it be true that it is divinely just to create one being bad or a race bad, and then damn them for being bad, then it would not be unjust to create all beings under the same conditions. That is, *God might justly create a universe of beings morally and unchangeably bad, and then the next moment damn them to all eternity for being bad as he made them!!* Such a view, we are constrained to say, is a disgrace to Christian theology, a dishonor to the human intellect.

Our repudiation of this dark caricature of the divine government is no extenuation of the true evils of the fall. It is not true, as intimated by the above writer, that we maintain that "original sin is no sin, but a very innocent, harmless thing, which none but a merciless tyrant would ever consider deserving of punishment." (P. 33.) Original sin is a *sin*, though not in Adam's posterity a responsible sin until sanctioned by actual sin. It would have resulted in the eternal death of Adam, and all the race in him, but for the Redeemer. It results in the temporal death (rendered just by compensation) of all. It results in eternal death upon all who, by unrepentant actual sin, accept its guilt and penalty.

Using the writer above mentioned as a convenient provider, we may arrange and reduce the Calvinistic objections to our system upon these points to six. Of these six, three *deny the necessity of the power to avoid sin in order to responsibility for sin;* the second three *deny the grace of bestowing a free agency upon fallen man.* The first three may be condensed into the following sentence: If the eternal punishment of the non-free agent were injustice, then, 1. Christ died to prevent injustice; 2. The malediction of the law falls upon the guiltless; and, 3. God has threatened a penalty which he would not execute. The second

three may be thus condensed: The bestowment of free agency upon the fallen race is no act of grace because, 1. That free agency is a condition to all requirement of duty, and to all responsibility for the non-performance; because, 2. Free agency through the agent's misuse becomes the greatest curse; and because, 3. The redemption is needed to justify the existence of the present state of human suffering. We take these in their order.

I. *Objections which deny the need of free agency in order to responsibility and just eternal penalty.*

First Objection. If to punish the race in their fallen condition, devoid of ability to obey the law, were unjust without a gracious ability through the atonement, then Christ died to prevent a divine injustice. The writer quotes with approbation Dr. Fisk's admission that fallen man has no natural free agency in spiritual things; but when Dr. F. adds that nevertheless "through the grace of the Gospel all are born free from condemnation," the writer exclaims:

> Which is about the same as to say that man is enabled "by grace" to escape a condemnation which, being previously *unavoidable*, it would have been *merciless tyranny* to execute. A wondrous act of *grace*, truly, to *assist* the sinner to avoid a punishment which none but a *tyrant* could inflict! A strange idea of the grace of the Gospel, that it comes in to render men capable of sinning, deserving of punishment for their sin, and liable to a "condemnation" which, *but for this grace*, a righteous God could not justly execute upon any descendant of the apostate pair!

Let it be here remarked in reply, that the writer fully agrees with the truthfulness of our description of man's utter loss of spiritual free agency, objectively, by the ruin of the fall. There is no issue upon this point. He indorses this view as good Calvinism, in contradiction, as we before remarked, to the historical fact that it formed the central part of an Arminian doctrine long before it was appropriated and surrounded with Calvinistic borderings. The real issue with these theologians is in regard to the need of a restored free agency in order to responsible sin and penalty. They deny such a need, and thus deny that power to volitional act is necessary in order to obligation to the act. They deny that the power to avoid the sin is necessary in order to a responsibility for the sin. They thus deny a *Moral Axiom.* The acceptance of such a denial by the intelligent religious

world is impossible. An indoctrinated *class* may, by force of education and authority, be induced to suppress the dictates of an axiom. But happily upon this clear point the dictate of the moral sense is so obvious as to be the dictate of the common sense. The dogma of a narrow school cannot be the sentiment of a free, healthy-minded people. Penalty upon a race congenitally possessed of no free agency would, by catholic consent, be "a punishment that none but a tyrant could inflict."

But Arminianism does not maintain that Christ died to rescue men from any such penalty. It holds that such a penalty would be unjust, and therefore could in no case have been inflicted. Full well does this writer know that such is our doctrine, for he elsewhere quotes from our standard writers a full statement of it. *We do not admit that the punishment upon the morally impotent race was a contingency morally possible.* Had not Christ died, we believe that the full and literal execution of the sentence would have taken place *in the person of Adam.* Perfectly groundless, then, is the inference that "Christ died to save us from God's injustice."

Second Objection. If to punish non-free agents is unjust, then the malediction of the whole law falls upon the guiltless. To substantiate this statement, the writer (p. 36) quotes from Dr. Foster's excellent work, "Objections to Calvinism," a statement that the "born corrupt" "cannot be guilty" for being born so, nor the necessitatedly corrupt for remaining so. He further quotes from the *Methodist Magazine* a very true statement, that men may be liable, indeed, to temporal consequences from Adam's sin and guilt, but cannot be guilty of them so as to be deserving of eternal punishment. We accept both quotations as probably correctly made, as they announce sound doctrine. He thereupon quotes Watson as affirming that "men are born under the whole malediction," consisting of "death—spiritual, temporal, eternal." By the first two of these three quotations he claims to prove that we hold the race to be hereditarily guiltless; by the last that we hold the guiltless race to be under malediction, and so punished. Clear, then, to him is the inference that, by our theology, the whole penalty rests upon the guiltless.

When Mr. Watson affirmed that we are "born under the

whole malediction" of the law, he did not affirm any more than we that the malediction lay upon the man at birth *in an unconditioned form.* Between the overlying malediction and the man is interposed the grace of the atonement, limiting and conditionating the contact of the penalty upon the being. And the malediction is, by our view, precisely conformed to the nature of the guilt. Where the guilt is *actual* and *personal*, the malediction and the penalty are *actual* and *personal.* Where the guilt is merely *legal* or *presumptive* and *imputative*, the malediction and the penalty are merely *legal* or *presumptive* and *imputative.* Without the atonement, the guilt of Adam having been actual, personal, and sole, the penalty and the execution would have been actual, personal, and sole. The sin and the guilt of his posterity in that case being imputative and in him, would have received an imputative punishment in him. The individual man is now born, overlaid by the atonement underlying the malediction. As a free agent, such are his liabilities and propensities to sin that he is held presumptively and imputatively a sinner, and therefore an imputative and presumptive malediction is over him; but that malediction cannot be actualized into penalty without actual sin. Temporal death, the consequence of Adam's sin, as a putative penalty is justified by a putative guilt; as a natural effect, on the grounds, above stated, of compensation. Thus, so far from penalty falling upon the guiltless, the guilt and the penalty are adjusted with an absolute perfectness worthy of a divine government.

The above elucidation will show the imaginary character of certain contradictions which this writer imputes to leading Arminian writers. The proposition of Dr. Fisk, "that through the grace of the Gospel all are born free from condemnation," and the proposition of Watson that "all are born under the whole malediction," are set by him at pretended issue. But Dr. Fisk is speaking of actual and personal condemnation, while the "malediction" specified by Watson is imputative or actual according to the nature of the case. In the case of the individual born, the malediction being imputative is perfectly consistent with the freedom from the condemnation specified by Dr. Fisk, namely, personal. Equally imaginary is the contradiction pretended between these statements and the propo-

sition of Dr. Fisk that "guilt is not imputed until, by a voluntary rejection of the Gospel remedy, man makes the depravity of his nature the object of his choice." The writer cannot but know that Dr. Fisk here is not contradicting the doctrine that there is imputative guilt in a case of the individual born. What he is affirming is, that the personal and actual guilt of his deeds contrary to law is not imputed unto him until in the possession of gracious free agency he has incurred the penalty. This is perfectly consistent with the doctrine of Watson, as before explained, that we are "born under the whole malediction."

Third Objection. If to punish men destitute of free moral agency is unjust, then God has threatened a penalty which he never intended to execute.

The writer says:

> How do they reconcile this including of Adam's offspring under the curse with "the justness and goodness" of God? Why, says Adam Clarke, "God provided a Redeemer." And but for this *provision* "it would have been UNJUST to *permit them* to propagate their like in such circumstances that their offspring must be unavoidably and eternally wretched." But this is the same as to say that the all-knowing, most wise, and true God made a *threatening*, which both his justice and goodness *forbid him to execute!* And, of course, it follows that he *never intended* to execute it!—P. 48.

The writer has truly remarked that Arminian writers maintain that "the original threatening '*in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die*,' included both Adam and his posterity." But he omits to add, at this suitable point, that Arminians also hold that its literal and primary execution, even upon his posterity, would have been seminal and upon the person of Adam himself. Literally, the threatening is addressed to Adam alone. It was expressed, as before said, in the second person singular, and would have been fully filled out by its execution upon his person. The production of posterity was a contingency optional with the Creator; and the fulfillment of the words in their most literal sense would have excluded that contingency from realization. God therefore threatened precisely as he intended to execute. The threatening rested upon the progenitor, and upon the progenitor would have been the primary execution. It can never be shown that God ever intended that a posterity should be brought into existence

under an eternal death they could never avoid. This God never threatened. What God intended to execute he did threaten positively: what he intended not to execute he did not threaten. The introduction of a Saviour competent to condition and limit the application of the law, enabled the Creator, in full harmony with the original law, to make the final execution dependent upon personal responsibility and guilt. Thus does Arminianism triumphantly sustain the veracity of God in the execution of his threatenings.

II. *Objections which deny the graciousness of bestowing a free agency, through the Redeemer, upon fallen man.*

First Objection. If free agency is necessary in order to the agent's performance of the divine requirements God is *bound* to furnish it, and it is, then, not a grace.

This is the staple argument of both Calvinisms, inherited from Edwards, who used it against Dr. Stebbings, (in his work on the Will,) and reproduced by Dr. Taylor of New Haven, Prof. Finney, and others, with as much self-satisfaction as if it had not again and again been refuted.* "Why," says Edwards, (p. 227,) "is that called grace that is an absolute debt; which God is bound to bestow, and which it would be unjust and evil in him to withhold, seeing he requires that as *the condition of pardon* which he cannot perform without it?" The absurdity of this reasoning is exposed by all our experience in life.

Every endowment that man receives by nature or by redemption from God is *a grace*, and yet is *the basis of a duty and a responsibility*. Existence, life, what is it but the free gift of God, unbought, unasked, and undeserved? Who does not return daily thanks for this fundamental blessing? Yet is not life to be consecrated to God? And who will say, God requires our life to be devoted to him; he is, therefore, bound, in justice, to give us life; it is therefore debt and no grace? All our faculties are to be employed in the service of the Giver; then he is bound to furnish those faculties, and they are a debt and no grace. No thanks are due for their bestowment.

Passing to the sphere of redemption, if God requires us to obey the Mediator, he is *obliged to give* us the Mediator; if he

* For refutations see Dr. Fisk's Calvinistic Controversy, chap. 12, and Dr. Francis Hodgson's acute treatise entitled, New Divinity Examined, chap. 4.

requires us to repose faith in his atonement, he is *bound* to furnish the atonement; if he requires us to follow the dictates of the Holy Spirit, he is *bound* to send the Holy Spirit. Hence all these are DEBT and NO GRACE. God is bound to furnish these things as matter of justice, and so no thanks are due him for any special benevolence. The blended insanity and blasphemy of such reasoning secure its repudiation by every Christian heart. But how does it differ from the reasoning of Edwards?

What *grace* does man receive on earth which is not the basis of a *duty?* How does the divine requirement of the duty destroy the grace? God gives the blessing and requires its use. He gives the talent and requires the improvement. Our free agency, whether by nature or by redemptive restoration, is a *grace*, nor does the requirement of its proper use destroy its graciousness. His judgment is "gone backward" who says, If God requires the *duty* he destroys the *grace.*

Nay, the very permission to perform the duty may be itself a privilege and a grace—a grace upon grace. The allowance of improvement upon the ten talents procured the dominion over ten cities. The allowance of such a *service*, looking to such a result, was a munificent grace. Yet the service was a requirement if the talents were given. But, say these reasoners, if the service was required, the lord was *bound* to give the talents. They were a debt, a justice, and no grace. This moneyed ability so conferred to perform the service, it would be, forsooth, as Dr. Taylor is pleased to say, "a solecism to call a gracious ability." A prince, we will suppose, takes a poor talented orphan boy into his commercial service, in a department by which the boy could become a millionaire. He furnishes meantime to the boy the necessary capital for commencing the business; would there be no grace in the gift of that capital because the service could not be required without its bestowment? Would there be any "solecism" in calling his conferred ability to serve his prince "a gracious ability?"

We would respectfully counsel our Calvinistic friends to forbear the repetition of this stale argumenation; an argumentation which expels all divine benevolence from nature, all *grace* from redemption.

This writer, under this head, attempts to show, from the

irresponsibility of sinners without the atonement, that no atonement was made for them. "Independently of the death of Christ and the grace of the Gospel, we could never have been chargeable with sin; and of course Christ did not atone for the sins of any of the fallen race except Adam." (P. 42.) And again: "How can our blessed Lord be said to have made a perfect satisfaction for all the sins of those who, but for his satisfaction, would have had no sins?" (P. 154.) But how does it appear that in view of an atonement for sin a whole renovated and gracious system might not be established by God, including BOTH an antecedent *ability* and *responsibility* for sin, and also a full conditional *satisfaction* for all sin? The former of these *two* might be established by the Creator and Judge, in view of, though not as direct effect of, the atonement; the latter would, in strictness, comprise the whole real work of the atonement. In other words, the atonement, Christ's death, is simply *a conditional expiation of sin;* in view of that expiation God allows the continuity of the race, and restores the Holy Spirit, and holds man responsible, yet eligible to salvation upon faith in the conditional atonement. Thus a beautiful consistency pervades the whole process.

Second Objection. If the atonement restores to man a responsible free agency, it is *the greatest of all possible curses*, since without it man is irresponsible and innocent; but by it man becomes guilty, liable, and, to a great extent, consigned to eternal death. Instead, therefore, of being a *grace*, the atonement is a *curse.*

Reasoning like this, we reply, assails Arminianism by assailing the foundations of Christianity. It assumes, as its basis, that *a moral free agency is a curse.* If it come through the atonement it is a curse; and if it comes through creation or nature it must be equally a curse. And thus the creation of man as a responsible free agent, that is, the creation of man as man, the creation of man with what Christianity considers to be his highest attributes, is a curse! What all admit, therefore, to be the very basis in man of a moral government is a curse. What can infidelity ask more to sustain her position?

Grace is the goodness of God manifesting itself through redemption; benevolence is that same goodness manifesting itself through nature. If to confer a moral free agency through

the redemption is no grace, then to confer that same moral free agency through nature is no benevolence. But we shall have no hesitation in assuming that every Christian thinker will maintain that the natural bestowment of moral free agency is a benevolence in the Creator. And those same thinkers must maintain that the restoration of that moral free agency through the redemption is a grace.

Through the whole Christian system the graciousness of God's gifts is to be estimated, not by the result procured through the abuse of them on the part of the agent, but by the benevolence of the divine purpose in conferring the gift. "If I had not come," said the Saviour, "they had not had sin." (John xv, 22.) Surely it must be an infidel reasoner who infers that the coming of Jesus was therefore the greatest of curses. The Gospel is pronounced to be "a savor of death unto death." All the gifts and graces that God bestows are liable, by man's free perversion, to be transformed into curses. The reasoner who estimates the character of those graces and gifts, not by God's intention, but by man's perversion, will destroy all grace in redemption and all benevolence in creation. It follows, therefore, that the restoration of a moral free agency, being estimated by the gracious designs of God, is a most gracious bestowment resulting from the atonement.

Third Objection. If God's benevolence in allowing the sufferings of creation cannot be defended without adducing the remedy through redemption, then redemption must be a debt and not a grace, since God is obligated to furnish the redemption as a compensation for the miseries of creation.

Thus this writer says:

"The state of all mankind," says Mr. Wesley, "did so far depend on Adam, that by his fall they *all* fall into sorrow, and pain, and death spiritual and temporal. And all this is *no ways inconsistent* with either the *justice* or goodness of God." This is sound Calvinism; but he immediately adds a *proviso:* All this is perfectly consistent "with the *justice* and *goodness* of God:" "PROVIDED, all may recover through the second Adam whatever they lost through the first." But if this be so, then it is the coming of the second Adam, "and *the grace* of the Gospel," which alone vindicates "the *justice* and goodness of God" in the fall of Adam's posterity "into sorrow, and pain, and death." But as God is supremely *just* and *good*, there could, of course, have been *no such*

fall if there had been no "second Adam"—and no "grace of the Gospel." Thus the offspring of Adam are indebted to *pure grace* for this dreadful "*fall* into sorrow, pain, and death."—P. 46.

To all this we reply: Of an entire system a single part may be, as viewed in different aspects, both a *justice* and a *grace*. It may be a *justice* because, if the other parts of the gracious system are brought into existence, that part too must exist *in order to the completeness of the system*. Unless that part be supplied the system is defective, perhaps *graceless*, and even *cruel*. But supply the part, and not only is the whole system *gracious*, but the part itself is pre-eminently *gracious*. The entire process of restoring Lazarus to life and to the enjoyment of his friends was a miracle of mercy. Christ was not bound to perform it. But to have granted him conscious life without the power of locomotion, fastening him forever, consciously alive, in the tomb, would have been the height of cruelty. Was the additional grant of locomotion, therefore, a debt? As a completion of the miracle of mercy, we answer, It was. The Saviour could not benevolently perform a part without performing the whole. But, performing the whole, not only was the whole process, but every part of the whole process, benevolence and grace.

So in the system of God, were he to bring the race into existence under the law of natural descent from a depraved parent, and under the impending curse of the divine law, he would be obligated by his own righteousness to furnish the redemptive part. The system, as a righteous system, would be incomplete, graceless, and cruel, without the complement of the atonement. Furnish that part, and not only is *the whole gracious*, but *that particular part is pre-eminently gracious!* God was not obligated to create; and his act of creation was a manifestation of his benevolence as well as of his power. Having created, it is due to his own character that his works should unfold that benevolence. Wherever he revealed himself as terrible and just, that revelation has some counterpart of manifested goodness. This may be done either by rich displays in other parts of nature, explaining his dealings of severity, or in some new remedial system overlaying nature with an extraordinary display of grace. God has done it by the redemptive remedy. But the man who argues that, inasmuch

as that remedy is the key to God's whole work, without which it would not be a merciful system, therefore it is no grace or goodness at all, will find himself involved in consequences which will exclude him from Christian theology and place him in the ranks of atheism.

If, argues this writer, Wesley is obliged to adduce the redemption to justify God in the miseries of the world, he confesses that redemption is a debt and no grace; and it follows that, but for that redemption, these miseries would not exist, and so to redemption we are indebted for all our woe. If, argues the atheist, the theist justifies the miseries in the world by the natural surplus of happiness in the world, then that happiness is a debt and no benevolence, and to it we are indebted for all these miseries. Thus the same reasoning that abolishes grace from redemption abolishes benevolence from nature. The reply is the same in both cases. God was not obliged to bring the system into existence; but having brought it forth, it justifies the ways of his severity and the dark points of his providence, to show that there is a benevolence in nature, a grace in redemption. God could not appear just without these last elements, but the elements that show him just are truly benevolence and grace. Should God create this system without redemption, it would be a dark and gloomy system; give us the redemption, and not only is the whole system gracious, but the redemptive part is eminently gracious.

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Protestant Churches. — The recovery by the English convocations of full legislative power is an event of much greater importance than the religious press in general attributes to it. The Church of England is in a state of rapid transition. From year to year, and from session to session, she more ceases to be the enslaved subject of the Crown of England, and her life and activity begin to revolve round the center of her own doctrines, usages, and traditions; she less prides herself as "the Church of England;" leaves her isolation from the rest of the Christian world, and with cheering hope and sanguine expectation looks forward to the moment when she will be connected by strong ties of confederacy with a number of similarly constituted Churches all over the earth. The rapid increase of bishopries in the colonies, which, among themselves, forms hierarchical organizations almost independent of the Crown and of the Church of England; the sending out of missionary bishops into countries out-

side of the British territory, and the important movements of the Greek Church, which cannot possibly escape much longer a dissolution into a number of independent Episcopalian bodies, are well calculated to foster the hopes of the English Churchman. During the past three months the Convocation of Canterbury, for the first time, completed the synodical action on the change of one of the canons, while that of York raised its voice for the increase of bishoprics in England, and for the abolition of the pew system. It is felt on all sides that the Convocations are, almost imperceptibly, reassuming in the minds of the people the authority of the highest ecclesiastical tribunal, and it was in conformity with this transformation of national opinion that Lord Ebury declined this year to bring in a motion for the revision of the Book of Common Prayer. He said he would wait for the action of Convocation on the subject, but in case Convocation should not take in hand the subject he would renew his motion for "revision," which had the sympathy of one English bishop and the two Irish archbishops.

The Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury took an important and decided step with regard to the "Essays and Reviews." Archdeacon Denison, as chairman of the committee appointed the previous session, moved a series of resolutions condemnatory of the volume, and as constituting sufficient grounds for proceeding to a synodical judgment upon it. These resolutions were carried by a very large majority, and, together with the report of the committee, communicated to the Upper House. Contrary to general expectation, the bishops did not resolve to proceed at once to synodical judgment, but, in consideration that a suit had already been commenced by one of the bishops against one of the essayists, by a unanimous vote declared it expedient to adjourn the further consideration of the subject, pending the course of the suit. In the meanwhile the "Essays" controversy continues to overflood the book-market with controversial books, large and small, learned and popular, profound and trashy. Every number of the Publishers' Circular still teems with new announcements. The vast majority of them strongly condemn the book, which finds, however, some influential defenders, as, for example, Professor Stanley, who, in his new work on the History of the Eastern Church, does not conceal his sympathy with the principles of the Essays.

Two important decisions have been made during the past three months in questions concerning the relation between Church and State. In Parliament a very keen contest took place on the subject of Church rates. The Conservative party put forth its full strength to defeat the third reading of the Church Rate Abolition bill, and had the gratification—unexpected to themselves—to see the vote equally divided and the motion lost by the casting vote of the Speaker. The friends of religious liberty have been disagreeably surprised by this result, but by no means discouraged; the agitation has been commenced anew, and will not cease until the principle of voluntaryism will have triumphed. In Scotland the celebrated Cardross case has been decided in the Court of Session against the claims of the Free Church. It will be remembered that the latter refused to submit the forms of its procedure, by which the plaintiff maintained to be impaired in his civil rights, to the supervision of the civil courts. The judgment of the court was unanimous. The case will be appealed to the House of Lords. As the question involves the possession of a disciplinary power in all unestablished bodies, the final decision is awaited with deep and general interest.

A very remarkable letter has been written by a well-known deist of England, F. W. Newman, to a Bengali periodical of Calcutta, which is the organ of an association of Indian deists. The latter appear to be desirous to establish a closer union with the deists of Christian countries, and have sent to Mr. Newman their periodical, together with several deistical tracts published by them. Mr. Newman's letter gives an account of the present condition and the prospects of the deists in England, which expresses but little hopes for the rise of a Theistic Church.

The Baptists of England are at present divided into three distinct bodies: the Particular Baptists, who are Calvinists; the General Baptists, who are Unitarians; and the New Connection of General Baptists, who are Evangelical Arminians. The latter, at their late annual meeting, adopted a resolution in favor of a closer union with the Particular Baptists.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.—The religious statistics published in the Irish census disappoint the expectations of those who had hoped to find the Protestant population almost as large as the Roman Catholic. This hope had been, of late, generally indulged in by the Protestant Press of Great Britain, although it was irreconcilable with the official marriage and educational statistics of the country, which fully agree with the ecclesiastical statistics, as now ascertained. This coincidence leaves no doubt as to the correctness of the official account, at least as far as the number of Roman Catholics is concerned. The following are the most important points of the census: Roman Catholics, 4,490,583; members of the Established Church, 678,661; Presbyterians, 598,992; Methodists, 44,532; all other persuasions, 8,414; Jews, 322. The total number of Irish Protestants is 1,273,960, giving the Roman Catholics a majority of 3,216,623, or about 3½ Roman Catholics to one Protestant. Each of the four provinces shows a Roman Catholic majority, and of the thirty-two counties in Ireland only four, Antrim, Down, Armagh, and Londonderry, (all in the province of Ulster,) show a Protestant preponderance. The county of Down contains the largest number of Presbyterians, 136,013; county Antrim ranks next with 133,440; county Londonderry, 66,014; Armagh has 40,000, Tyrone 46,000, and Donegal 26,000, while in Fermanagh it appears there are only 1,857 Presbyterians. The county of Down also contains the largest number of Episcopalians, 60,516; next in order follow Armagh, Antrim, Tyrone, and Fermanagh, while the smallest number in any county is 3,371 in Clare. Cork is the premier Roman Catholic county in Ireland, there being 424,589 Roman Catholics, the smallest number of that body in any county being in Carlow, 50,613. Since 1834 the population of Ireland is diminished by 2,190,217; the Roman Catholic population by 1,945,477, the Church of England population (including the Methodists) by 129,967, the Presbyterians by 114,666. By comparing the statistics of 1834 with those of 1861, it will be seen that as to the total population a change has taken place in favor of Protestantism, for while formerly there were about six Roman Catholics to one Protestant, there are now only three and a half. On the other hand, the pouring of Roman Catholic masses into the former Protestant province of Ulster has increased the number of predominantly Roman Catholic counties, and will be a political advantage to the Roman Catholics, in proportion as the general suffrage is extended.

GERMANY.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.—The movement of the German State Churches toward ecclesiastical self-government is progressing with increasing rapidity. The meeting of delegates of the several German Church governments, which this year met again at Eisenach, has by a unanimous vote passed an important resolution in favor of it. Though not yet declaring for an entire separation between Church and State, they strongly condemned the system of territorialism, which claims for the secular government an absolute right to govern the Church, and insisted on having the administration of ecclesiastical affairs confided to an ecclesiastical board, which should be entirely independent of the State Government, and in direct communication with the people. In most German States this principle has already been established, and the influence of this conference of the German Churches is probably sufficient to cause its adoption by all the other States. The Church of Baden has already gone farther, and adopted a new constitution which greatly diminishes the ecclesiastical right of the Grand Duke in appointing Church officers, and concentrates almost the entire government of the Church in the hands of an elective General Synod, one half of whose members are ministers and one half laymen. In one of the Prussian provinces, which were hitherto without a regular system of Church synods, diocesan synods have been everywhere organized. In the Prussian Parliament a majority of the Protestant deputies was in favor of asking the ministry to carry through the independence of the Church, as promised in the constitution; and among those who voted against the motion, some, as the distinguished leader of the Liberal Party in Parliament, Baron Von Vincke, did it only on the ground that the Parliament is incompetent to pass resolutions on ecclesiastical questions.

In connection with the question of Church constitution, the progress of the Rationalistic controversy keeps up in the German Churches a great excite-

ment. For the present the Rationalists seem to have completely carried their point in the grandduchy of Baden, where they claim all the lay representatives at the General Synod, and one half of the clerical, as members of their party; and in the United Evangelical Church of the Palatinate, where all congregations, except about ten, have obtained permission from the secular government to retain or to reintroduce the old Rationalistic hymn book. The party organs feel confident that by means of synods, one half of whose members will consist of chosen representatives of the laity, they will get control of the majority of the German Churches.

Among the peculiar institutions of the old Protestant Churches of Germany, which have been of late revived, the parochial visitations have attracted more than common attention. At the time of the Reformation they were frequently held by Luther, Melancthon, Bugenhagen, and the other reformers. For a long time they were entirely discontinued, till the late king of Prussia called them again into existence. Such a parochial visitation is held by a committee composed of clerical and respectable temporal members, the former being chosen by the Superior Ecclesiastical Council, which also elect a member as a leader of the committee. The revival of this arrangement has the warm approval of the High Church Lutheran and the Evangelical parties. Under the present king there arose at first a fear that it would be discontinued, but of late another parochial visitation has been held by the Superintendent-General, Dr. Koffmann, in Silesia. Wherever the committee goes preaching is carried on, (first the pastor of the community visited preaches, then members of the committee,) after which the youth are examined, also partly by their own teacher, partly by a member of the committee. After the examination the pastor and teacher receive suggestions in private from the committee upon points in which advice is needed. After this the fathers of families belonging to the community, and the youth of both sexes, are brought up and questioned. The visitations are said to have hitherto been followed in almost every instance by a perceptible awakening to Christian life, although frequently the opponents of the visitation had succeeded in arousing against it a powerful commotion.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.—Germany is beginning to furnish a large contingent to the number of Roman Catholic writers who admit that the abolition of the temporal power, whether in itself right or wrong, has become an inevitable necessity. But it has taken both Roman Catholics and Protestants by surprise that even Dr. Döllinger, the greatest Roman Catholic scholar now living, has expressed himself in this way. In a public lecture he has taken the ground that the temporal power had not only become an impossibility, but that its abolition would redound to the greater glory of the Church. The declaration made a deep sensation throughout the Catholic world, and the majority of the ultramontane papers violently assailed it. Somewhat intimidated by the great agitation thus provoked, Dr. Döllinger has since issued another declaration—that he did not mean to justify the insurrection of the papal subjects and the annexation of papal territory to Sardinia; but he has never recanted his main position, that the abolition of the temporal power would be a blessing for the Church, and not as the bishops and most of the Roman Catholic papers have commonly represented it, a great blow to her best interests. There the controversy now rests. Dr. Döllinger has been as violently assailed after his explanatory declaration as before, and the papers are still discussing the good or bad results of the downfall of the temporal power. Three of the most influential Roman Catholic papers of Germany have taken side with Dr. Döllinger.

The Diets of the German States continue to protest against the large concessions which some of the Protestant powers have been prevailed upon to make the pope. The Second Chamber of Wurtemberg has declared its determination to refuse its consent to the levy of taxes unless the government respects the resolutions of the Legislature and the will of the people respecting the non-execution of the concordat. In the Duchy of Nassau the Second Chamber has also declared itself against a convention which the duke had concluded with the Roman Catholic bishop of the country, and in which, likewise, undue concessions had been made to the Roman hierarchy.

FRANCE.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.—The great event of the past three months has

been a deep religious movement in Paris, similar, although on a smaller scale, to the revivals in the United States and Ireland. Two Englishmen, Mr. Radcliffe and Mr. Henry, held from April 18 to June 3 special meetings for preaching and prayer, and although they understood very little of French and their addresses had to be interpreted, there was an immense crowd of attendants, and more than three hundred conversions have been reported.

The Rationalistic party in the State Churches have lost of late so much ground in the Churches and societies of Protestant France that it has been considered necessary to make another great effort to rally the scattered forces. They have therefore formed a so-called "Liberal Protestant Union," which demands absolute freedom of preaching for every pulpit, and will, in particular, endeavor to secure the election of Rationalists into the Presbyteries. Their manifesto has been felt by the evangelical portion of the Church as a call to renewed energy, and the result of the next election is therefore awaited with unusual interest as a test of the comparative strength of the two parties.

The evangelical portion of the Reformed Church are becoming more and more unanimous in demanding from the French government the re-establishment of the General Synod as the supreme board of the Church. The question came up for discussion at the late National Conferences at Paris, a gathering of ministers of the Reformed and the Lutheran State Churches, and after a thorough debate the unanimous vote of the assembly was affirmative; of eighty-seven members only one, a leading Rationalist, abstained. A letter to the Minister of Public Worship was voted paragraph by paragraph. A zealous layman, M. de Coninck, who has unceasingly by his pen called attention to the necessity of restoring the National Synod, has brought out a new pamphlet on the subject, which is liberally distributed throughout the Churches. He takes the ground that when once the National Synod is formed and properly constituted it must clearly define the doctrinal basis of the Church; and that if ever the views of the Rationalistic "Protestant Union," referred to above, should be adopted by it, the orthodox should form themselves into a free Church.

The missionary labors of the French Protestants, which after having been long confined to South Africa were last year extended to China and Hayti, are likely now to find another important field in Tahiti. The French protectorate which was imposed on the island under Louis Philippe has not had the expected effect—to gain the islanders for the Roman Catholic Church; but Protestantism, organized throughout the island under native evangelists, is still considered the National Church, and the Tahitian Legislature, in consideration of the now existing political connection with France, has expressed a wish that two Protestant French pastors may be sent to them, offering them at the same time a suitable salary.

ITALY.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.—The Waldensian Seminary, whose transfer from the retired valleys of Piedmont to Florence, the Italian Athens, raised in all parts of the Protestant world so great expectations for the future of Italian Protestantism, closed about the middle of July its first session at its new seat. There were ten students on the roll, one of whom had returned to the valleys for ordination, and another was in bad health. All of the eight who presented themselves for examination acquitted themselves with great credit. Five English ministers were present, who declared themselves highly gratified with the result.

By the appointment of Baron Ricasoli as Prime Minister of Italy, the Protestants have received an even more decided advocate of their political and civil rights than Cavour. He checks the intrigues of the Ultramontane party, who, unfortunately, find still too many of the subaltern officers willing to lend the aid of the secular arm for the annoyance and oppression of Protestant congregations. This continuance of toleration has enabled the Protestants to strengthen their establishments in a number of the principal cities of the peninsula. In Leghorn their place of worship, after the most bitter and obstinate opposition on the part of the priests, was opened for public service on June 19, and has since then been crowded with attentive and most respectable audiences without any opposition. One of the most intelligent and devoted Waldensian ministers has been detailed to the city of Milan, where he is making efforts for the establish-

ment of a Bible and tract depot. At Bologna, Professor Mazzarella has opened his lectures at the University amid much applause. At Naples the prospects are so bright that it is now regarded as the most hopeful of all Italian stations. Gavazzi has once more returned to England to raise funds for the establishment of Protestant institutions at Naples. At Genoa a new periodical has been started, which bids fair to be carried on with no little literary power united to sound evangelical views.

So far as the protection of civil right is concerned the Protestants have a powerful ally in the Mazzinian or Republican party. The organs of this party plead unanimously the absolute liberty of religious belief, and though they may feel little sympathy with the doctrines of evangelical Protestantism they show no hostility to it. They, on the contrary, agree with it in extolling the sublimity of the Bible, and demanding the overthrow of the spiritual power of the papacy no less than the secular. The editor of the *Gazetta del Popolo*, the Mazzinian paper at Turin, has written a dramatic piece, "*I Valdesi*," (The Waldensians,) altogether favorable to the Protestants, which, at Leghorn, has been selected for a theatrical representation, and rapturously applauded by a crowded house.

The number of Protestant ministers in Italy has been increased by new arrivals from England and America. The Wesleyans of England have sent out Mr. Green, who will first acquire the language, and afterward devote his life to missionary labor among the natives. It is expected that he will be followed by three other missionaries from the same Church. A Protestant exile, Signor Bolognini, who after having fled from Austrian tyranny has been employed for a while in the Protestant college at Malta, and afterward as a newspaper editor at Alexandria in Egypt, has recently returned to his native country. From America, Rev. Mr. Hall, formerly American chaplain at Rome, has been sent out by the American and Foreign Christian Union, with a view of opening another service in English at Florence, and of undertaking evangelistic work.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.—The vast majority of the Italian people bravely and steadfastly continue to deny to the Pope and the hierarchy the right of coercing them by spiritual censures into submission to the political doctrines of the papal court, and in particular into an abandonment of the nation's favorite idea, now at length realized, of an Italian union. The death of Count Cavour has greatly strengthened the patriotic and anti-papal sentiments of the Italians. Until his last moment he has, without wavering, professed the views to whose progress and final victory his whole life has been devoted. At first the Roman Catholic papers busily spread the rumor—as on similar occasions they have often done before—that Count Cavour on his deathbed fully reconciled himself with the Church; that he summoned a confessor to him before the physicians had judged that his death was near; that he received the holy viaticum with great devotion; and that the Pope, greatly edified at this deathbed conversion, offered public prayers for the eternal repose of the illustrious opponent of the papal claim. But as the reports of the eyewitnesses and nearest relatives of Cavour were published, the organs of ultramontanism found it necessary to rectify their first accounts, and the official *Journal of Rome* spoke once more of the career of the deceased statesman with the same virulence with which it had attacked him during his life. It is true that a priest was present at the deathbed of Cavour; but it was one who fully approved of his policy, and who therefore after the death of Cavour was summoned to Rome and visited with ecclesiastical censures. The indignation of the Italian people at the proceedings of the Roman hierarchy has received new fuel by these events, and the latter cannot fail to see that her influence on Italy is rapidly waning. The new Prime Minister of Italy, Baron Ricasoli, advocates the introduction of religious liberty with even more ardor than Cavour; and in what direction Garibaldi uses his great influence on the Italian people may be best seen by the following resolution, submitted by him for the consideration of the Unitary Italian Society of Palermo, which had elected him president: "Considering that Christ, by consecrating upon earth equality among men and nations, has deserved gratitude and love, we belong to the religion of Christ; considering that the Pope, the cardinals, the sanfedists, all the mercenaries of Italy, and the spies assembled at Rome are the chief obstacles to the unification

of Italy by their provoking and fomenting civil war, we do not belong to the religion of the Pope. In consequence of the above considerations, *Resolved*, That the Pope, the cardinals, etc., shall shut up shop at once, and betake themselves to some country as far away as possible from Italy; thus allowing this unfortunate Italian nation, which they have been torturing for ages, to constitute itself definitively."

Of still greater significance is the spirit of independence which begins to spread among the clergy of Italy. Notwithstanding the prohibition of the Pope and nearly all the bishops, a considerable number of the lower clergy took part this year in the great national festa on the first Sunday in June, which, according to a law of the Italian Parliament, is annually to commemorate the union of all races in Italy in one kingdom. The chapter of the cathedral of Milan unanimously accepted the invitation of the municipal authorities, and had High Mass with Te Deum and Ambrosian hymn celebrated in the Duomo.

SPAIN.

Protestantism.—Sir Robert Peel deserves the thanks of the entire Protestant world for his noble and indefatigable endeavors to arouse in England sympathy with the persecuted and imprisoned Protestants of Spain. It appears from trustworthy information that no less than thirty-four persons have been subjected to imprisonment under no other charge than that of professing Protestant doctrines, and that twelve of them still remain in durance. For every one of these poor prisoners there are thousands upon thousands of inquirers, and there is ample reason to believe that toleration would be followed by the adhesion of large numbers to Protestantism. At one of the meetings held in England to express sympathy with the fate of the prisoners, Gavazzi pointed to Italy in the time of the Madiai, England's interference then, and Italy's altered position now, as an example of the course which should be followed with regard to Spain. He called on England to rise to her position, and bore strong testimony to the effect of her moral support on the nations of Europe. It is not known whether and how far the English ministry have thought it fit to intercede in behalf of the Spanish Protestants. They have succeeded, however, in obtaining from the Spanish government an indemnification of £1,500 as a settlement of the claims on account of their expulsion from the Spanish island, Fernando Po, in 1858.

TURKEY.

The Greek Church.—The progress of the Bulgarian movement still awakens great interest throughout the Christian world. The excessive hopes of the Roman Catholics have been equally disappointed. After having taken a Bulgarian priest to Rome and having him consecrated by the Pope himself first bishop of the United Bulgarias, Abbé Boré and the other heads of the Roman Catholic missions at Constantinople expected the bulk of the nation to come rapidly over to the union, especially because the Greek patriarch continued to refuse the wish of the Bulgarians for the introduction of their native language into their churches and schools. But not only has the expected increase not taken place, but Monsignore Sokolski, the new bishop, has himself turned his back on the new movement, and, after excommunicating Boré, has left Constantinople for Russia .and returned to the Greek Church. At the same time the journal *Bulgaria*, which was edited by one of the united Bulgarians, and had worked hard for the cause of the union, has been discontinued for want of subscribers and readers. If we may believe the last accounts of the Roman Catholic papers, it is still hoped to save some fragments of the united Church. One of their organs says: "The new Bulgarian community met immediately after the defection of the bishop to protest against the treason of its pastor. It has made a new act of adhesion to the Pope, and has resolved on immediately asking for another bishop." The jubilant accounts of the Roman Catholic press in America and Europe have turned out to be mere inventions.

In the meanwhile the split between the Bulgarian Churches and the patriarch of Constantinople continues. The Turkish government, for a time, seemed to yield to the representations made by and in favor of the Bulgarians. A national assembly was ordered to be held in Constantinople to consider and make known the wishes of the people. But, unfortunately, Greek gold and intrigue again turned the scale. The convention was threatened with punishment

and frightened into resignation. In one day the whole body of them resigned, leaving the bishops and the people to fight their own battles. The Turkish government were prevailed upon to execute the sentence of exile pronounced by him against the Bulgarian bishops. The Archbishop of Philippopolis was seized in his house by night by a company of Turkish soldiers. Some time later the two Bulgarian bishops of Constantinople had to go into exile to Asia Minor, where they were treated, however, by the Turkish authorities with great respect. Notwithstanding this forcible measure, the people generally remain firm in their desire and demand for ecclesiastical independence of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the last accounts from their churches say that every month's delay makes them more prepared to adopt the simple forms of Protestantism. The head teacher of the Bulgarian school in Philippopolis has commenced a preaching service in his school-house on the Sabbath.

While the Bulgarian movement seemed yet to favor the sanguine expectations of the Roman Catholics, their organs announced the beginning of a similar movement in the Herzegovina, which, as they represented, was likely to result in the union of the entire Greek Church of that province with Rome. Since the explosion of the Bulgarian Union scheme no further accounts have been received from its offshoot in the Herzegovina.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

M'Millan has issued a *Commentary on the Book of Genesis*, for the use of the readers of the English version, by Henry Charles Groves. This work is intended as an antidote to the scepticism so industriously propogated at the present day in regard to the Mosaic authorship, the unity, the historical truth and the divine authority of the first of the Old Testament books. It is pronounced by the Journal of Sacred Literature "one of the best expositions of Genesis in our language, if not the very best."

The first volume of *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, by Dr. Walter Farquhar Hook, extending through the Anglo-Saxon period, is published by Bentley. It unfolds details of remarkable interest, showing that the historical remains of the "dark ages" prove the existence in early ages of intelligence, learning, and refinement.

The professor of Modern History in King's College, London, Charles H. Pearson, M. A., has published *The Early and Middle Ages of England.* He has, as he says, "condensed the history of twelve hundred years in a single volume, with a view to the large class who want time and inclination to peruse English History as an exclusive study."

Two new and valuable additions to "Clarke's Foreign Theological Library" have appeared: *History of the Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ.* By Dr. J. A. Dorner, Professor of Theology in the University of Gottingen. Vol. 1, pp. 460. Translated by Rev. Dr. W. Simon. *Theological and Homiletical Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, specially designed for the use of Ministers and Students. From the German of J. P. Lange, Professor of Divinity in the University of Bonn. By Rev. Alfred Eldersheim, Ph. D. Vol. 1, pp. 466.

The *Works of Thomas Goodwin*, some time president of Magdalen College, vol. 1, is the first instalment of the enterprise for publishing "Nicholls's Series of Standard Divines, Puritan Period." The terms of these publications are thus stated: "Six volumes demy 8vo., bound in the most durable manner, and in a style which will obviate the necessity of rebinding, shall be supplied for 21s. per annum. The volumes will average from 500 to 600 pages each, according to the number of subscribers obtained. The demand for the series will thus determine the minimum or maximum size of the volumes. The different works will be distinguished by variety in the color of cover, or style of ornamentation, to avoid the unpleasing effect of a large number of volumes in the library bound in one uniform pattern."

Intuitionalism, by B. Frankland, B. A. This work is designed to expose the illogical and dangerous consequences of Mr. Morell's Intuitionalistic views as developed in matters philosophical and religious. Though inartistic in form, it is said to exhibit acuteness, patient thought, and effective argument. We give from the London Review a few points and consequences of this Intuitionalism:

"The Intuitionalist may be easily recognized from his outfit. This, according to the newest fashion, is something as follows:

"First. He has a firm persuasion of having succeeded in establishing, to his own satisfaction, an essential distinction between his 'logical' and his 'intuitional consciousness.'

"Second. He assumes that intuitional truth, that is, truth intuitively perceived, is identical with 'higher or spiritual truth.'

"Third. He assumes that all 'higher or spiritnal truth' is seen by the intuitional eye directly, just as extended objects are seen in their sensible qualities, and in their truthful relations to each other, by the bodily eye.

"Fourth. He assumes that thus to see 'higher or spiritual' truth is to bring the observer at once, and as a matter of course, into moral harmony with it.

"And lastly. He has arrived at a belief in the 'essential divinity' of human nature.

"Many other assumptions are made, and other positions maintained, according to taste and convenience, and with more or less show of research and argument. But these are the essentials which mainly characterize the new gospel.

"Some grand conclusions to which it points are sufficiently obvious:

"By article 1. The material world is cut off at a stroke from all troublesome interference with the decisions of the 'intuitional consciousness' and 'spiritual insight.' This is a great step gained. Natural theology is neatly and finally got rid of. Butler, and Paley, and Chalmers are obsolete. We may vary our 'phases of faith' *ad infinitum*.

"By article 2. The important subject of religion in the human heart is set clear of an intrusive, that is, an objective revelation. Spinoza is justified. Miracles, if not impossible, are clearly unnecessary.

"By article 3. Man, for improvement in the 'higher philosophy,' (a synonym for religion,) is made independent of all aid foreign to himself. The scriptural doctrine of the Atonement, with all which it implies, is superfluous—if not *something worse*.

"By article 4. The Holy Ghost, as an agent in the moral regeneration of the human soul, is dispensed with. Inspiration at the same time is reduced to bardship.

"And by the last article we have here noted as distinguishing this famous belief, each of us is practically responsible to none but himself—or, at the utmost, only to the 'universal consciousness' of the age in which he happens to be cast. Each of us, for instance, may write his own Bible, each Donaldson compile his own 'Book of Jashur;' one thing only provided, namely, that while recognizing and asserting his own 'essential divinity,' he is condescending enough to pay some little deference (a mere matter of courtesy) now and then to the divine voice of 'universal humanity.' Beyond this there is neither a standard of truth, nor a fountain of law, for human nature."—Pp. 2–4.

A work lately issued from our Andover press, and sold by Trübner, London, in regard to "Professor Tayler Lewis, D.D.," is noticed by the London Review. The Review says: "The last hundred and fifty pages of this volume are occupied with an essay on the literary character of Tayler Lewis, who is held in profound admiration by the anonymous author. It is much to say, but we confess that the extracts given from his writings seem to us almost to justify the enthusiastic devotion with which Lewis has inspired his defender and panegyrist. We have met with few passages more nobly eloquent, or more distinguished by true and deep philosophy, than some of those with which this portion of the volume is enriched; and we earnestly wish we could have transferred the greater portion of them into these pages. Some of them are peculiarly appropriate to the present condition of thought and state of theological controversy in this country. Indeed, had the series been selected with a foresight of the 'Essays and Reviews,' and in order to counteract their teachings, they could hardly have been more exactly adapted to that end. How profound, how true, how seasonable are the

thoughts in the following noble passage on 'The True Idea of God!'"

No less than forty-nine publications have been called out by the noted "Essays and Reviews," sermons, pamphlets, etc.

The discovery of a large and beautiful spring on the temple mount, as the Journal of Sacred Literature informs us, resulting from certain excavations by the French Consulate, has filled Jerusalem with surprise and joy. It is conjectured that this is the spring stopped by King Hezekiah at the approach of Sennacherib, (2 Chron. xxxiii, 30,) the loss of which Jerusalem has deplored the last 2500 years.

The Athenæum contains an account of some fine biblical discoveries by Dr. Levishon at Jerusalem. This gentleman has obtained and copied in *fac simile* a very remarkable copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch. It is added: "But not the least important part of this subject to be mentioned is his more recent purchase of a MS. vellum Pentateuch of remarkable antiquity. He believes it to have been written during the time of the First Temple in Jerusalem, and his gratitude for the dispensation of providence which brought this within his reach partakes of a strong religious character. The reasons for assigning so remote a date to this precious book are: 1. The extreme reserve with which the priestly family in Nablous have guarded it even from the knowledge of their own sect, and the assertion of the priest from whom it was obtained. 2. The fact of its not being divided into chapters or sections of any kind, except as books, such as Genesis, Exodus, etc. 3. The names of the several priests found in marginal scraps about the volume recording occurrences connected with its preservation—the names coinciding with the priestly genealogy in his possession. The express statement in a marginal observation that the volume had escaped the peril of fire during the time of Zerubbabel in Jerusalem."

"The Holy Stone," so called by some of our friends in Ohio, lately discussed in Harper's Magazine, is thus disposed of in the English "Clerical Journal:" "Some time since two remarkable stones with Hebrew inscriptions were dug up near Newark, Ohio, and excited no small interest. By many they were received as genuine ancient remains, but others pronounced them spurious. The arguments which have been used have been such as these: 'That there are, in the first, imperfections in the forms of some of the Hebrew letters, and one grammatical error; that the letters are those of the modern Hebrew alphabet; and that, though three of the couples of words of which it consists occur repeatedly in the Old Testament, the fourth is not there.' The second inscription was discovered not far from the first, and by the same person. An advocate of its genuineness says that it is an abridgment of the Ten Commandments; that it is not inscribed with the common Hebrew character, and while generally related to it, the *Ain* is the same as occurs on the coins of the Maccabees. This stone was found inclosed in a spheroidal stone box, hollowed out so as exactly to receive it, and the writer we quote states that it would have cost two hundred dollars to execute it. Dr. Merrick, in a paper read before the American Oriental Society, describes the stone as a 'truncated pyramid four or five inches long, and marked on its four sides with Hebrew characters;' and after appealing to the photographed copies which he exhibited, the writer pronounces that 'it carries its condemnation on its face as a bungling imitation of the *printed* Chaldee letters in our later edition of the Hebrew Bible.' The *Independent* says: 'In the published proceedings of the Society Dr. Merrick's paper is accompanied by the following note, which shows how the stone was regarded. 'The copies sent by Mr. Merrick were passed around among the members present, and no person was found disposed to differ from the opinions expressed by that gentleman, while some surprise was manifested that so transparent a fraud or piece of pleasantry should have made so much stir and deceived so many people.' We understand that Jewish scholars in this city, of high authority, concur in the views expressed at the meeting of the Oriental Society.' Here, we presume, the interest raised by these novel and much-talked-of discoveries will properly cease."

Murray advertises a very full and elaborate series of replies to the Essays and Reviews to be furnished from the associate pens of Professor Mansel, Dr. Thomson, Messrs. Cowie, Rawlinson, and others. Saunders and Otley have

undertaken a series of replies by authors whose names are not yet announced.

The Christian Remembrancer says: "If we have not good preachers it is not for lack of instructors in the art and craft of preaching. Here is a batch of instructors in homiletics, theoretical and practical. 1. 'Thoughts on Preaching,' by Mr. Daniel Moore. This is a valuable work, and Mr. Moore has earned the right to teach, because he himself is a master in his profession. There is, we think, a confusion in all these writers between the apostolic teaching, or proclaiming, or promulging (κηρύσσειν) the Gospel, and the modern preaching; the former need not be by a sermon at all; and, therefore, the words translated in our version, to 'preach the Gospel,' have little or often nothing to do with the modern pulpit. But his book is the most valuable manual we have on the subject. 2. 'Hints on Preaching,' (Hatchard,) by Archdeacon Jones, is a good summary of the method adopted by the better class of evangelical preachers. 3. 'Oxford Lectures on Elocution,' by Mr. C. J. Plumtre, (J. H. and J. Parker,) as the title shows, are confined to the art of speaking, the mere mechanical function, but exhibit much thought and practice. They seem to have been well received on their delivery. 4. 'Sermon Sketches and Essay,' by Dean Close, (Hatchard,) is a set of skeletons, recalling Mr. Simeon's ponderous work.

The Christian Remembrancer contains the following: "Motley's 'United Netherlands' (Longmans) is a most valuable work. In picturesque description it nearly rivals Macaulay; and in fairness of view and fullness of materials, it far exceeds that pleasant but superficial historian. The narrative of Leicester in Holland, and the description of England during the Armada days, much as it detracts from the conventional view of Elizabethan statesmanship, has rarely, if ever, been excelled."

GERMANY.

The greater liberty which Austria has been at length compelled to grant to the Protestants already begins to exercise a beneficial influence on the Protestant literature of the empire. Among the most important recent contributions belongs a work on "The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hungary in her Historical Development; with an Appendix on the History of the Protestant Churches in the German and Slavonian Provinces," (*Die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche Ungarns.* Nördlingen, 1861,) by J. Borbis. The author remarks in the preface, that a work of tracing the history of the Lutheran Church in Hungary from her first beginning to the present day was still entirely wanting, and that therefore, while yet studying at the university, he was urged on by his professors and fellow-students to undertake the task and supply one of the greatest desiderata in the literature of Church history. He divides the history of the Hungarian Lutheran Church into six periods. The most important of these for foreign Protestants are the first, which reaches from the beginning of the Reformation until the rise of the Reformed Church in Hungary, (1520–1564,) and the last three, which record the memorable events in modern times from the celebrated edict of Emperor Leopold II. until the despotism established in Hungary by General Haynau, (1790–1850;) from Haynau until the Imperial Patent of September 1, 1859, which made the fruitless attempt to force on the Hungarians a new ecclesiastical constitution; and, lastly, from September, 1859, until the present day. The Hungarian Churches have so bravely defended their ecclesiastical rights against the attempted encroachments of Austrian despotism, that many Protestants of foreign countries will take a deep interest in a record of their recent history. The work is introduced by a preface of Prof. Luthardt, of Leipzic, a distinguished theologian of the High Lutheran school.

Rev. Dr. Thiele, formerly preacher of the Prussian embassy at Rome, and now court preacher at Brunswick, has announced as soon forthcoming a work on "Rome as the Center of the Roman Catholic Church." The author has had rare facilities for acquiring a thorough knowledge of the subject, and will undoubtedly furnish an important contribution to the copious German literature on Italy. Another work on Rome has been announced by Dr. Laemmer, formerly lecturer on theology at the University of Berlin, and now a Roman Catholic priest. His work, entitled "*Monumenta Vaticana, historiam ecclesiasticum sæculi xvi, illustrantia,*" will publish for the first time a number of documents from the archives of the Vatican bearing on the beginning and the progress of the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

A biography of Primus Truber, the Reformer of Carnia, (*P. Truber, der Reformator Krains.* Erlangen, 1861,) has been published by Rev. H. C. W. Sillem. Truber translated the Bible and the writings of the German Reformers into several Slavic dialects spoken in the provinces of Austria and Turkey. Another interesting new biography is that of K. J. Ph. Spitta, one of the best German hymnists of the present century, by Rev. K. R. Münkel. Some of his beautiful hymns have become accessible to the English public through the translation of Miss Winkworth.

Among the numerous volumes of sermons which are annually published in Germany, none have met, of late, with so large a sale as those of Pastor Harms, of Hermannsburg, the celebrated founder of the Hermannsburg Missionary Society, the most zealous society of the kind in the Protestant world. Harms is the Spurgeon of Germany; less brilliant, equally impressive, but more unctuous and sanctified. More than forty thousand copies of his sermons have been sold in little over a year. It is said that Harms is doing more to bring back Germany to the faith of Christ than some whole universities. On every Sunday the village inn at Hermannsburg is filled with pastors, professors, and students who come from afar to learn from this humble pastor how to preach the doctrines of a live Christianity.

Professor Richter, of Berlin, the standard German writer on all questions concerning the ecclesiastical law of the Protestant Churches of Germany, has published a new work entitled "King Frederic William IV. and the Constitution of the Evangelical Church, (*König Friedrich Wilhelm IV.* Berlin, 1861.) His intention is to narrate truthfully what King Frederick William has done and has endeavored to do for improving the constitution of the Prussian State Church. The king regarded the constitution of the German Protestant Churches as something provisional, and wished to make it conform more to what he believed to have been the Church constitution in the apostolical age. He commenced himself, in 1845, two essays, in which he developed his views, the use of which was allowed to Professor Richter.

Professor Wilhelm Wackernagel, one of the most distinguished German writers on the history of literature, will soon commence the publication of a highly important work, in four volumes, on the history of German hymnology from the oldest times until the beginning of the seventeenth century. Professor Wackernagel has devoted several years to making preparations for this work, and has been able to make use of sources which have never before been accessible. It is safe to predict that this new work will at once become the standard authority on the subject.

A young professor of Roman Catholic theology and philosophy at the University of Munich, Dr. Frohschammer, who has already won, by several works, a great reputation as a vigorous philosophical writer, has been induced by the censures with which his works have met at the hands of Rome to issue a powerful plea for the liberty of science, (*Ueber die Freiheit der Wissenschaft.* Münehen, 1861.) He discusses, in three divisions, the rights and the liberty of scientific investigation in general; next, the rights and liberty which a Christian and a Roman Catholic writer may expect for his scientific investigations; and in the third section, entitled "Our Position," he speaks on the condition in which Roman Catholic science in Germany is placed by the attitude of the Pope and the bishops toward it. He qualifies this condition as hopeless. A number of distinguished Roman Catholic professors of Germany have, of late, made the same or similar confessions. Among them are Dr. Döllinger, (of whose lectures on the temporal power we have spoken more fully in the department of Foreign Religious Intelligence of this number,) Professor Lutterbeck, of the University of Giessen, who last year published a pamphlet against the Bishop of Mentz, his diocesan, whom he charged with crippling by his measures Roman Catholic literature; Professor Huber, of Munich, whose work on the philosophy of the Church Fathers has been put on the Roman Index; Professor Balzer, of the University of Breslau, who was suspended last year from his chair of dogmatic theology for pronouncing a philosophical opinion which, in the eyes of Rome, is regarded as heretical; and many others.

The first volume of a new work on "Divine Revelation" (*Die göttliche Offenbarung.* Basel, 1861) has been published by Professor Auberlen, of the University of Basel, well known as a

prominent champion of evangelical Protestantism.

We mentioned in the April number of the Methodist Quarterly Review two recent works on the celebrated mediæval philosopher, Scotus Erigena, and already a new one, on the same subject, has appeared, larger and more comprehensive than either of its predeccssors. It is entitled, "J. Scotus Erigena: A Contribution to the History of Philosophy and Theology in the Middle Ages," (Munich, 1861.) by J. Huber, Professor at the University of Munich. The exposition of the doctrines of Erigena is mostly given in his own words. The work of Huber is pronounced by the best critics the most thorough work on the subject yet published.

FRANCE.

One of the greatest benefits which Louis Napoleon has conferred on the Roman Catholic Church of France is the restoration of the Theological Faculty in the Philosophical Halls of the Sorbonne. The proposal to reconstitute so essential a feature of the Academy of Paris was received with favor by the late Archbishop Sibour, of Paris, who being himself a distinguished scholar, and devotedly attached to the principles of the liberal party among the French clergy, professed a great desire to bring about a complete reconciliation in France between men of religion and men of science. The success of this attempt has been considerable. Nearly all the professors of the New Sorbonne occupy an honorable place in the literature of their country. Of two of them, Abbé Bautain and Abbé Maré, (lately promoted to the Episcopal dignity,) we have had occasion to speak in former numbers of the Methodist Quarterly Review. Another of the Professors, Abbé Freppel, has contributed some excellent works to the literature on ancient Church history. The last publication contains his lectures on the Christian Apologists of the second century, (*Les Apologistes Chrétiens du 2d Siècle*, Paris, two vols., 1861.) His object in this work has been to draw the picture of primitive Christian eloquence, first entering the arena with the advocates of polytheism, or rather, perhaps, it should be said with the upholders of skepticism. In the first three chapters he discusses in an interesting manner the relation of the scholars, the statesmen, and the masses of the people in the pagan world to rising Christianity, and the method of operation which the advocates of Christianity had consequently to pursue. At the head of these earliest champions of Christendom, Mr. Freppel places Justin Martyr, to the consideration of whose life and works and labors he devotes the whole of his first volume. He gives copious analyses of his works, accompanied with able comments on the doctrines which they lay down and elucidate. The second volume, less interesting than the first, treats of Tatian, Hermas, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, and other writers of apologetics of the second century, posterior to St. Justin.

Abbé Gratry is regarded as one of the best Roman Catholic writers on philosophy now living. He is a member of a newly founded religious order, and a frequent contributor to the *Correspondant*, the able organ of Montalembert, Lacordaire, Prince Broglie, and other champions of the less ultramontane party among the French Catholics. His last publication, entitled *La Philosophie du Credo*, (Paris, 1861,) is a popular work on the chief points of the Apostle's Creed—God the Creator, the divinity of Christ, the Trinity, Redemption, the Church, the Sacraments, life eternal—intended for men of the world and men of education, and aiming, by dissipating the prejudices which distort doctrine, to bring back the minds of earnest men to the knowledge of Christianity.

We gave in the last number of the Methodist Quarterly Review an account of one of the great literary works published by Abbé Migne. The following is a list of some of the publications which are now appearing or about to appear from the press of the indefatigable Abbé:

The edition of the complete works of St. Francois de Sales has now reached its fifth volume, and the two concluding ones are promised within the next three months. A Complete and Universal Collection of Councils, General, National, Provincial, and Synodal, is announced as shortly to appear in eighty volumes, 4to., price five hundred francs. The collection is four times that of Labbe and Cossart, and double that of Mansi and Coletti, whose thirty-one volumes in folio cost one thousand two hundred francs. The works of St. Thomas Aqui-

nas, twenty-six volumes, (175 francs,) and those of St. Bonaventure, twelve volumes, (75 francs,) are also in preparation. A collection of works on the harmony of Reason and Science with the Catholic Faith, (*Accord de la Raison et des Sciences avec la Foi Catholique*,) in sixteen volumes, (100 francs,) will contain more than sixty works, in full, collected and translated from various languages, of different epochs, on the above subject and others analagous to it. The Refutation of the Philosophical Systems, (*Refutation de tous les Systemes Philosophiques*,) by the most accredited works written against each particular system, will embrace six volumes. The chief systems refuted are pantheism, atheism, Materialism, Rationalism, Idealism, progressism, magnetism, etc. The Abbé thinks he has overlooked none, but promises if any one has been forgotten to add it to his list, and "refute it" by a sound work on the subject. Besides these the Abbé has many other publications of a colossal character in contemplation, to which we may refer on another opportunity.

"*Ce qu'il faut à la France.*" ("What France needs,") is the title of a pamphlet published by Mr. St. Hilaire, Professor of History at the Sorbonne. The author is a convert from the Roman Catholic Church, and one of the few representatives of evangelical Protestantism among the leading scholars of France. The religious history of France is summed up in a hundred pages, and divided into five periods: 1. The period of militant piety (the Crusades) from Clovis to St. Louis; 2. The cloisters and the struggle with the Holy See, the triumph of Royalty, and the humbling of the Papacy; 3. The Concordat and the Reformation, from Francis I. to Richelieu; the rejection by France of the Gospel, in choosing which she might have been spared three centuries of faults and misfortunes; 4. Till the death of Louis XIV., the absolute reign of religious despotism; 5. From the death of Louis XIV. to the present day, the reign of infidelity. The author, with great vigor and eloquence, points out to his countrymen the remedy, which, he shows, can only be found in the liberty of the Gospel.

Art. X. — SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

American Theological Review, July, 1861.—1. Slavery among the Ancient Hebrews. 2. Powell on the Evidences. 3. The Unity of the Race. 4. Criticism of New Testament Texts. 5. Renan on Job and Canticles. 6. Fisher's Sermons and Addresses. 7. The Codex Alexandrinus. 8. The Ante-Nicene Trinitarianism.

American Quarterly Church Review, July, 1861.—1. The Ultimate Grounds of Infidelity. 2. Interesting and Curious Facts about Bishops. 3. Cooper and his Novels. 4. Motley's History of the Dutch Republic. 5. Recent Inquiries in Theology examined. 6. Church Missions in New York City.

Mercersburg Review, July, 1861.—1. Moral Character of Jesus Christ, or the Perfection of Christ's Humanity a Proof of his Divinity. 2. The Divining Rod. 3. Liturgical Worship. 4. Notes on the Agamemnon of Æschylus. 5. Religious Training; or the Gospel Educational System. 6. The National Question.

Evangelical Review, July, 1861.—1. German Emigration to North America. 2. Jephthah's Vow. 3. M. Minucii Felicis Octavius. 4. Annotations on Matthew, chap. xxiv. 5. The Races of Men in English History. 6. Beneficiary Education. 7. Theses upon the Church. 8. Our National Crisis. 9. Hymns.

Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, July, 1861.—1. The Kingdom of Christ. 2. Knowledge, Faith, and Feeling, in their Mutual Relations. 3. The Subjects of Baptism. 4. Motley's Dutch Republic. 5. Annals of the American Pulpit. 6. The General Assembly.

Freewill Baptist Quarterly, July, 1861.—1. The Doctrinal and the Practical in Christianity. 2. The Christian Church and the Poor. 3. Baptism not Immersion. 4. The Power of Personal Character. 5. Moral Happiness. 6. Disagreement of Doctors on the Origin of the Human Species. 7. Dr. Butler's Theology. 8. Conventional Morality. 9. Process of Saving Grace, exemplified in the Religious Experience of Rev. A. Merrill.

Christian Review, July, 1861.—1. Platonism and Christianity. 2. How did the Anabaptists administer Baptism? 3. Motley's History of the United Netherlands. 4. The Relation of Adam to his Posterity. 5. Interdependence of Christian Doctrines. 6. Sir William Hamilton's Lectures on Logic. 7. The National Crisis.

Bibliotheca Sacra and Biblical Repository, July, 1861.—1. Was the Apostle Paul the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews? 2. A Sketch of Hindu Philosophy. 3. Some Remarks on an Expression in Acts xxv. 26.—A Monograph. 4. Method in Sermons. 5. God's Ownership of the Sea. 6. Notices of New Publications.

North American Review, July, 1861.—1. The Public Lands of the United States. 2. Mrs. Jane Turell. 3. The Venerable Bede. 4. Bouvier's Law Dictionary and Institutes. 5. Life of Major Andre. 6. French Critics and Criticism.—M. Taine. 7. Burial. 8. The Attic Bee. 9. Francis Bacon. 10. Michigan. 11. New Books on Medicine. 12. The Right of Secession. 13. Hugh Latimer.

Presbyterian Quarterly Review, July, 1861.—1. The Ter-Centenary of the Meeting of the First General Assembly. 2. Æsthetics. 3. The Divine Life in the Church. 4. The General Assembly of 1861. 5. The Rationale of Prayer. 6. The Early History of the Presbyterian Church in Missouri. 7. The State of the Country. 8. The Gorilla Book. 9. Literary and Theological Intelligence.

Congregational Quarterly, July, 1861.—1. Nathaniel Emmons. 2. English Congregational Institutions. 3. A Lesson from the Past: Clerical Patriotism in New England. 4. Paul's Method of Church Extension. 5. Congregational Churches and Ministers in Windham county, Conn. 6. First Congregational Church, Detroit, Mich. 7. A Historical Document: Illustrating a not yet obsolete aspect of New England Theology. 8. A Hymn of A. D. 1150. 9. A Memorial of Rev. Samuel Austin Worcester. 10. Congregational Churches and Ministers in Portage and Summit Counties, Ohio. 11. The Primitive "Ecclesia."

Danville Quarterly Review, June, 1861.—1. The Claim of Emanuel Swedenborg to Divine Revelation. 2. The Nature and Import of a Christian Profession. 3. Ulfilas. 4. Cuba, from a Recent View. 5. State of the Country. 6. Bibliography.

This is the second number of a new Quarterly established at Danville, Kentucky, under the editorial control of Dr. Robert J. Breckenridge and the other professors of the Danville Theological Seminary, the professors of Center College at Danville, and several ministers, of whom one is Rev. Robert W. Landis, author of "The Immortality of the Soul, and the Final Condition

of the Wicked." The first article institutes a very searching investigation of Swedenborg's illumination, exhibiting the author's peculiar powers of analysis, and furnishing results worthy of consultation by inquirers into Swedenborg's claims.

In the fifth and sixth articles Dr. Breckenridge brings his great powers into full use in a manly effort of Christian patriotism. He maintains, with a great effect in his peculiar position, the cause of our country against the great rebellion that forms so much of the history of the present year. He exposes the enormity of the "reign of terror" established by secessionism, and the real despotism by which the South attained her boasted "unanimity." He unfolds the duty of the government to assume its natural attitude, defend loyal citizens, and subdue rebellion. He exhibits the insuperable difficulties which would arise to the revolutionists, even upon a secession triumph, and shows how truly all their own aims are defeated by the war into which they have plunged. He delineates the wild miscalculations of the secessionists as to a "divided North" and a "united South," and the futility of their visions as to expansion, free trade, boundless prosperity, and cotton monopoly. He traces the steps of the fatal revolution in Virginia, by which a Union Convention, elected by fifty thousand majority, was menaced into secession, the state transferred to the confederacy by a self-appointed committee, long before the people, overawed by armed troops, had passed through the forms of voting upon the question. He loudly proclaims the fact that there is a broad isthmus of mountain country slanting down southwestwardly from Eastern Virginia to Alabama, cutting the secession territory nearly in two, inhabited by a population of hardy highlanders, who are true to the Union, and need only arms from the government and a Robert Anderson for a leader to rally by thousands in behalf of the constitution and government.

The late election in Kentucky announces the cheering fact that she is true to the Union, reveals the factious and violent nature of the secession *minority* which is overriding the South, and gives assurance that Dr. B. and men like him are winning a high place in the future gratitude of their country for their noble stand in the Border States at this crisis of violence and treason.

We give the following touch upon the "United South:"

> Such a line of conduct was adopted as made the action of every Southern State isolated, and this policy was pursued in such a manner as to make a resort to violence necessary in securing unanimity in any state, and as to make the principles of despotism supplant the principles of freedom in every state. The seeds of utter defeat were thickly sown in the first open movement of the conspiracy. To-day, instead of a completely united, there is a thoroughly divided South. And

we feel perfectly satisfied, that if every arm was removed from the fifteen slave states, and every man in them all was allowed freely to choose his side, and then the whole population was equally and completely armed, and the question fought out, the result would be the suppression of the revolt. Born of Southern parents, in a Southern state—never having owed or professed allegiance to any other government than that of the United States and that of the Commonwealth of Kentucky—never having even resided, during a life far from short, except temporarily and for brief periods, out of the South, and having been obliged by our course of life to acquire a large acquaintance with the people, the institutions, and the interests of the South, the opinion we have expressed may be fairly weighed against a large amount of clamor. It would, we are convinced, be vouched as true and sound, on the conditions stated, by more than half a million of Southern men, ready upon fair occasion, and if need required, to uphold it with their lives.—P. 304.

Pricking of some of the Southern balloons:

If the whole of the slave states were united, as the result of this war, in a separate Confederacy, all the ideas of the future expansion of the new nation, which have occupied so large a space in the thoughts of men, might be surrendered at once. One year would not elapse, in all probability, before an alliance of all nations interested in the vast and increasing commerce which must pass across the isthmus of Panama, and among the islands of the Caribbean sea, and across the waters of the Gulf of Mexico, would effectually close the question of expansion for the Confederate States. In like manner, the question of the slave-trade, to the free prosecution of which so much importance continues to be attached in the most earnest of the seceded states, may be considered definitively at an end let this revolt terminate as it may. In like manner, the doctrine of free trade, in favor of which the doctrine of secession took its rise in South Carolina, and which has been continually and conspicuously held forth as one of the priceless blessings to be secured by the revolt, is utterly subverted by one of the earliest acts of the Confederate Congress, imposing a duty on exports—a form of obstructing commerce forbidden by the Federal Constitution. And the boasted career of incalculable wealth which secession promised to inaugurate, in the first year of its existence is signalized by the charity of the people of Illinois sending corn free of charge to the starving poor of Mississippi; while, if the war shall continue till the Confederate States conquer the United States, their first year of peace will exhibit the heaviest ratable public debt, perhaps, in the world, and the most burdensome taxation ever borne by an agricultural people, and a bankruptcy as absolute as the golden dreams of secession were preposterous. To make but one suggestion more, it would, perhaps, have been impossible for any madness less destructive than this secession war to have seriously disturbed for a century to come the near approach which the South was making to the most productive and extensive monopoly ever possessed by any people in the products of the earth, in its growing control of the cotton market of the world. At present, so imminent is the peril into which this boundless source of wealth has been brought, not only for a few seasons, but it may be in permanence, that the armed intervention of the great maritime and manufacturing nations of the world, for the deliverance and protection of the cotton of the Confederate States, is among the desperate hopes to which their situation gives expression.—P. 306.

The result in prospect:

"To all human appearance, the establishment of the independence of the Confederate States by the present war is impossible. How much blood may be shed, how much treasure may be squandered, how much suffering may be inflicted, how much ruin, in ten thousand ways, may be brought upon millions of people, and how near to the brink of destruction the country may be brought, can now be known only to the Ruler of the universe. But so far as any object avowed, or even conceivable, which ever was, or can be, proposed as a benefit to the Southern States, was expected to be promoted by secession, this war renders that object unattainable. We do not propose to enter into discussions from a military point of view, nor do we underrate the difficulties of every kind which the General

Government has to encounter. But it seems to us perfectly inevitable, that without the special interposition of God for the destruction of this great nation, the certainty is complete—that the independence of the Confederate States cannot be established as the result of this war. In the degree that this judgment may be supposed to be just, two conclusions, both of them of great weight, follow. The first is, the wickedness and folly not only of the revolt itself, but of the whole spirit and method in which it has been prosecuted; the second is the certainty that the fact itself, in proportion as it becomes manifest, must weaken, throughout the whole South, the purpose to prosecute a conflict so ruinous and so bootless. No doubt there are wars which may be prosecuted to the last extremity; and, no doubt, many thousands of secessionists may have persuaded themselves that this is such a war, or may have so deeply wrecked all other hopes that only this desperate stake is left to them. But the dictates of reason and morality—the judgment of mankind—and the irreversible decree of posterity, is different here. This is a revolt whose complete success would not have justified the war into which it has plunged a great country, and therefore the certainty of its failure robs its continuance of all pretext. And such, at no distant period, may be expected to be the judgment of the great mass of the Southern people; and, by consequence, their peaceful and cordial return to their loyalty, and to the exercise of all their rights as citizens of the United States, instead of being a preposterous dream, is not only the most probable, but apparently the certain result of a wise and courageous treatment of affairs.—P. 303.

United Presbyterian Quarterly Review, July, 1861.—1. The Ministerial Office. 2. Sloan on Color and Slavery. 3. The Hebrew Servant. 4. The Ruling Elder. 5. Early Presbyterianism in Scotland, and the General Assembly of 1560. 6. The Great Rebellion traced to its Source. 7. Sabbath-schools: their Origin and Progress. 8. The Third General Assembly.

New Englander, July, 1861.—1. The First Document of Genesis. 2. Rev. Professor Fisher's Discourse Commemorative of Professor Josiah W. Gibbs, LL.D. 3. Theology of Wesley.—Reply to the Methodist Quarterly Review. 4. Private Character of Thomas Jefferson. 5. The Duties to their Country in the Present Crisis of those who remain at Home while their Brethren go down to the Battle. 6. The Ancient Christian Liturgies and Worship. 7. Professor Park's Memoir of Dr. Emmons. 8. The Southern Apology for Secession.

The article in reply to the Methodist Quarterly Review is written in a decidedly better tone than its predecessor under a similar title from the same hand. There is less of austere self-assumption; the writer seems to admit that the editor of this review can furnish him some specimens of unequivocal English, and there is a plenty of wavering and contradiction to show that he is conscious of the awkwardness of his position. With a candor that we shall duly honor, he frankly admits our claim, that our extracts from Fletcher do contain the main positions of Dr. Taylor; but he maintains that Dr. Taylor has given those positions an elucidation more elaborate and complete than is anywhere else to be found in Theology. That we have not denied, and very cheerfully accord. It is not a bootless discussion where one important issue is brought to a settlement. To us it seems just as clear that Mr. Wesley's views are by us stated with as demonstrative an accuracy as Fletcher's.

Nor do we despair of making it evident, even to the reviewer's own mind, that he is unconsciously engaged in an elaborate attempt to assign to our theology a false relative position, both in regard to the elder Calvinism and the younger or quasi-Calvinism of his own school. What he is pleased to style our "sensitiveness," is simply a prompt determination on our part, that however the minds of the readers of the New Englander may be by him filled with erroneous impressions in regard to our relations, their mistaken views shall exist, not because their full exposure is not on record, but because it is not within their conscious reach.

English Reviews.

LONDON REVIEW, July, 1861.—1. Novels and Novelists. 2. The Benedictines in England. 3. Marnix de St. Aldegonde. 4. Dixon's Personal History of Bacon. 5. Recent Poetry. 6. The Elder Pliny. 7. Theology of the Ascension. 8. Froude's Henry VIII. 9. Popular Education.

JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE AND BIBLICAL RECORD, July, 1861.—1. The Two Records of our Lord's Temptation—Character of their Inspiration. 2. On the Epistles of St. Peter. 3. The History of the World, as Foretold in the Book of Genesis. 4. The Genealogy of Christ. 5. New Translation of the Book of Job. 6. Correspondence—"Essays and Reviews."

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, April, 1861.—1. On Tammūz and the Worship of Men among the Ancient Babylonians. 2. Why should we Pray for Fair Weather? 3. Notes on Industrial Training in National Schools. 4. Bennett's Congregational Lectures. 5. Social Life of the Eighteenth Century—Mrs. Delany and Mrs. Piozzi. 6. The Codex Alexandrinus. 7. The Future of the Papacy and of Europe. 8. Biblical Cosmogony. 9. Oxford University Sermons. 10. Dogma in relation to "Essays and Reviews."——*July.*—1. Froude's History of England. 2. Joshua Watson. 3. The Patriarchs of the West, and the Princes of the Captivity. 4. Hook on the Early English Church. 5. Churton's Prize Essay on the Septuagint. 6. The Abbè Desgenettes: his Life and Works. 7. Professor Powell's Essay. 8. Owen on Dogmatic Theology. 9. Associated Religious Efforts. 10. Modern Studies of the Eastern Church.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July, 1861.—1. The Life and Letters of Schleiermacher. 2. The Salmon Fisheries of England and Wales. 3. The Critical Theory and Writings of H. Taine. 4. Mr. Mill on Representative Government. 5. The Countess of Albany. 6. Equatorial Africa and its Inhabitants. 7. Mr. Buckle's History of Civilization in England. 8. Christian Creeds and their Defenders. 9. Cotemporary Literature.

ECLECTIC REVIEW, July, 1861.—1. John Angell James. 2. Thomas Carlyle and his Critics. 3. The Doctrine of the Skull. 4. Kelly on the Covenants. 5. Congregational Chapel Extension. 6. Lays and Legends of Cromwell and the Nonconformist Heroes. 7. Church Fiction. 8. Notes of the Month.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, July, 1861.—1. Popular Education in England. 2. Literary Remains of Albert Durer. 3. Carthage. 4. The Novels of

Fernan Caballero. 5. Watson's Life of Porson. 6. The Countess of Albany, the last Stuarts, and Alfieri. 7. Buckle's Civilization in Spain and Scotland. 8. Du Chaillu's Adventures in Equatorial Africa. 9. Church Reformation in Italy. 10. Count Cavour.

The following extracts give some idea of the tenor of the treatment of Mr. Buckle:

It must be confessed that Mr. Buckle is not a writer who gains upon us by a further acquaintance with his work. His first volume, published nearly five years ago, excited, and in some degree gratified, the curiosity of the public by a lively and perspicuous style, by a considerable display of reading, by great hardihood of dogmatical speculation, and by a lofty design to "create the science of history." It was received with a degree of interest due rather to the apparent courage and ability of the writer, whose name then first appeared in English literature, than to the results at which he had actually arrived.

But Mr. Buckle's aversion to the doctrines and institutions of Christianity is still more unphilosophical and unjust in a writer professing to trace the modern civilization of Europe from general causes. Be it for good or for evil, the modern world is what Christianity has made it. Mr. Buckle sees only the dark side of the picture—the shades of superstition, the fires of persecution, the excesses of enthusiasm; he does not perceive that the same power which he execrates and reviles for its occasional abuses is the dayspring of the nations, and that wherever the law of Christianity prevails human society rises immeasurably above the limits of the pagan, the heathen, or the Mohammedan world.

Stated in these general terms, there is some ingenuity and some truth in Mr. Buckle's sketch of the History of Scotland. It is scarcely possible to overrate the rude poverty of this kingdom in the Middle Ages. The royal burgh of Dunfermline was a poor village of wooden huts, and the entire population of Glasgow, as late as the middle of the fifteenth century, did not exceed 1500 persons; nay, the inhabitants of the capital, in the reign of Robert II., were about 16,000. Skilled labor was hardly known, and life and property were eminently insecure. Having drawn this gloomy, but probably true picture of the barbarous state of Scotland in the fifteenth century, it would have been no more than just to inquire what it was that, even in that age, gave Scotland a claim to rank among the civilized nations of Europe? We reply, without hesitation, that it was mainly her great ecclesiastical foundations. In those dreadful ages when law had no authority and wealth no protection but the sword, the monasteries and secular clergy kept alive the light of civilization and learning, and afforded the only asylum of order and peace. Mr. Buckle himself says that "the Church was the best avenue to wealth, so that it was entered by peaceful men for the purpose of security, and by ambitious men as the truest means of achieving distinction:" but he fails to perceive that such a body, protected from outrage by what he calls superstition, was in fact the guardian of civilization itself in a barbarous age. The more barbarous he makes out the country to have been, the more essential is the service rendered by the Church.

The Reviewer in the following extract deals with Mr. Buckle's copious extracts from the sermons of the Scotch preachers in a method to be expected from a Scotch *moderate*. He of course leaves us in doubt whether, like a Universalist, he disbelieves in a hell, or whether, like a high-bred gentlewoman, he believes hell exists, but is not fit to be mentioned "to ears polite." If the former, with what propriety is he an advocate of the Established Church? If the latter, how is his consistency, not to say his common sense, to be defended? Our own dealing with Mr. Buckle upon this point will be found in our *notice* of his book:

Mr. Buckle's blunder consists in quoting these works and these events as in a peculiar manner characteristic of Scotland; they belong to the history of religious enthusiasm all over the world; they are the very basis of the ascetic practices of the Romish Church, of the monastic orders, and of the celibacy of the clergy; they occur with peculiar force in every country where Calvinistic tenets have been strictly held; they manifested themselves with ridiculous violence in England during the Great Rebellion; they reached their acme in the theocratic commonwealths of New England; and they prevail at this very instant, in spite of the noonday sunshine of modern civilization and physical science, in the disgusting excesses of Mormonism and the Agapemone. Nay, they prevail not only in the frantic excitement of an American revival, but in the heart of London, in Exeter Hall, and in the practices of a considerable portion of English society. Any writer who may choose to misapply an industry equal to that of Mr. Buckle in ransacking the records of credulity and fanaticism throughout the world, would have no difficulty in accumulating a similar collection of the aberrations of faith from every nation under heaven. Fanaticism is of no country; it is an overgrowth of the human mind, but it may sometimes spring from the same root as the noblest and truest aspirations of human nature.

British Quarterly Review, July, 1861.—1. The Vocation of the Church. 2. Schleswig—The Danish German Question. 3. Revolutions in English History. 4. Flower Life. 5. The Marriage Law of Great Britain. 6. Help's Spanish Conquest. 7. The Government Machine. 8. The Civil War in America. 9. National Education. 10. Count Cavour. 11. Our Epilogue on Affairs and Books.

The eighth article is a somewhat discursive review of American affairs, its apparent object being to defend the position assumed by Great Britain in relation to our national troubles. The writer, of course, finds much to condemn and little to approve among us. Our foreign ministers are, in his estimation, a sad set of bunglers; and our President, though "immeasurably superior to that feeble and false public character, the late President Buchanan," is scarcely better, and what is deplorable, has "no man of leading ability or high repute in his cabinet." Though inclined to despair for the future of our country, the reviewer's English heart is evidently not overburdened with sorrow. His opinion as to our condition and prospects may be gathered from the following:

The Confederate States of the South, however, have been for more than six months in existence. They are acquiring fresh adhesions; they possess an army; they have vessels of war; they have an organization which they call a government, and which is obeyed; they have acquired force, consistency, and cohesion, and they are enabled not merely to plan operations but to carry on successful war, and under these circumstances we have no option but to acknowledge them as belligerants.

. . . The Southern Confederation has now strength enough to oppose itself to nineteen millions of men in the Free States, and governments like England and France, with ships in the Atlantic, Gulf of Mexico, and Caribbean Sea must feel themselves constrained to acknowledge the belligerent rights of such a power. It may be that the people of the North may gain victories over the South, but it is not likely that they can subjugate it to their sway. It is much more likely that some ambitious and energetic general, or military dictator, may rise up after a period of violent or chronic anarchy, as we suggested in April, who will seek to establish a great Gulf Empire.

The following illustrates the reviewer's ample intelligence in regard to American affairs, and assists us in our estimate of his opinions:

Fort Pickens, which commands the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico, is also in possession of the Southern Confederation, which possesses Fort Monroe in Virginia, Forts M'Henry and Washington in Maryland, a large fortress on the Delaware, and the Arsenal in New Albany and Kentucky.

The readers of the British Quarterly may soon learn that the confederates have possession of Boston, and are preparing to attack Massachusetts in the same state.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, July, 1861.—1. The Arrow-headed Inscriptions. 2. Aphorisms on the Style of Preaching adapted to the Times. 3. False Theories of the Atonement—M'Leod Campbell and Baldwin Brown. 4. System and Scripture—Dr. V. Hofmann. 5. Church Life Historically Viewed. 6. Schæffer's Future Prospects of Toleration. 7. Introduction to the Epistle to the Romans. 8. Scripture and Geology—Present State of the Question between them. 9. Calvin and Beza. 10. Foreign Theological Reviews.

French Reviews.

Revue des Deux Mondes, Juin 1, 1861.—1. Valvèdre, derniere partie. 2. Louvois et Saint-Cyr. 3. Elpis Melena et Garibaldi. 4. Economie Rurale de la Belgique.—II.—La Campine et la Hesbaye. 5. Saint-Domingue et les Nouveaux Intérêts Maritimes de L'Espagne. 6. Un Sculpteur Contemporain et le Principe des Concours. 7. Des Crises Financières et de L'Organisation du Crédit en France. 8. Les Chemins de fer Espagnols et la Traversée des Pyrénées. 9. Revue Musicale.—Les Concerts de la Dernière Saison. 10. Chronique de la Quinzaine, Histoire Politique et Littéraire. 11. Essais et Notices.—Affaires du Danemark. 12. Bulletin Bibliographique. —— *Juin* 15.—1. Le Prince Eugène. 2. L'Angleterre et la Vie Anglaise.—XI.—La Pantomime, la Comédie et les Acteurs dans le Théatre Anglais Contemporain. 3. La Peinture et la Sculpture au Salon de 1861. 4. Une Ame Chrétienne dans la Vie du Monde.—M. Swetchine. 5. Elsie Venner, Episode de la Vie Américaine, première partie. 6. Les Affaires de Syrie d'Après les Papiers Anglais—I.—La Convention du 5 Septembre 1860 et l'Expedition Francaise. 7. Chronique de la Quinzaine, Histoire Politique et Littéraire. 8. Revue Musicale. 9. Essais et Notices.—Curiosités Historiques et Littéraires. 10. Les Peintres Scandinaves a l'Exposition. 11. Bulletin Bibliographique. —— *Juillet* 1.—1. L'Insurrection Chinoise, son Origine et ses Progrès.—I.—Les Sociétés Secrètes, les Premières Campagnes des Insurgés et les Deux Empereurs du Céleste Empire. 2. Les Assemblées Provinciales en France Avant 1789.—I.—Les Réformes de Turgot et de Necker. 3. Elsie Venner, Episode de la Vie Américaine, dernière partie. 4. Alexis de Tocqueville et la Science Politique au XIX Siècle. 5. Le Barreau Moderne, sa Constitution et ses Franchises. 6. Velasquez au Musée de Madrid. 7. Des Sociétés Foncières en France et de Leur Role dans les Travaux Publics. 8. De Quelques Erreurs du Gout Contemporain en Matière D'Art. 9. Chronique de la Quinzaine, Histoire Politique et Littéraire. 10. Affaires D'Espagne. 11. Essais et Notices —Progrès de la Domination Francaise au Sénégal. 12. Bulletin Bibliographique.——*Juillet* 15, 1861.—1. Trop Menu le Fil Casse, Scènes de

la Vie Russe. 2. L'Italie, Notes de Voyage, première partie. 3. L'Insurrection Chinoise, Son Origine et Ses Progrès.—II.—Triomphe des Insurgés, le Nouveau Roi Céleste et sa Doctrine Religieuse, dernière partie. 4. Roger Bacon, sa Vie et son Œuvre, d'Après des Documens Nouveaux. 5. Les Assemblées Provinciales en France avant 1789.—II.—Le Berri et la Haute-Guienne. 6. Lord Aberdeen, Souvenirs et Papiers Diplomatiques. 7. Une Princesse de Savoie a la Cour de Louis XIV. 8. Chronique de la Quinzaine, Histoire Politique et Littéraire. 9. Les Sopranistes.—I.—Velluti. 10. Essais et Notices. 11. Bulletin Bibliographique.

German Reviews.

Jahrbucher der Biblischen Wissenschaft. Elftes Jahrbuch, 1860–1861.—70. Neue beiträge zur Hebräischen sprachforschung. 71. Ueber die zusammensezung des B. der Salomonischen Sprüche. 72. Ueber das Dramatische bei den Propheten, und Mikha c. 6 ff. 73. Ueber das schauen und sehen des Unsichtbaren nach der Bibel. 74. Die weissagungen Christus und die des Apokalyptikers. 75. Ueber taufe und beschneidung im Apostolischen zeitalter. 76. Das verhältnisz der Biblischen wissenschaft zu unsrer zeit, ihren verirrungen und ihren bedürfnissen. 77. Uebersicht der 1860–1861 erschienenen schriften zur Biblischen wissenschaft.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken, Jahrgang, 1861, zweites Heft.—*Abhandlungen:* 1. Bleek, Erklärung von Jesaja, 52, 13–53, 12; 2. Richter, die Kindertaufe, ihr Wesen und Recht. *Gedanken und Bemerkungen:* 1. Steitz der classische und der johanneische Gebrauch von ἐκεῖνος. 2. Gurlitt, kleine Beiträge zur Erklärung des Evangeliums Matthäi. *Recensionen:* 1. Pressel, Ambrosius Blaurers Leben und Schriften; rec. von Ullmann. 2. Maier, Commentar über den erften Brief Pauli an die Korinther; rec. von Holtzmann. *Kirchliches:* Mühlhäuszer, die Unionskatechismen. *Miscellen:* Programm der Haager Gesellschaft zur Bertheidigung der Christlichen Religion auf das Jahr 1860.——*Jahrgang* 1861 *drittes Heft.—Abhandlungen:* 1. Lübker, Propyläen zu einer Theologie des class. Ulterthums. 2. Piper, verschollene und aufgefundene Denkmäler und Handschriften. 3. Gerlach, die Gefangenschaft und Bekehrung Manasse's. *Gedanken und Bemerkungen:* 1. Ullmann, ein geistliches Lied Friedrich's III., Kurfürsten von der Pfalz. 2. Schneckenburger, Beiträge zur Erklärung des Hebräerbriefs, mitgetheilt von Riehm. *Recensionen:* 1. Bischer und Hagenbach, Schriften zur Geschichte der Universität Basel; angez. von Hagenbach. 2. Otto, die geschichtlichen Berhältnisse der Pastoralbriefe; rec. von Weisz.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Evenings with the Doctrines. By Nehemiah Adams, D. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 12mo., pp. 415. 1861.

Whatever may be the south-side delinquencies of Dr. Adams's pen—and we think them *valde deflenda*—when the exposition of truth is his business, he performs it with clearness and force.

Where he is true, he is excellent; where he is erroneous, he is ingenious. He has an unusual power of presenting the truth in concrete form, and bringing theology into the sphere of practical sense. The only difficulty is that his system is sometimes a little too arbitrary for even *his* successful management; in which case he appears to us, though probably not to himself, skillful in flinging out of sight the difficulties he would fail to solve.

Thus, in the matter of "election," which he pronounces "confessedly a great deep," he is careful to present the *sunny side* of God's arbitrary grace, but leaves in the background the *night side* of God's *reprobating* decree. "Election, instead of being our enemy, with an austere, forbidding look, is our friend." O certainly; election has a very pretty face, especially for those who imagine themselves to enjoy its "sovereign" smile; but how looks reprobation? Dr. A. takes care to indorse the maxim that "God foreordains whatsoever comes to pass;" and so both the sins and the damnation of the reprobate, inasmuch as they "come to pass," are "*foreordained*" of God! He tells us it is "decreed that we shall be perfectly voluntary in our repentance and faith;" and so, *per contra*, it must be decreed that reprobates shall be "perfectly voluntary" in their impenitence and sin. Here comes the old eternal difficulty, the millstone on the neck of Calvinism, which no ingenuity can fling off.

Dr. A. presents in five points the "sunny side" of election; we will present what he has carefully omitted, the parallel "night side" of reprobation:

SUNNY SIDE.	NIGHT SIDE.
"1. All men if left to themselves will continue to sin, and therefore will perish.	1. It is foreordained that all men "left to themselves shall continue to sin," and then that they shall be eternally damned for the foreordained sin.
"2. God has resolved that he will rescue a part of mankind from perdition by persuading and enabling them to do their duty.	2. God has foreordained that the part not rescued shall not do their duty, and that for doing as foreordained they shall go to perdition.
"3. His influence on those who are saved is in perfect consistency with their freedom.	3. The freedom of those who are damned is foreordained to be so exercised as that such damnation shall be the result. Whatever sin they commit, it is decreed that it "shall be perfectly voluntary."
"4. No injustice is done to those who are left; salvation is consistently offered to them, and their state is no worse than though all, like them, had perished.	4. No injustice is done to those who are damned for committing the sins God foreordained; "salvation is consistently offered to them" by him who has decreed that they shall voluntarily reject it.
"5. God purposed from all eternity to do that which he has actually done and is to do."—P. 245.	5. And God foreordained from all eternity that the sinner should be damned for doing what was foreordained that he should do.

Of what use in explaining our responsibility for a foreordained act is it for Mr. A. to tell us that "it is decreed that we shall be perfectly voluntary in" it; that "we shall act as of our own accord?" Is a previously decreed volition any more responsible than a previously decreed intellection, or muscular spasmodic motion? If God decrees my necessary damnation, he may as well secure it through a hempen cord, an electric shock, a muscular movement, or any other necessary thing, medium, or operation, as a necessary volition. God may as well secure my damnation without anything voluntary, as secure it by securing the voluntary. Securing my volition in order that he may secure my voluntary sin and consequent damnation, is about the poorest piece of sneaking despotism that one could attribute to an omnipotent devil.

Nevertheless there is in this work a large amount of clear elucidation of religious truth. Nor is it easy to find in the same compass the doctrines of religion as held by our Calvinistic friends better presented.

The Pulpit of the American Revolution; or, the Political Sermons of the Period of 1776. With a Historical Introduction, Notes, and Illustrations. By JOHN WINGATE THORNTON, A. M. 12mo., pp. 537. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: Geo. S. Blanchard. 1861.

Our history thus far presents two revolutions: the one of 1776, whose corner-stone was *freedom;* the one of 1861, whose corner-stone, according to the dictum of the eloquent Vice-President of the new "confederation," is *slavery.* This last revolution, strangely caricaturing the first, in attempt rolls back the wheels of human progress; we shall see whether or not it be one of the revolutions that "never go back."

If any man doubts whether or not the foundations of that first revolution were laid deep in the principles of natural right and eternal justice, proclaimed under the most solemn sanctions from the most holy place, let him read the magnificent sermon delivered by Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, in the West Church, Boston, on "the Lord's day after the 30th of January," (the anniversary of the death of Charles I.,) 1750. So early was "the morning gun" of the revolution fired; so long, as well as deeply, were the people of New England indoctrinated in the principles of religious and civil liberty before the first blow was struck. The first alarm came from the pulpit. The very first words of Mayhew's preface sound as if they were written during our last past ten years. What an outcry has been raised during that period at the various pulpit

testimonies against the sin of slavery, as being "*political preaching!*" See now how Mayhew answers it:

It is hoped that but few will think the subject of it an improper one to be discoursed on in the pulpit, under a notion that this is *preaching politics* instead of Christ. However, to remove all prejudices of this sort, I beg it may be remembered that "all Scripture is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." Why, then, should not those parts of Scripture which relate to *civil government* be examined and explained from the desk as well as others? Obedience to the civil magistrate is a Christian duty; and if so, why should not the nature, grounds, and extent of it be considered in a Christian assembly? Besides, if it be said that it is out of character for a Christian minister to meddle with such a subject, this censure will at last fall upon the holy apostles. They write upon it in their epistles to Christian Churches; and surely it cannot be deemed either criminal or impertinent to attempt an explanation of their doctrine.

The sermon itself is a noble specimen of Saxon English, declaring doctrines well worthy our noble mother tongue. Following Mayhew are Dr. Chauncey in 1766, Mr. Cooke, 1770, Mr. Gordon, 1774, Dr. Langdon, 1775, Mr. West, 1776, Mr. Payson, 1778, Mr. Howard, 1780. Last of all, pealing like a victor's bugle, comes old Dr. Stiles, proclaiming "The United States exalted to glory and honor." This last discourse, like a crown, surmounts the work. It is an honorable monument to the eloquence, the patriotism, the foresight, the piety, and the enlarged Christian liberality of this memorable President of Yale. The predictions of the venerable preacher, though falsified in many of the details, have received in spirit, and as a whole, a wonderful fulfillment. His programme of the then denominational future possesses for us a historical interest, besides furnishing an illustration of the unexpected turn events will take. Says Dr. Stiles:

The United States will embosom all the religious sects or denominations in Christendom. Here they may all enjoy their whole respective systems of worship and Church government complete. Of these, next to the Presbyterians, the Church of England will hold a distinguished and principal figure. They will soon furnish themselves with a bishop in Virginia and Maryland, and perhaps another to the northward, to ordain their clergy, give confirmation, superintend and govern their Churches—the main body of which will be in Virginia and Maryland—besides a diaspora or interspersion in all the other states. The *Unitas Fratrum* for above thirty years past have had Moravian bishops in America, etc. . . . The Baptists, the Friends, the Lutherans, the Romanists, are all considerable bodies in all their dispersions through the states. The Dutch and Gallic and German Reformed or Calvinistic Churches among us I consider as Presbyterian, differing from us in nothing of moment save in language. There is a considerable body of these in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and at Ebenezer, in Georgia. There is a Greek Church, brought from Smyrna; but I think it falls below these states. There are *Westleians*, Mennonists, and others, all which make a very inconsiderable amount in comparison with those who will give the religious complexion to America, which for the southern parts will be Episcopal, the northern, Presbyterian. All religious denominations will be independent of one another, as much as the Greek and Armenian patriarchates in the East; and having, on account of religion, no superiority as to secular powers and civil immunities, they will cohabit together in harmony, and, I hope, with a most generous catholicism and benevolence.

To this the editor furnishes the following judicious note. It illustrates the history of the "Westleians" here enumerated:

Twenty-one religious denominations are enumerated in the census of the United States for 1850, of which, counting the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregational, and Dutch Reformed, who are named in the order of their numerical ratio as of the Congregational type, there were 29,607 churches; and of all others, including Episcopal, Roman Catholic, Christian, and Friends, 8,045 churches—an aggregate of 37,652 churches—showing the ratio of the former to the whole as about 4 to 5. The total of church accommodations was 14,270,139, of which 10,664,656 were of the Congregational type as above, and 3,605,483 of the others—showing the ratio of the former to the whole as about 3 to 4, or 74.6 per cent. of the whole. The Methodists had 13,338 churches; Baptists, 9,360; Congregationalists, 1,706; Episcopalians, 1,461; Roman Catholics, 1,227; Lutherans, 1,221. They are unequally distributed over the Union, and the relation of denominational to moral, educational, and social statistics offers a most inviting and instructive inquiry.

We are furnished in these pages with striking proofs of the contrast between the Revolution of 1776 and the pseudo-revolution of 1861, in the character of the favorite authors quoted in the argument. They are such as Locke, Milton, Harrington, Sidney, the fathers of the theory of English liberty, who founded just government upon the rights of *man as man*. Not in such text-books can we find the servile doctrines of Professor Bledsoe, Fitzhugh, and Dr. Smith, or the low politics of a Stephen A. Douglas and others, who have placed the alternatives of free soil and slavery upon a level of indifferentism.

The volume before us is both a literary curiosity and "a book for the times." The engravings and the fac-similes of the old-fashioned print are in excellent keeping with the nature of the work. The editor has done his part in a true sympathy with his subject. We rejoice, as we turn its pages, that in our own labors at this day we are, individually, maintaining the same principles of civil and religious freedom which Mayhew proclaimed, and in whose triumph Stiles so eloquently exulted.

History, Biography, and Topography.

History of Civilization in England. By Henry Thomas Buckle. Vol. 2. 8vo., pp. 476. New York: Appleton & Co. 1861.

Mr. Buckle, as we understand him, is a gentleman of means and leisure, endowed with a taste for omnivorous reading, and tending in thought to the principles of that school whose deity is *Physik*, whose demon is *Metaphysik*, and who venerate a square-built, muscular imp, endowed with a good stomach, and possessing a *calculating machine* in the place where there should be a *conscience*, for their *Ethik*. At an age when physical energy has not yet given place

to mental power, Mr. Buckle felt the promptings of a boundless ambition to take a survey of the history of the world, in which the great truths should shine perspicuously forth, that physical influences are all-powerful and moral nothing; in which it should stand demonstrated that the grand enemy of man is *superstition*, and the grand emancipator, *skepticism;* meaning always, by *superstition*, all notions of miracle or special revelation; and by *skepticism* the rejection of everything that Mr. Buckle does not believe. Of this stupendous project we do not know that there were to be any limits. Three volumes, noble octavo, at any rate, constitute the introduction; what the book itself would be, we have no trigonometry that can measure.

Mr. Buckle's first volume appeared, and was so generally noticed, that its author, from a very ordinary animal, became a lion. Such at the present day is the chivalry of the Church militant, that any champion of infidelity who can stand out as a mark of tolerable magnitude will rouse a small army of assailants, and grow famous as a point of concentric attack. A premium of factitious importance is thus conferred by the zeal of the advocates of established opinions upon their opponents. The solid body which floats *with* a current, floats as silent as the waves; whereas the obstacle that *resists* the flow is sure, like Mr. Buckle, to make a noise in the world. Had this gentleman written an essay, or a history, large or small, to show the power of moral causes; had he furnished an orthodox essay on religion or ethics, his writings would have possessed no merit sufficient to call out a full article in any existing quarterly periodical. There is wanting every power of thought or style, of accuracy of narration, of truthfulness of view, of grasp of reasoning, or of brilliancy of language, to rescue Mr. Buckle from the ranks of ordinary intelligent men of large reading.

The crude magnitude of his plan has a consistent counterpart in the crudeness of the execution. The present one third of his Introduction to a History of English Civilization is entirely occupied with Spain and Scotland. Between these two countries Mr. Buckle detects the unexpected parallelism, that both by physical conformation are inclined to superstition, and both the victims of religious despotism; and it is to proclaim this parallelism that his stately octavo was born. Now, in spite of Mr. Buckle's ingenuity, we are compelled to think that he has about reversed the entire system of facts. Spain, far south of the Pyrenees, is a magnificent sunny country, where heat and drought compel a large amount of lax indolence, and where a fertile soil tempts the people to luxury and looseness. In

a country, however, where the natural tendency is to the sensual, and to a disregard of the spiritual, imperial power has historically introduced a foreign domination, which has inflicted, by the most cruel despotism, the most thorough and scorching fanaticism in the world, thereby reducing the nation, in spite of all its noble heritage of climate, position, and honorable history, to the lowest rank of Christian nations. Scotland, on the other hand, one of the poorest countries, naturally, of Christendom, where, to a late period, a scanty population rescued itself from want or barbarism by a determined and intelligent industry, resisting and expelling the control of a foreign religious domination, and establishing a religious democracy where the ministry, being denied the claims of a priesthood, spring from and are ruled by the popular mass, has, by her own energies, spread education and a high moral culture through all her population, and given to the world a splendid array of brilliant names in every kind of intellectual supremacy. The theology of Scotland has stood, at least, upon a par with any other department. Undoubtedly, Mr. Buckle can show that the bleak Calvinism of Scotland has given a hard, we might say a relentless tone to much of her religious emotion. Terrible denunciations of a dark decree of reprobation, pictorial and protracted delineations of hell and its endless torments, no doubt formed a dreary staple of some parts of her pulpit "deliverances." With several half pages of extracts of this kind from Scotch sermons has he stocked his book. Most of us would wish, we suppose, that there were no misery in the world, no Nemesis in history, no sin, and consequently no retribution, in the universe. We could wish that there were no drunkenness with its terrene abysms of guilt and misery; no dark dens of lust and cruelty, which rest not day nor night, and which need only endless perpetuation and immortality to realize hell in our own metropolis. But the man who should, like Mr. Buckle, collect a body of extracts from our temperance lectures, which describe with uncouth impressiveness the depravity and remediless misery of drunkenness; or from the speeches of our zealous philanthropists, all the terrific descriptions of the depths of debauchery and brutality of the Five Points, and treat them, *not as efforts to save*, but as luxurious *indulgences of an imagination that loves the woes it describes*, would be a fair rival in honesty and good sense to foolish Mr. Buckle.

We can scarcely recommend to our noble American publishers to continue the issue of this pile of folly and fiction. Mr. Buckle's performances deserve no place in literature. We venture the pre-

diction, that if the Introduction sees a state of completion in the world, the book, or rather library, will prove an early abortion. The unfortunate and foolhardy projector will doubtless modestly doubt whether he is not too far in advance of the age; and we shall still more diffidently question whether any age will ever overtake him.

The Uprising of a Great People. The United States in 1861. From the French of Count Agenor de Gasparin. By MARY L. BOOTH. 12mo., pp. 263. New York: Charles Scribner.

America, the Northern States at least, may well accept the views and counsels of so genuine a friend and so pure and noble a spirit as Gasparin. A French Protestant, a friend of civil and religious liberty, a devotee to the cause of humanity and progress, he loves our country as a great depository of all his noblest hopes. To show that we are worthy of this trust, as well as to aid us in its high discharge, is this work addressed to the civilized world.

The drift of the work will best appear from a presentation of the topics in the table of contents:

1. American Slavery; 2. Where the Nation was drifting before the Election of Mr. Lincoln; 3. What the Election of Mr. Lincoln signifies; 4. What we are to think of the United States; 5. The Churches and Slavery; 6. The Gospel and Slavery; 7. The Present Crisis; 8. Probable Consequences of the Crisis; 9. Coexistence of the two Races after Emancipation; 10. The Present Crisis will Regenerate the Institutions of the United States—Conclusion.

In the introduction Gasparin states the elements that go to make up American slavery, and furnishes an ample reply to those who consider Uncle Tom's Cabin a calumny. We recommend it to those Northern Christians who reiterate the same parrot note in this country.

In the chapter portraying "where the United States were drifting before the election of Lincoln," Gasparin shows, what we have maintained in this Review, that there could have been no stop, had another pro-slavery president been elected, short of the complete nationalization of slavery. That the slave-gang would have become naturalized in Broadway, that the slave-ships would yet have ridden proudly with their manacled cargoes into New York Bay, that Churches, ministers, and Methodist ministers too, in plenty, would have been ready to cry *Silence!* to all opposition, and bless the consummation of the infernal plot, who doubts?

Thank God, that worst of ruins has been escaped. It is, indeed, a subject of sorrowful mortification to note how little the result is owing to the high moral tone of our national feeling. Slavery would have conquered politically; but she chose to divide her own forces, and labor

to be beaten in order that she might make that defeat a pretext for disunion. The oligarchy after all rather cast us off than we it. The real arrest to the career of proslavery triumph was produced, not by the free spirit of the entire North, but by the select band who interposed an effectual estopment to its progress on the plains of Kansas, in spite of all the efforts of the administration of the imbecile Buchanan. Rendering all honor to the noble thousands who have toiled through years of trial for the consummation, there are, we regret to confess, abundant proofs that the nation, the free North, never so rose to the moral elevation of resisting the progress of slavery, but that the dark power would have triumphed at last had not events from other quarters compelled the better result.

Gasparin maintains that Lincoln's election "signifies" not immediate emancipation, but the non-extension of slavery, the cessation of fillibuster, the gradual return to right principle, and the ultimate reign of freedom. He says:

> Emancipation is by no means decreed; it will not be for a long time, perhaps: yet the principle of emancipation is established, irrevocably established in the sight of all. Irrevocability has prodigious power over our minds: without being conscious of it we make way for it; we arrange in view of it our conduct, our plans, and even our doctrines. Once fully convinced that its propagandism is checked, that the future of which it dreamed has no longer any chances of success, the South itself will become accustomed to consider its destiny under a wholly new aspect. The Border States, in which emancipation is easy, will range themselves one after another on the side of liberty. Thus the extent of the evil will become reduced of itself, and instead of advancing, as during some years past, toward a colossal development of servitude, it will proceed in the direction of its gradual attenuation.—P. 37.

The following words are for the "*let it alone*" party:

> It would be difficult to cite any social iniquities that have reformed of themselves; and, since the existence of the world, *the method which consists in attacking evil has been the one sanctioned by success.* In America itself the progress made by the Border States does not seem to confirm what is told us of the reaction caused by the aggressions of abolitionism. In Virginia, in Kentucky, in Missouri, in Delaware, etc., the liberty party has been continually gaining ground; and the votes received in the slave states by Mr. Lincoln prove it a very great mistake to suppose letting alone to be the condition of progress. Would to God that slavery had not been let alone when the republic of the United States was founded! Then abolition was easy, the slaves were few in number, and no really formidable antagonism was in play. Unhappily, false prudence made itself heard; it was resolved to keep silence, and not to deprive the South of the honor of a voluntary emancipation—in fine, to reserve the question for the future. The future has bent under the weight of a task which has continued to increase with years, *thanks to letting it alone.*
>
> A little more letting alone, and the weight would have crushed America; it was time to act. The Abolition party, or rather the party opposed to the extension of slavery, has acted with a resolution which should excite our sympathies. The future of the United States was at stake; it knew it, and it struggled in consequence.
>
> The indignation against slavery, the love of country and of its compromised honor, the just susceptibilities of the North, the liberal instincts so long repressed, the desire of elevating the debased and corrupt institutions of the land, the need of

escaping insane projects, the powerful impulse of the Christian faith, all these sentiments contributed, without doubt, to swell the resistance against which the supremacy of the South has just been broken. This, then, is a legal victory, one of the most glorious spectacles that the friends of liberty can contemplate on earth. It was the more glorious, the more efforts and sacrifices it demanded. The Lincoln party had opposed to it the Puseyistic and financial aristocracy of New York; the maneuvers of President Buchanan were united against it with those of the Southern States. Many of the Northern journals accused it of treading under foot the interests of the seaports, and of compromising the sacred cause of the Union.—Pp. 41–43.

The following is a rebuke upon the sordid men who find sordid motives for magnanimous deeds:

To admire nothing is most deplorable, and, I hasten to add, most absurd. Without wandering from the subject of slavery, I can cite the great Emancipation Act, wrested from Parliament by Christian public opinion in England. Have not means been found to prove, or at least to insinuate, that this act, the most glorious of our century, was at the bottom nothing but a Machiavellian combination of interests? Doubtless, those who have taken the trouble to look over the debates of the times know what we are to think of this fine explanation; they know what resistance was opposed by *interests* to the emancipation, both in the colonies and in the heart of the metropolis; they know with how much obstinacy the Tories, representing the traditions of English politics, combated the proposed plans; they know in what terms the certain ruin of the planters, the manufacturers, and the seaports, was described; they know by how many petitions the Churches, the religious societies, the women, and even the children, succeeded in wresting from Parliament a measure refused by so many statesmen. But the mass of the people do not go back to the beginning; they take for granted the summary judgment that English emancipation was a masterpiece of perfidy.—Pp. 45, 46.

We rejoice that our last General Conference furnished for Count Gasparin the following item for his defense of orthodox Churches against the charge of pro-slaveryism:

This said, I wish to prove by some too well-known facts what has been this forbearance, or even this pretended hesitation of orthodox Christianity. On regarding the Churches, I see two, and the most considerable, which have openly declared themselves: the Congregationalists and the Methodists. About six months since, the General Conference of Methodists resolutely plunged into the current without suffering itself to be trammeled by the protests which came to it from the South. I read in a report presented to one of the great divisions of this Church: "We believe that to sell or to hold in bondage human beings under the name of chattels, is in contradiction to the divine laws and to humanity; and that it conflicts with the golden rule and with the rule of our Discipline."—Pp. 79, 80.

Here is a word to the compromisers:

The time will come when the extreme South, incapable of enduring the life that it has just created for itself, will demand to return to the bosom of the Union. It will then insist on dictating its conditions; it will propose the election of a general convention charged with reconstructing the Constitution of the United States; it will appeal to the selfishness of some, and to the ambition or even the patriotism of others, presenting to their sight the re-establishment of the common greatness which separation had compromised. What a motive to vail principles for a moment! what a temptation to return to the fatal path so lately forsaken!—P. 254.

Most heartily do we recommend to the attention of the American people the thoughtful and hopeful utterances of this their noble friend.

*

Seasons with the Sea-horses; or, Sporting Adventures in the Northern Seas. By JAMES LAMONT, Esq., F. G. S. 8vo., pp. 282. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

We have found this a very refreshing book for hot weather. The very fancies raised by the graphic pen of Mr. Lamont of icebergs, northern fogs, walrusses, polar bears, seals, and reindeers, have a cooling power in them. The work is a narrative of the author's tour of adventure in seal and walrus hunting in the year 1859 about Spitzbergen. Its unique tales and descriptions are both entertaining and instructive. The volume is well stocked with illustrations to match. There is one engraving of walrusses assembled on the ice, like gentry upon a parlor floor, furnishing a favorable idea of the social qualities of those amphibious Northerners.

Educational.

Christian Nurture. By HORACE BUSHNELL. 12mo., pp. 407. New York: Charles Scribner. 1861.

This is an admirable book on a vitally important subject, and the author is perfectly at home in the treatment of it. Dr. Bushnell is a pioneer in the modern revival of the doctrine of Christian nurture in the Church. The present volume is wonderfully suggestive, and the temptation is strong to overstep the limits of an ordinary book notice. There are many things in it to commend, and a few things upon which we hesitate. Yet, if our recommendation would do it, we would place this volume on the center table of every Christian family in the land. We fear that Christian experience, as here presented, is pared down to too low a standard, not only in its beginnings in children, but in adults also. The radical change which is necessary—for the author holds the doctrine of depravity—is so taught as to be scarcely perceptible. Teaching children the good old orthodox doctrine, that they must have a "new heart," is, in the author's estimation, a cruel mistake. He believes that the elements of regeneration exist in the children of Christian parents from their birth, (how it is with those of non-Christian parents he saith not,) and all that is necessary in such cases is to develop these elements into a Christian character. It is not taught that actual regeneration is transmitted by natural descent; "the regeneration is not actual, but only presumptive." In establishing this point he relies principally on the argument of organic unity in the family.

According to the view I am here maintaining [the aim] is not their conversion in the sense commonly given to that term. That is a notion which belongs to the

scheme which makes nothing of baptism and the organic unity of the house; that looks upon the children as being heathens or aliens, requiring, of course, to be converted. But, according to the scheme here presented, they are not heathens or aliens, but they are in and of the household of faith, and their growing up is to be in the same. Parents, therefore, in the religious teaching of their children, are not to have it as a point of fidelity to press them into some crisis of high experience, called conversion. Their teaching is to be that which feeds a growth, not that which stirs a revolution. It is to be nurture, presuming on grace already and always given, and, for just that reason, jealously careful to raise no thought of some high climax to be passed.—P. 381.

On p. 372 he says:

As little are young children to be taught that they are of course unregenerated. This, with many, is even a fixed point of orthodoxy, and of course they have no doubt of it. They put their children on the precise footing of heathens, and take it for granted that they are to be converted in the same manner. But they ought not to be in the same condition as heathens.

Now it seems to us that very little room is left here for depravity, and it is putting a very fine edge on conversion if it be taught at all. Yet the developments of depravity, and the beginning of the Christian life in an infant soul, may be quite imperceptible. We have found that all the advocates of this theory of Christian nurture mingle the shadings of nature and grace very delicately at this point. The case of a conversion in adult years is thus narrated:

A young man happens accidentally one Sunday, while his friends are gone to ride, to take down a book on the evidences of Christianity. His eye floating over one of the pages, becomes fixed, and he is surprised to find his feelings flowing out strangely into its holy truths. He is conscious of no struggle of hostility, but a new joy dawns in his being. Henceforth, to the end of a long and useful life, he is a Christian man.—P. 19.

Now this is changing masters, passing from death unto life, being born again, and made a new creature in Christ Jesus very quietly indeed. This easy, almost imperceptible transition from nature to grace presented by our author is one of the principal points upon which we hesitate.

The book is divided into two parts: I. The doctrine, with its definition and the arguments sustaining it. Christian nurture, is nurturing infant Christians. It is not a process to make Christians by seeking to bring about a change, but taking the subjects as we find them, simply training and developing them into Christians. The arguments in favor of the doctrine are drawn from "the organic unity of the family," which is a strong and beautiful one, and from the ordinance of "infant baptism," and the right of "children to Church membership." The importance of the doctrine to the Christian Church is presented in a chapter on "the outpopulating power of the Christian stock." Of this doctrine

and the arguments sustaining it we must say they are beautiful, beneficial, reasonable, traditional, and not anti-scriptural.

The author is very severe on the present mode of religious training, by which children are brought up *for conversion* in *converting times*. It is characterized as very much like raising sheep for the shambles. There is a remarkable coincidence between the author's views as to the duties of the Church toward baptized children and the chapter on the same subject in the Discipline of the M. E. Church. One might readily suppose that they were the product of the same mind.

Part II contains eight chapters, on the MODE of Christian nurture: 1. When it begins. 2. Parental qualifications. 3. Physical nurture. 4. That which discourages children. 5. Family government. 6. Plays and pastimes, holidays and Sundays. 7. Christian teaching of children. 8. Family prayers. The author thinks that "the age of impressions" is the most important of a child's life, and the period when the parent can do most for it. On this subject he says:

> I have no scales to measure quantities of effect in this matter of early training, but I may be allowed to express my solemn conviction that more, as a general fact, is done, or lost by neglect of doing, on a child's immortality in the first three years of his life, than in all his years of discipline afterward.

The age of impressions, he thinks, covers three or four times this number of years.

> Let every Christian father and mother understand, when their child is three months old, that they have done more than half of all they will ever do for his character.—P. 248.

No Christian parent can read this portion of the book without having his views of responsibility to his children quickened, if not greatly enlarged, and the humbling conviction of past delinquency pressed heavily upon him.

Notices of the following works, lately received, will appear in our next number.

Bancroft's History of the United States. Vols. 7 and 8, from Little & Brown.

Carthage and her Remains. By DAVIS. Harper & Brothers.

Recreations of a Country Parson. Second Series. Ticknor & Fields.

The new edition of Dr. HICKOK'S *Rational Psychology.* Ivison & Phinney.

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